

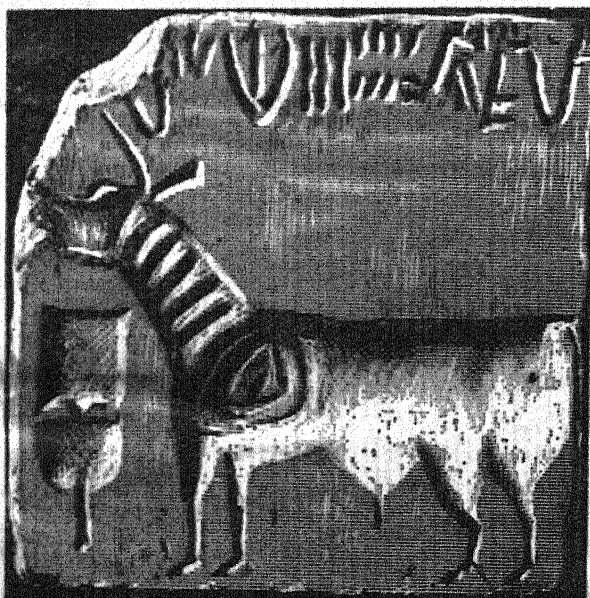
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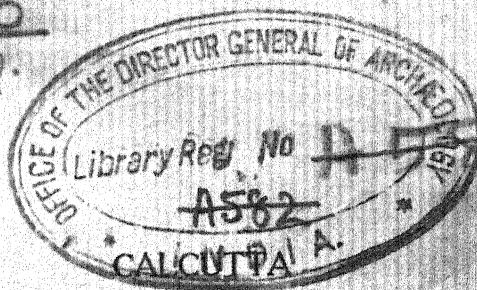
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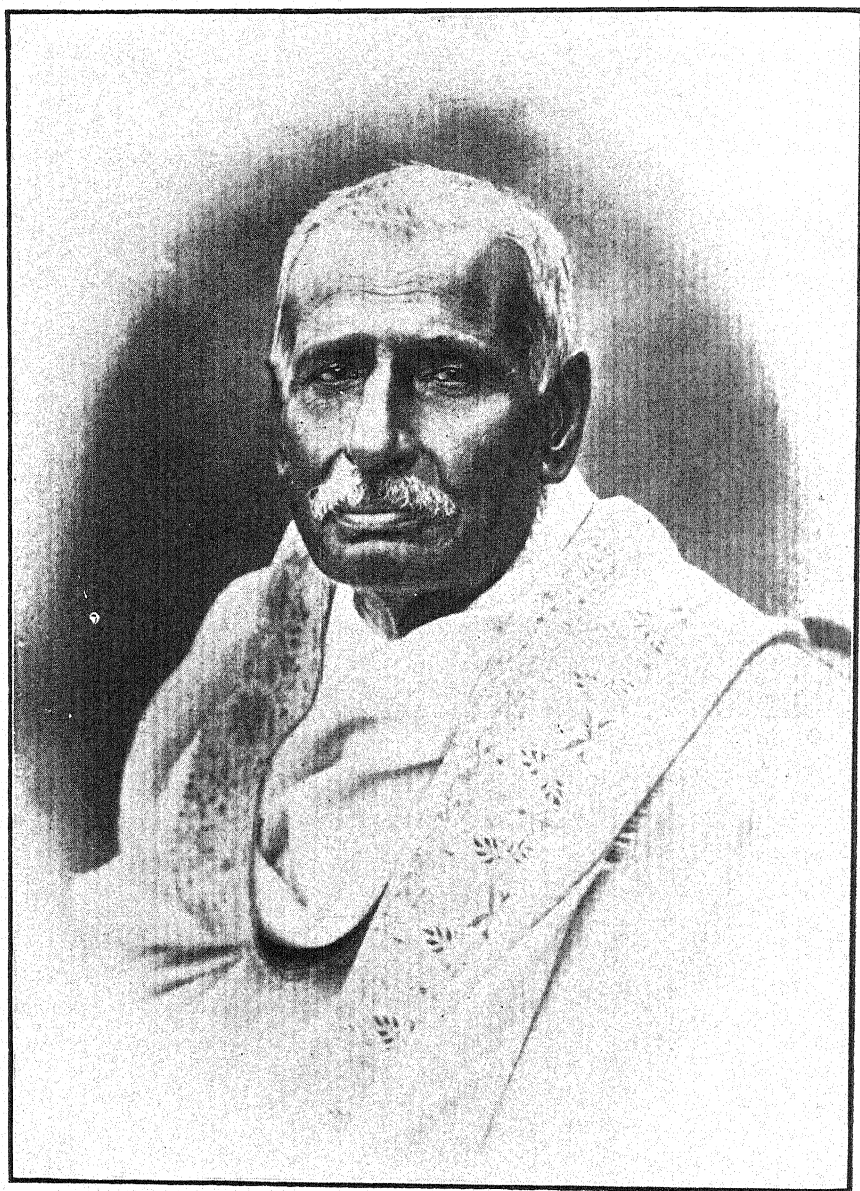
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Notes on the Guhyasamāja-Tantra and the Age of the Tantras

Among the numerous essays and original works in the field of Sanskrit Literature, for which the name of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī will always be remembered, his valuable contributions to our knowledge of Buddhist literature in Nepal and Tibet are perhaps the most important. We owe to him some of the most precious discoveries of new texts in recent times. His "Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, Buddhist Manuscripts" (Calcutta, 1917), is a mine of information on the Buddhist literature of Nepal. In No. 18 of this Catalogue (pp. 17 ff.) he describes the *Guhyasamāja* which is also called *Tathāgataguhyā*. This is a Vaipulya Mahāyāna Sūtra, and the Mahāmahopādhyāya conjectures "that this Vaipulya work is the original *Tathāgata Guhyaka* and that the first book of *Guhyasamāja* and sometimes the second also are called *Tathāgata Guhyaka* only by an analogy". Unfortunately this work has never been published, though there seems to be a MS. of it also in Cambridge.¹ It seems, however, to be identical with the work quoted as *Tathāgataguhyā-sūtra* in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (ed. Bendall, pp. 7, 126, 158, 242, 274, 316 and 357). This is an entirely different work from the

1 Haraprasāda Śāstrī refers to Bendall's *Cambridge Catalogue*, which is not accessible to me.

'*Guhyasamāja Tantra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka* which has been edited by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya as No. LIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (1931).² The passages quoted by Sāntideva are all in prose. They all refer to Mahāyāna ethics. We find here such beautiful passages as the following (p.7):

'In whom does the Will to Enlightenment (*Bodhicitta*) arise, O Lord?' He said: 'In that one, O great King, who has formed the unshaken resolve to obtain it.' He said: 'O Lord, and who has this unshaken resolve?' He said: 'He, O great King, in whom the Great Pity has arisen.' He said: 'In whom, O Lord, has the Great Pity arisen?' He said: 'In him, O great King, who does not desert any living being.' He said: 'In what way, Lord, is no living being deserted?' He said: 'O great King, it is by renouncing one's own welfare.'

In another quotation (p.274) ten things are enumerated, by means of which a Bodhisattva acquires power: "Here, O great King, a Bodhisattva gives up his body and his life, but he does not give up the Good Religion. He bows before all beings, and does not allow his pride to rise. He has patience with the feeble beings and does not put any difficulties in their way. He gives the best, excellent food to the beings who are suffering from hunger. He gives security to those beings who fear. He is full of zeal for the complete healing of the sick. He satisfies the poor with riches. He repairs the shrines of the Tathāgata by lumps of plaster. He brings glad tidings to the beings. He shares his possessions with the poor and the unfortunate. He bears the burden of those who are weary and exhausted."

We shall look in vain for such passages in the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, now published. Here, too, a chapter (2nd paṭala) is devoted to the question of *Bodhicitta*. It is answered here by abstruse speculations,

2 A MS. of this Tantra text is No. 64 in H. Sāstri's *Catalogue*, p. 64, described by him as 'the first of the three parts of *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.' A more detailed description has been given by Rajendralala Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 261 ff. A MS. of the Aparārdha of the *Guhyasamāja* in 15 Paṭalas is mentioned in the *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society* by E. B. Cowell and J. Eggeling in *JRAS.*, 1876, No. 44.

most mysteriously worded, on the transformation of *Kāya*, *Vāk* and *Citta*, which are neither existent nor non-existent.³ While worship at sanctuaries and reading of sacred books are rejected (p. 142: *caityakarma na kurvīta na ca pustakavācanam*), the eating of the flesh of elephants, horses, dogs, cows, and even human flesh (*mahāmāṃsa*) is freely recommended (see pp. 26, 117 etc.) and *viñmūtra* is to be used not only for *homa* but also for food (pp. 19, 26, 55, 117, 128 etc.) Sexual intercourse with young Caṇḍāla girls and beautiful women is to be indulged in for the sake of Buddha worship (Jinapūjāhetoh) especially in chapters 7 and 8 (but see also pp. 19, 31, 32, 94 etc.). In the fifth chapter a Buddha declares that even the most wicked men, murderers, thieves, libertines, and even those who have incestuous intercourse with mothers, sisters, and daughters, may reach perfection in the highest Mahāyāna. And it is said to be 'the teaching of all Buddhas' that the Yogin may kill living beings, tell lies, steal and go to women (chap. 16, p. 120).

In one passage (chap. 5) the Bodhisattvas, when they heard such teaching, became indeed frightened, they trembled and fell down in a swoon. But Lord Sarvatathāgata-kāyavāk touched them with the rays issuing from his body after a certain meditation, and they were soon revived, and praised the Lord who had given them a miracle instead of an explanation. In a second passage (chap. 9) the scruples of the Bodhisattvas are not removed by a miracle, but by the simile of Space. As in Space (*ākāśa*) all worldly phenomena are equally to be found, thus a life in lust (*rāgacaryā*) is the same as a Bodhisattva life (*bodhisattvacaryā*) and the same as the best life (*āgracaryā*).⁴ Magic rites are taught in this Tantra not only for the purpose of becoming a Buddha and for attaining supernatural powers, but also for the sake of killing, destroying, subjugating etc., e.g. in chapters 13, 14 and 15.

Of course, there are also many quite unobjectionable samādhis and mantras taught in our text, but on the whole we find in it the same unsavoury mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science, magic, and erotics, as in most of the other Buddhist Tantras. All this is far, far

removed from the ethics of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as we find it in the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* quoted by Śāntideva.

Rajendralala Mitra could not find words strong enough in denouncing the immoral character of the *Tathāgata-Guhyaka*. "The great wonder is," he exclaims, "that even a system of religion so pure and so lofty in its aspiration as Buddhism could be made to ally itself with such pestilent dogmas and practices."⁵

Now-a-days we look upon this literature more coolly and are inclined to judge it more mildly. B. Bhattacharyya says that 'the Tantras are not meant for ordinary people', but only for the Yogins 'who have attained some degree of spiritual perfection', and that all the abuses that have been most vehemently poured forth by scholars are due to their not comprehending that the Tantras must not be 'interpreted in the ordinary way without special reference to Yoga and the cultivation of psychical faculties.'⁶

Professor G. Tucci⁷ may be right when he sees in the Tantras "one of the highest expressions of Indian mysticism which may appear to us rather strange in its outward form, chiefly because we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they are written," and it may be my fault, if I cannot find much wisdom in the gibberish of most of the Tantras. Let it be granted that the strange and often filthy language in which the teaching of the Tantras is shrouded, must not be taken literally, but has to be interpreted by the enigmatical *Sandhābhāṣā*⁸ as referring to mysterious 'psychic matters.' But is it not, to say the least, highly dangerous to use such 'mysterious' language?

More important is the question of the date of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Tāranātha⁹ says that Tantrism was handed down by secret

5 *The Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal*, l.c.

6 Introduction, pp. xvii, xxii.

7 *JASB.*, N. S., vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 128.

8 B. Bhattacharyya still speaks of 'Sandhyābhāṣā or the Twilight language,' though Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya, *IHQ.*, IV, 1928, p. 287ff., has proved that it is *Sandhābhāṣā*, 'intentional speech,' i.e. enigmatical speech in which a secret meaning is intended.

9 *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 201.

means from the time of Asaṅga until that of Dharmakīrti. Tibetan and Chinese traditions relate that the Tantras were brought down by Asaṅga from the Tuṣita-heaven where he learnt the Sūtra from Maitreya. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya¹⁰ tries to prove that Asaṅga is actually connected with the rise of Vajrayāna, and that he may be taken to be the author of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

The only argument, however, which he is able to add to the traditions accepted by him, is that there exists a *Prajñāpāramitā-sādhana* ascribed to Ācārya Asaṅga. But he moves in a circle when he contends that the theory of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas and their Saktis appears 'for the first time' in the *Guhyasamāja*, and that this Tantra is the earliest, because it introduced this doctrine into Buddhism; that the *Sādhana* of Asaṅga, because it contains the Doctrine of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, must be later than the *Guhyasamāja*; and that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which does not mention the Dhyāni-Buddhas in a methodical manner, must be earlier than Asaṅga and the *Guhyasamāja*.¹¹ The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* may be an early Mantrayāna work. But there is nothing to prove its existence in the early centuries A.D. The XIVth chapter contains some texts that were translated into Chinese between 702 and 705, but the whole work has been translated into Chinese between 980 and 1000 A.D. Professor J. Przyluski¹² who has made a study of the work thinks that the final redaction, if not the compilation of the work, may have taken place between the 8th and the 10th centuries.

I cannot see that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which is a ritual work of the Mantrayāna, and describes itself as a *Mahāyāna-Vaipulyasāstra*,

10 *IHQ.*, III, 1927, 736f., *Sādhnamālā*, II, Introd., pp. xxiiiiff., xxviiff. *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, Introd., p. xxxiiff.

11 Dr. Bhattacharyya ascribes Asaṅga to the third century. I think, we must place him, as most scholars are now agreed, in the 4th century. See also the discussions of the Japanese scholars Taiken Kimura, Genmyo Ono, J. Takakusu, and Hakuju Ui in *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, 1929, pp. 79ff. According to Professor Ui the dates are: Maitreya-nātha, Asaṅga's teacher, 270-350, Asaṅga, 310-390, Vasubandhu, 320-400. Prof. Takakusu considers these dates too early by 100 years, i.e. p. 102.

12 *BEFEO.*, XXIII, 1923, p. 306.

has much to do with the Vajrayāna work *Guhyasamāja* describing itself as a "Mahāguhya-Tantrarāja."

It is only on the authority of the late compiler of the *Sādhnamālā* that the *Prajñāpāramitā-Sādhana* is ascribed to Asaṅga. It is not mentioned among the works of Asaṅga elsewhere, and we may at least be allowed to suspect that it was ascribed to the great teacher only in order to enhance its importance.

There is, however, no authority and no tradition at all for ascribing the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* to Asaṅga. Neither among the works which, in Chinese and Tibetan texts, Asaṅga is said to have received from Maitreya in the Tuṣita-heaven, and which are probably works of a historical teacher Maitreyanātha, nor among the works ascribed to Asaṅga himself, does the name of the *Guhyasamāja* appear.

The language of the *Guhyasamāja*, like that of most Tantras, is much inferior to that of the author of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, whether he be Maitreyanātha or Asaṅga,¹³ who writes very good Sanskrit. Certainly also the teaching of the latter is infinitely superior to that of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*. Whoever wrote the verse *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, IX, 16: "As in a broken vessel the reflected image of the moon is not seen, so the image of a Buddha is not seen in wicked beings", cannot have written the verses quoted above from the *Guhyasamāja*.

There is one passage in the same chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (IX, 46) in which Professor Sylvain Lévi sees an allusion to Tantric ideas.

In the eleven verses (38-48) of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* the Greatness (*vibhūti*) of the Buddhas is explained, which is immeasurable and unthinkable, and far exceeds that of the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. This Greatness can only be obtained by *parāvṛtti*¹⁴ or

13 For the chronology it does not make much difference which of them is the author. The arguments seem to me to be in favour of the authorship of Maitreyanātha, the teacher of Asaṅga.

14 The terms *parāvṛtti* and *āśrayaparāvṛtti* (see also *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*, IX, 12-17) occur frequently in the *Lankāvatāra*, see, for instance, pp. 43, 62, 81, 98, 103, 232 in the edition of Bunyiu Nanjio, Kyoto 1923. D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, London 1930, pp. 98, 100, 108, 152, 179, 184f. generally renders it by 'revulsion,' in one place (p. 365), by 'a sudden awakening

'turning aside' of the ordinary ways of thinking about the reality of the world: by an absolute change of mental habits as regards the five senses (verse 41), the mind (*manas*, v. 42), the objects of sense and their reception¹⁵ (v. 43), false discrimination (*vikalpa*,¹⁶ v. 44), the basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) of reality (v. 45), sexual union (*maithuna*, v. 46), and the idea of space (*ākāśasamjñā*, v. 47).

It is necessary to give the text and translation of verses 45 and 46:

pratiṣṭhāyāḥ parāvṛttau vibhutvaṃ labhyate param/
 apratiṣṭhitānirvāṇam Buddhānām acale pade//
 maithunasya parāvṛttau vibhutvaṃ labhyate param//
 Buddhasaukhyavihāre'tha dārā'saṅkleśadarśane//

"In the turning-aside of the basis of Reality supreme Greatness is obtained, (namely) the 'Nirvāṇa without basis'¹⁷ in the immovable seat of the Buddhas.

In the turning-aside of sexual union supreme Greatness is obtained, (namely) in the enjoyment (or pleasure-ground) of Buddha-happiness and in looking without impure thoughts at a wife."

I do not understand how Professor Lévi can see in this last verse an allusion to 'mystic couples of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which are of such importance in Tantrism'.¹⁸ It seems to me, we have rather to think of the pleasure enjoyed by a Buddha in Sukhāvatī where women

in the soul.' In the glossary (p. 418) he explains it by 'turning-up, turning-over, revulsion,' S. Lévi translates *parāvṛtti* by 'Revolution,' without giving an explanation.

15 On the new word *udgraha*, see S. Lévi in his notes on the verse, (text, p. 41, translation, p. 81).

16 See Suzuki, l.c., p. 438. "In the *Laṅkāvatāra* discrimination stands contrasted to intuitive understanding which goes beyond discrimination (*avikalpa*)."

17 Apratiṣṭhita-Nirvāṇa is the highest kind of Nirvāṇa, which has no 'basis,' but abides in the *Sūnya*. Cf. Lévi, *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, Traduction, p. 21 and note 4 on p. 27; Suzuki, l.c. p. 95; A. B. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 257 f.

18 Keith, l.c. p. 301 follows Lévi, when he says that this "allusion in Asaṅga reveals the existence in Buddhism of Tantric rites, in which the union of the Buddha or Bodhisattva with the personification of wisdom, Prajñāpāramitā, is reproduced on earth as one simple and effective mode of realizing the true identity of the individual with the Buddha."

and sexual union are unknown.¹⁹ At any rate, the parallelism of the two verses shows that *maithunasya parāvṛttau* can only refer to a discarding of sexual union.

Professor G. Tucci²⁰ also claims a higher age for the Tantras. He points out allusions in the *Tattvasiddhīśāstra* by Harivarman (4th cent. A.D.) and in Asaṅga's *Madhyāntānugamaśāstra* (both texts are only known from the Chinese translations) to a school called *na ya siu mo* (Nayasauma). In this he sees a reference to the Saumyas or the Somasiddhāntas whom he identifies with the Kāpālikas (on the authority of two commentaries on the *Prabodhacandrodāya*).

All this is very ingenious, but also doubtful, especially as we know so very little about this sect.²¹ Though no hard and fast line of demarcation can be drawn between *Mahāyānasūtras*, *Dhāraṇīs*, and *Tantras*, they nevertheless belong to three distinct periods of Buddhist literature. The chapters containing *Dhāraṇīs* in the *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*, have been proved, on other grounds, to be later additions. The *Mahāmāyūrī* which was translated into Chinese as early as in the 4th century A.D., is a *Dhāraṇī*, and cannot be called a 'Tantra' in the proper sense of the word.²² The term 'Tantra' ought to be restricted to the texts connected with Śakti worship. Tantra texts in this sense cannot be proved to have existed before the 7th century, though some of the elements constituting the Tantras may have existed before that time.

Some of these elements, indeed, may be traced as far back as the times of the *Yajurveda*, where we already find the use of mystic syllables and words²³ which play such an important part in the Mantras of Tantric works. Magic also which is one of the elements of Tantra literature, of course, reaches back to the *Atharvaveda*. But there is no line of 'evolution' from *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* to the *Tantras*. Still less is it possible to admit "that the seeds of Tantric Buddhism were already there in the original Buddhism in the form of

19 *Saddharmapūṇḍarīka*, XXIV, 31.

20 *JASB.*, N. S., Vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 128ff.

21 Cf. Chintaharan Chakravarti in *IHQ.*, VIII., 1932, p. 221ff.

22 G. Tucci (l.c., p. 129) describes it as 'absolutely tantric.'

23 See my *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, 185f.

Mudrās, Mantras, Maṇḍalas, Dhāraṇīs, Yoga and *Samādhi* as a means to attain happiness and prosperity in this world".²⁴ *Yoga* and *Samādhi*, it is true, were practised in early Buddhism, but there is nothing in the Tipiṭaka or any early Buddhist document to prove that Gotama or his first disciples had anything to do with *Mudrās, Mantras, Maṇḍalas*, and *Dhāraṇīs*. On the contrary, we read in the very first Sutta of the *Dīghanikāya* (Brahmajāla-Sutta, 21) that Gotama 'holds aloof from such low arts' as palmistry, auguries, sacrificing to Agni, offering oblations from a spoon, snake charming and other kinds of witchcraft and charms.²⁵ It seems, however, that original Mahāyāna-sūtras were often supplanted by Tantras. It is characteristic that the first three chapters of the *Māñjuśrī-mūlakaḥ* which calls itself a Mahāyāna-sūtra are called 'Parivartas', like the chapters of Mahāyānasūtras, while the rest of the work is divided in 'Paṭalas'. Thus the *Guhya-samāja*, described as a Vaipulya Mahāyānasūtra,²⁶ is divided in 'Parivartas', while the *Guhy-samāja Tantra* is divided in 'Paṭalas'.

The Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī may be right when he suggests that the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was called so 'only by an analogy' to the *Mahāyānasūtra Tathāgataguhyaka*.

It would be worth while to examine this and the Cambridge MS. in order to see whether the passages quoted by Śāntideva are to be found in the work. According to Watters (s. *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. C. Bendall, p. 274, note) the work quoted by Śāntideva corresponds to the Chinese translation of about 1000 A.D. (Nanjio, Nos. 23, 3, 1043) in which the title corresponds to a Tathāgatacintya-guhyā-nirdeśa, and which is a Mahāyānasūtra entirely different from the Tantra. K. Watanabe, (*JRAS.*, 1907, p. 664), says that Nanjio No. 1027 corresponds to the *Śrīguhyasamāja Tantrarāja* and adds: "Some parts of the original text which are not fit for publication as Dr. Rajendralala Mitra indicates.....are omitted in the Chinese."

24 B. Bhattacharyya, *Two Vajrayāna Works*, GOS., No. XLIV, Introduction, p. x.

25 See *Dialogues of the Buddha*, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids; *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. II, 1899, p. 16 ff.

26 Haraprasāda Śāstrī's *Descriptive Catalogue*, No. 18, see above.

It would be very important for the history of Mahāyāna and Tantra literature, if the Sanskrit text of the Vaipulya Mahāyānasūtra *Guhyasamāja* were published, and the different Chinese translations could be compared with it.

M. WINTERNITZ

The Kingdom of Kira

Kīra is included in the list of countries whose kings waited upon emperor Dharmapāla in the famous imperial assembly at Kanauj.¹ The exact identification of this country has not been very easy, and various suggestions have been made from time to time. Kielhorn, while editing the Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla merely refers to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, according to which the Kīras belong to the North-East division of India.² Mr. A. K. Maitra, while re-editing the inscription, merely quotes the opinion of Kielhorn.³ Some have even identified the Kīras with the Kashmirians⁴. I have elsewhere⁵ made a passing suggestion about the location of Kīra, and I now proceed to state the grounds on which it was based.

Balādhuri, in his account of the conquests of Muhammad bin Kasim mentions a country named Al-Kiraj.⁶ Leaving Al, as a mere Arabic prefix, Kiraj may be taken as equivalent to Kira, when we remember that even the well known mango (*Āmra* or *amba*) has been referred to by Arabic writers as *Ambaj*.⁷

In *Chachnāma* the name of the place is written as Kurijs⁸ and a romantic story is told how Jaisia (Jaisimpha), the son of Dāhar, the deceased king of Sindh, was at first given shelter by Drohar, the king of Kurijs, but was afterwards driven away by the machinations of Drohar's sister whose immoral proposals he refused to accept. It is related that having learnt of the plot to murder him, Jaisia left Kurijs and "journeyed on, till he arrived at Jālandhar in the land of Kashmir."

1 Khālimpur copper-plate, V. 12, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV. p. 243.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 246.

3 *Gaṇḍalekhamālā*, p. 21, f.n.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, p. 9.

5 Arab Invasion of India (*Journal of Indian History*, vol. X, part I, p. 60).

6 English Translation by Murgotten, p. 223.

7 Elliot, *History of India by its own historians*, vol. I, p. 27.

8 *Chachnāma*, translated by M. K. Ferdunbeg, pp. 181ff.

Thus this country should be placed in the neighbourhood of Jālandhara. Now, two inscriptions from Baijnath⁹ give the name of that place as Kīragrāma, and refer to its ruler as a subordinate vassal of the lord of Jālandhara. Burgess supplies the following note about the place. "Kīragrāma or Baijnath is a small town in the east of the Kangra district about thirty miles east of Kot Kangra, in latitude 32° 3' N. and longitude 76° 41' E. The number of old temples about the village points to its having been in early times a place of some note."

The identification of the name and its proximity to Jālandhar naturally point to Kīragrāma or Baijnath as the capital and its surrounding tracts as the country of the ancient Kīras,¹⁰ referred to by the Arabs as al-Kiraj or al-Kurij. This view is further confirmed by the statement in the Nagpur stone inscription of V.S. 1161 that "the Kīra chief was eloquent beyond measure on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī."¹¹ It is well known that the river Sarasvatī, which has now completely disappeared, was traditionally placed in the neighbourhood of the region where we have located the Kīras.

So far about the position of the Kīra country. We may now turn to its history.

Leaving aside mere literary references which supply no positive data for history, the earliest historical events of the Kīra country are those known in connection with the Arab conquest of Sind.¹² The account of *Chachnāma*, quoted above, would indicate that Kīra was a powerful country in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The name of the king is given as Duhar by Balādhuri, and Drohar in *Chachnāma*. That Jaisia (Jaisimha) sought refuge with him, and he agreed to give him shelter against Muhammad bin Kasim, point to his relative strength and importance. But perhaps this very act provoked

9 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 97ff. For the topography cf. also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, pp. 482-3, *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1905-6, pp. 17ff.

10 Since the above was written I find Rapson had already made a passing suggestion to this effect in his article on the Kulutas (*JRAS.*, 1900, p. 540).

11 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 194.

12 R. C. Majumdar, *Arab Invasion of India*, pp. 39-40.

the wrath of the Arab general, for he soon led an army against the Kīras and conquered the country.

The recall and tragic death of Muhammad bin Kasim enabled the Kīras to regain their freedom. But within thirty years the Arab general Junaid reconquered the kingdom. The Arab domination over the Kīra kingdom does not, however, appear to have lasted for a long period. The rise of Kashmir as a great power under Lalitāditya put an effective check against the aggression of the Arabs in the northern Punjab, and the Kīra country must have regained its freedom before the middle of the eighth century A.D. About the beginning of the ninth century A.D. the Kīras were defeated by Dharmapāla and the Kīra king attended the imperial assembly at Kanauj to do homage to the Pāla emperor.¹³

The history of the Kīras about this period may also be gathered from the inscriptions of the kings of Chambā.¹⁴ Two of these refer to Sāhlladeva, the founder of the family, as a 'fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kīra forces, fanned, as by the wind, by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saumatikas.' Dr. Vogel places the foundation of Chambā town and of the consolidation of the state by Sāhlla towards the middle of the tenth century A.D. He also takes Durgara to be the ancient name for the modern Dugar (Dogrā), the mountainous tract between the Jhelum and the Ravi, or more definitely the ancient Jammu State on the Cināb. The Saumatikas cannot be exactly located but must have been a neighbouring tribe.

The hostility between Kīra and Chambā is also reflected in the popular traditions. The *Vaṃśāvalī* of the Chambā Rājas relates that in the reign of Lakṣmīvarman, the grandson of Meruvarman, the Kīras invaded Chambā and killed the Rājā in battle. Vogel places Meruvarman in the commencement of the eighth century.

All these evidences lead to the conclusion that shortly after the Arab menace was over, the Kīras pursued an aggressive campaign against Chambā and the neighbouring states. During the next two

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 243.

¹⁴ Vogel, *Inscriptions of Chambā* (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1902-3, pp. 241, 257, 262ff.).

centuries, they were rapidly growing to be the leading power, and made a confederacy with some of the neighbouring hill states. By the middle of the tenth century A.D. the rising power of Chambā had to reckon with this confederacy but evidently with not much success.

The next reference to Kīra in point of time is perhaps to be found in a passage in the Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman (verse 43) which has been translated as follows by Kielhorn.¹⁵

“The image of Vaikuṇṭha (which) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yaśovarman, who crushed his enemies, has set up (here),—the lord of Bhoṭa obtained it from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi, the king of Kīra, received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses.”

The passage is not indeed free from difficulties. The epithet “Sāhi” which Kielhorn applies to Kīrarāja, may also be taken along with Herambapāla. But perhaps Kielhorn has rightly taken the other meaning, as Herambapāla and his son Devapāla are usually regarded as Gurjjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj, to whom the epithet Sāhi can hardly be applied. For that term undoubtedly refers to the Shāhiya rulers who were at that time ruling over Afghanistan and the Punjab.

If, therefore, we accept Kielhorn’s translation, the epithet Sāhi, applied to Kīrarāja, becomes full of interest. The date of the Kīra king in question can easily be determined. As he was a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Herambapāla, he must have ruled about the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Now Alberuni informs us, that about that very time, the Brahmin vizier of the Turkish Sāhiya kings had usurped the throne and founded the Hindu Sāhi dynasty.¹⁶ Are we to take, therefore, that the founder of the new Sāhi dynasty was originally a king of Kīra and hence the Sāhi ruler was also called Kīra-rāja? This is not a necessary or inevitable inference, but there are two circumstances which prove a close associa-

¹⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 122.

¹⁶ *Alberuni*, translated by Sachau, II, p. 13.

tion between the Sāhi rulers and the Kangra district with which Kīra has been identified above.

While discussing the Sāhiya kings, Alberuni deplors the lack of accurate information on this subject, due to the absence of historical spirit among the Hindus. Then he adds: "I have been told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, exists in the fortress Nagarkot".¹⁷ That this fortress was the basis of Sāhi power in the Punjab also follows from the fact, that after Sultan Mahmud had defeated the confederate forces of Ānandapāl in 1008 A.D., he "took up the pursuit of the fugitives and followed them to the fort of Nagarkot which was situated near Kangra on the spur of a hill and was encircled by the river Bangāṅgā."¹⁸

The engagement between Sultan Mahmud and Ānandapāl took place on or near the bank of the Indus. Nagarkot or Kangra is situated at a great distance from that. The most plausible way of explaining the statement quoted above is to suppose that the defeated forces of Ānandapāl kept up a running fight with a view to save themselves by entering into the fortified city of Nagarkot which was evidently one of the strongest military bases of the kingdom. The facts that the pedigree of the royal dynasty was supposed by Alberuni to have been preserved in Nagarkot (among all places), and that it was regarded as the last refuge of the royal army, easily support the presumption that Nagarkot formed one of the centres of their power and authority. And Nagarkot is only 23 miles west of Baijnath.

The Kīra kingdom survived the downfall of the Sāhiyas, though perhaps under a new dynasty. In the eleventh century A.D. it was defeated successively by Gāṅgeyadeva Kallacuri¹⁹ (c. 1015-1040 A.D.) and his son Karṇa²⁰ (c. 1040-70 A.D.) who attempted to establish a paramount empire in northern India and succeeded to a large extent. The Cālukya king Someśvara I²¹ (Āhavamalla) (c. 1042-1068 A.D.) who defeated Karṇa also includes Kīra among the lists of his conquests.

17 *Alberuni*, II, p. 11.

18 M. Nazim, *Sultan Muhammad*, p. 90.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 143.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 15.

21 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 104.

Towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. Kīra had to submit to the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva of Mālava.²²

The repeated foreign invasions throughout the eleventh century A.D. must have considerably weakened the vitality and resources of the Kīras. Although they aided the rebel Bhoja against Jayasimha, the king of Kashmir²³ (1128-49 A.D.), they soon lost their independence and became feudatory to the king of Jālandhara.

The two Baijnath Praśastis, referred to above, introduce us to a line of ten chiefs of Kīragrāma. They also refer to the king of Jālandhara as the overlord of the kingdom. This was undoubtedly true of the time when the inscription was composed, but it does not necessarily follow that all the ten chiefs named in the record were vassals of Jālandhara. In particular it is worthy of note that the eighth chief married a daughter of the king of Jālandhara, and it is by no means usual for an overlord to marry his daughter to a vassal chief.

The date of the inscription is given both in Lokakāla, or Saptarṣi Samvat and the Śaka era. The Śaka date was first read by Cunningham as 726 corresponding with A.D. 804. This reading was adopted by Bühler and all subsequent writers. But this date, as was pointed out by Bühler does not agree with the astronomical details. Vogel has since shown that the correct date is Śaka 1126 corresponding with 1204 A.D.²⁴

If we assume this date to be correct, and allot a reign of 20 years on an average to each generation, we may place the ten chiefs (consisting of nine generations) of Kīragrāma between A.D. 1030 and 1210. It would thus follow that this line of chiefs came into power shortly after the invasions of Sultan Mahmud and the overthrow of the Sāhiya dynasty. If my theory regarding the connection of the Sāhiyas with the Kīra kingdom were held tenable we might regard this new line of chiefs as the successors of the main Sāhiya dynasty in the kingdom of Kīra.

22 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 194.

23 *Rājatarāṅginī*, VIII, v. 2767.

24 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1905-6, p. 20.

After the thirteenth century A.D. the Kīra kingdom passes from our view. It has, however, left its legacy partly in the monuments of old, and partly in the aristocratic feelings of its people which even the most abject poverty has failed to crush. The statues of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and substantial parts of the old temple which they adorned still exist to tell the tale of its forgotten glory. The Rājanakas of Kīragrāma mentioned in the Baijnath Praśasti are perhaps still represented by the Ranes or Rajput Zemindars in the Pargana of Baijnath. To Dr. Stein we owe the following story which illustrates the feelings of this aristocratic body.²⁵

“The Raja of Kapurthala quite lately married a girl from the house of a bitterly poor Rajput of the Gulherian Mian clan, who lives as Zamindar not far from Baijnath. Though the man is so poor that his daughter, the present Rani, used to work for wages in the tea plantations, his countrymen have not yet pardoned him that he contracted the alliance with the Raja.”

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Mahā-Pralaya and Last Judgment

Vedic tradition envisages the voyage (*yāna*) of the individual after death as a passing *on* from one plane of being (*loka*) to another; and though there is the possibility of perpetuity (*sthāyitā*) on any given plane until the End of Time (*kalpānta*, *mahā-pralaya*), there is no conception of the possibility of a return to any past state. The later doctrine of reincarnation, in which the possibility of a return to a previous condition is conceived, seems to reflect an edifying tendency of the religious (*bhakti-vāda*) and psychological (*hīnayāna*) extensions, perhaps incorporating popular non-Vedic elements.¹

More exactly, there are two different courses that may be followed: the Angelic (*devayāna*) in the case of the individual whose ship is knowledge, and the Patriarchal (*pitṛyāna*) in his case whose ship is Works (*karma*) done with a view to reward. In the former case the individual passes by way of the "Sun" and therebeyond to the Supreme Self and the Unground: in the latter, he reaches only the "Moon", and in due course thence returns to a new corporeal state in a subsequent sub-Time (*manvantara*), when the choice of routes again presents itself. What follows here, however, does not take account of this distinction of routes, but rather of the distinction between those who on the one hand are borne on either by Understanding or by Works, being equally Wayfarers, and those on the other hand who having neither understood nor yet wrought, the Last Judgment finds not merely unannihilate but also without merit.

In any case, the final end of voyaging is on the Farther Shore of the Sea of Life (*saṃsāra*). When landing is made there, *Jivātman* knows itself as *Paramātmān*, absolute-space-in-the-heart (*antarhṛdaya ākāśa*) is known as the absolute-space-body (*ākāśa-śarīra*) of Being and Non-Being, and the sea of life is as it were counter-seen (*paryapaśyata*) by the Self as the multiplicity of its own Identity.² Voyaging, we are

¹ See my *Yakṣas*, I, p. 14, note 1.

² *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 8, 1: *Saṅkarācārya*, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95:

given intimations of that Paradise (*prāṇārāma*, *nandana*), in Union (*sāyujya samādhi*) consummating thought (*dhyāna*), in Ecstasy (*ānanda*) consummating Will (*kāma*), and in the consent (*sāhitya*) of Art (*nirmāṇa*): knowledge, love, and work becoming pure (*asakta*) Act.

But though the possibility of Gradual Enfranchisement (*krama-mukti*) is open to the Voyager,³ there is also the possibility for him whose ship is rudderless, or wrongly steered, to wander on uncharted courses toward an unknown landfall, farther and ever farther from the Quay (*ghāt*): so far and so long that he may not be in sight of Yonder Shore when every hither shore and every vessel is dissolved at the End of Time. So at the End of Time there is a departing of the Freed (*mukta*) and Ego-bound (*māna-baddhaka*). In Christian tradition this is called the Last Judgment.

Save and except the highest Devas, Angels (*ājānaja*), whose being is from Eternity, all beings, be they 'quick or dead', are "judged" at this Last Day. The Self of those who have already achieved a Total (*nirguṇa*) Realisation (*mukti*) is already in conscious identity with the Supreme Identity: and now for those whose Realisation has been 'by degrees' (*krama*) or qualified (*saguna*) there ensues the last death of the categorised Ego, a "death" that is absolutely *Mors janua vitae*, an enfranchisement from every possible contingency—the Gates of Heaven are opened to the Jīvātman, now Kṛtātman, "Perfected Self", so that he becomes again (*abhisambhavarati*) in his Own Form (*sva-rūpa*), Imageless (*nirābhāsa*), Pure Intelligence (*cit*), and Unalloyed Delight (*pūrṇānanda*).

But for those lost beings who have not in Time achieved even a Partial Realisation, but are still altogether involved in the net of delusion (*moha-kalila*), deeming that the Ego is the Self, for these there can be no present possibility of Enfranchisement at the End of

"On the vast canvas of the Self, the picture of the manifold worlds is painted by the Self itself, and that Supreme Self takes a great delight therein."

3 The concepts *yāna* and *krama-mukti* imply by hypothesis a crossing of the sea of life (*samsāra*). If the Upaniṣads also contemplate the possibility of an Immediate Enfranchisement, and consequent Transformation (*abhisambhava* or *parāvṛtti*), the realisation, "I am Brahman," "That art thou" in actual experience, this cutting of the knots of the heart at a single stroke is not our present theme.

Time: having thought, still thinking that to act "for the sake of the Self" (*Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 5) means nothing but to satisfy every desire of the Ego, by serving the body here and now, living by such an "*Asura Upaniṣad*" as this, these "shall perish", (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII, 8). These are the "damned". Their damnation is a self-adjudged and Self-adjudged condemnation to an endless, though not eternal, latency, a relative, though not absolute annihilation: to a Hell below the silent glassy sea of the non-Time (*kalpāntara*) that divides Time from Time, there by Necessity, "God's justice", to await their mortal rebecoming in another Time (*kalpa*), where the possibility of achieving, or not achieving an Immediate or Deferred Enfranchisement will again present itself.

Abhimānatva, then, is "Original Sin". Satan's claim to 'equality with God', his assertion of the independence and self-subsistence of the Ego, is the occasion of his Fall and theirs who follow him. Man's Fall, the same in kind, has been described traditionally as an eating of the Fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. This Tree is none other than the Tree of Life, planted by the Self itself, by God himself, in the Garden of Life (*prāṇārāma*), as a fair thing and a delight of the eyes, for His and Man's pleasure. But to eat of the Fruit is Mortal Sin (*anṛta*) against the Spirit, "forbidden" to man as individual ego⁴: for "eating" is an assimilation to, and a self-identification with, things "as they are in themselves", not "as they are in God", therefore a taking on of what is nothing in itself, a venom (*viṣa*)⁵ that is Death from the standpoint of Eternal Life, a closing of the Gates of Paradise.

None but the Self can swallow such a venom and yet live, as Śiva

4 It must not be thought that because the man is represented as yielding to the seduction of the woman that a merely carnal fall is implied. Here "man" stands for "Subject," "woman" for "Object" (as *pratika*, in each case); the Fall is equally a derogation of the Intellect and of the Will.

5 It is impossible not to see a connection of *viṣa* "poison," with *viṣayatā*, objectivity: cf. *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, VI, 31, where vision is said to "feed upon" the *apsaras* (i.e. fascinating possibilities of being) as sense objects (*viṣayān*); also *Nirukta*, V, 15, where *apsaras* is artificially connected with *a-psā*, giving the sense of "forbidden food"; *Brhaddevatā*, V, 148 and 149, and *Sarvānukramaṇī*, I, 166, where Mitra-Varuṇa are seduced by the sight of Urvaśī.

does when by another image the *dvandva*-bane is produced at the Churning of the Sea of Milk; the wound and signatures of this bane being the blue-black stain on His throat as Nilakanṭha, Viṣakanṭha, Viṣāgnipā, His taking of the Serpent to His breast as *nāga-yajñōparīta*, and His "addiction" to drugs. That apparent subjection of the Self to the tragedy (*anṛta*, *arta*) of Life, that accepted pain, is the Passion of God and Everyman.⁶

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

6 "That heart which stands apart from pain and woe,
Nor seal nor signature of love can know" (Sañā'I).

Mepputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri

Amongst the many distinguished Sanskritists that Kerala has produced, none has risen so high in popular esteem as Mepputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri. As a poet and *bhakta* his is a household name, while as a grammarian he is well-known among the select circle of *Śāstraic* scholars. It is proposed to notice the life and career of this great poet who is probably the greatest figure among the Kerala Sanskritists since the 15th century.

Bhaṭṭatiri belonged to the family, known as Mepputtūr, Sanskritised as *uparīnavagrāma*. This house was on the northern banks of the river Nīla, in Malabar near Tirunāvay. His father was Mātrḍatta, a scholar proficient in *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*; on the mother's side, he was associated with the famous *Bhaṭṭas* of Payyūr *Bhāṭṭamana*, his mother being the only sister of nine brothers all equally eminent in the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*.¹ Thus both on the paternal and maternal side, he inherited high scholarly traditions.

If local traditions are to be believed, it appears that Bhaṭṭatiri was an irresponsible lad in his youth. After the usual Sanskritic education which every *Nampūtiri* had to have in those ancient days, he left his studies and betook himself to a life of ease. At an early age he married a Pisharoti woman,² the niece of the then well-known astronomer-astrologer Trkkandiyūr Acyuta Pisharoti.³ Bhaṭṭatiri was so much engrossed in his new-found joy that he became careless in the observance of the daily religious routine. One morning he arose late and rushing out of his wife's house he chanced to step across the sacred plank on which Pisharoti was performing the

1 Vide the writer's paper 'Religion and Philosophy in Kerala' in the *IHQ.*, IV, 4, pp. 702-719.

2 The marriage here mentioned must be the *Sambandham* system of marriage. May this be taken as suggesting that Bhaṭṭatiri was not the eldest son of his father? Otherwise he should have married in his own caste.

3 Vide the writer's paper 'Śāstras: Practical and Theoretical' published in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, XXI, 3.

Nālumpakkomvaikkal.⁴ This was a great breach of manners and Pisharoti, naturally feeling very angry, administered him a severe reproof, in spite of the fact that Bhaṭṭatīri was a brahmin of great social position. The young man was naturally dumb-founded and received the whole censure quietly. When the old man had ended his tirade, he hurried out; but he was not long absent. He returned immediately after his usual morning rites and calmly requested Pisharoti to teach him higher Sanskrit. Struck by his sincerity and evident desire to study, Pisharoti acceded to his request and he began his studies that very day. In an incredibly short time, if tradition is to be believed, he mastered *Kāvya*s and *Nāṭakas*, *Alṃkāra* and *Vyākaraṇa*, and in these various subjects he soon became recognised as a great scholar.

As a Bhaṭṭatīri, a brahmin of the highest social position, he had to be proficient in Śrauta literature before he could find an honoured place amongst his kinsmen. He therefore requested Pisharoti to teach him that branch of literature also, but Pisharoti objected, for this was a subject that tradition and convention alike prohibited a non-*Dvija* from handling. Bhaṭṭatīri was firm, however, in his resolve that he would not have two *Gurus* and forced his teacher to undertake the task, even though he feared divine punishment for this act. Being a good scholar in more than one branch of literature, it was easy for Pisharoti to master and teach this branch of study, and in due course Bhaṭṭatīri was taught the religious texts as well. But what Pisharoti feared did happen, for before long he became a prey to leprosy.⁵ Bhaṭṭatīri was struck with pity and remorse at seeing his Guru suffering and therefore prayed intently to God to cure him by transferring the disease unto himself. In response to the request of Bhaṭṭatīri, Pisharoti became cured as if by a miracle, while his disciple fell a victim to the dire

4 This is supposed to be a very religious practice, and all astrologers in our land daily performed this after their morning rites. The work done is finding the constellation and *tithi* for the day, the calculations being made by means of *couries* spread out on a wooden plank 3 ft. by 2½ ft. This system is gradually dying out.

5 Another tradition will have it that Pisharoti was suffering from rheumatism.

disease. For a cure he resorted to the sacred Kṛṣṇa shrine at Guruvāyūr,⁶ where he spent his time in prayer and fasts and divine service. There he began his famous *Nārāyaṇīyam* and by the time it was finished—it took him a hundred days, as tradition records—he was cured. Such is the story our elders have handed down to us regarding the final studies of Bhaṭṭatīri, and they also would have it that during the progress of the *Nārāyaṇīyam*, the *bhakta* beheld the divine vision of Śrī Kṛṣṇa on more occasions than one.

It may be noted that the traditional story mentioned above is to a certain extent belied by Bhaṭṭatīri's own statement, recorded in his *Prakriyāsarvasvam*, that he had more Gurus than one. It is stated there that he studied *Mīmāṃsā* from his father Māṭṛdatta, *Tarka* from Madhavārya, and *Vyākaraṇa* from Ācūtārya.⁷ The tradition, however, is very strong, and it may contain an element of truth in that he cured his *Guru* during his period of sickness by careful nursing. He himself became afflicted, probably by contagion and was thereafter cured by divine grace.

Now a well-known *bhakta*, his fame as a scholar proficient in almost every branch of Sanskrit Literature spread far and wide. He was consequently an honoured guest everywhere and particularly at the courts of king Ravi Varma and Virakerala Varma of Cochin and of Devanārāyaṇa of Ambalapula, for these princes were themselves great scholars and actively patronised men of letters. There are many traditions clustering round Bhaṭṭatīri, even though he lived in the modern period. He has left behind him a number of works which can be classified under the three heads of literary, lyrical and *Śāstraic*. Upon these we shall now dwell.

In the field of literature, Bhaṭṭatīri's fame rests upon his *Prabandhams*—*Campus*: *Rājasūya*, *Dūtavākya*, *Subhadrāharana*, *Pāñcālīsvayamvara*, *Niranunāsika*, *Svāhāsudhākara*,⁸ *Nṛgamokṣa*,

6 This shrine has now become very famous throughout India as the centre of the Satyāgraha campaign for the removal of social disabilities.

7 Vide Vol. 106, page (Preface) 3, of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Can the Mādhava here mentioned be also a Pisharoti?

8 Vide Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 336-337 where this work is reported to be the result of extempore poetry. The basis of this information is not cited.

Dakṣayāga, *Kaunteyāṣṭaka* and *Vāmanāvatāra*: these ten *Prabandhams* are ascribed to him. In assigning the authorship we are again forced to fall back upon tradition, for there are a number of *Prabandhams*, and many of them speak of a Nārāyaṇa as their author. But since this age produced at least three more Nārāyaṇas⁹—all writers of no mean repute—it becomes difficult to ascertain accurately which Nārāyaṇa wrote which work. Apart from this difficulty, there are a number of anonymous *Prabandhams* which are also fathered upon Bhaṭṭatīri. The question as to which are the *Prabandhams* of Bhaṭṭatīri does not therefore admit of easy solution. The list given above is based upon the best Paṇḍit tradition, and this is bound to be our sole guide so long as critical editions of the numerous *Prabandhams* available are not forthcoming and so long as an elucidation of the Nārāyaṇa-problem in Kerala Sanskrit Literature is not attempted. It is greatly to be regretted that not one of these *Bhaṭṭatīri-Prabandhams* is yet printed in Devanāgarī character.

As I have elsewhere stated,¹⁰ *Prabandhams* owe their existence to the popular demand for greater variety at the hands of the professional actor and the Pāṭhakakkāran. There is a popular view that Bhaṭṭatīri inaugurated this type of literature, but this view does not appear to be quite correct, for we have *Prabandhams* in mixed Malayalam and Sanskrit as early as the 15th century.¹¹ It may possibly be that Bhaṭṭatīri was the first to write an original *Prabandham* in Sanskrit, the earlier ones being but compilations, such as the *Rāmāyaṇam Prabandham* for instance.¹²

We may refer to an interesting tradition associating our author with Iravi Cākyar, a famous professional actor of the period and a protégé of the chief Devanārāyaṇa of Ambalapuḷa. On one occasion

9 Compare, for instance, Nārāyaṇa of *Vivaraṇa* fame, Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Bhāvārthadīpikā* on *Uttararāmācarita*, and again Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Śrīmāheśvaramāhātmya*.

10 Vide the writer's paper on 'Pāṭhakam' published in the *IHQ*. Also 'Kuthu' published in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, XII, 2, pp. 183-195.

11 Vide *JOR.*, Madras, IV (1930), pp. 142-151.

12 A complete edition of the *Prabandham* is issued from Ūrakam near Trichur, but it is in Malayalam script and is not critical.

when Bhaṭṭatīri was a guest at this court, this Cākyar was conducting a *Prabandham Kuthu*,¹³ the scene for the day being the disfiguring of Sūrpanakhā. After the performance was over, Bhaṭṭatīri asked the actor how he would act the next scene—Sūrpanakhā's complaint to Rāvaṇa, for she had lost her nose and therefore could not pronounce nasals and *anunāsikas*. The actor said that the scene could not be effectively acted, but the blame was to be levelled more at the poet than the actor who had simply to act whatever the poet gave him. Bhaṭṭatīri took the cue from the actor, and immediately set about writing a scene for the next day in which he took care to introduce no nasal or nasalised sound, and the scene was acted very successfully. Thus was produced the *Niranunāsika Prabandham*. Thenceforward Bhaṭṭatīri and Iravi Cākyar were close comrades and the scholar's best *Prabandhams* were written for his actor friend.¹⁴

To the ten *Prabandhams* of Bhaṭṭatīri which have been mentioned above, the Paṇḍit world would give a very high place, next only to the works of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. This praise by the Paṇḍits is not indeed excessive, for in these works we have excellent poetry characterised by a natural freshness and never marred by artificial conceits.

Another short work of Bhaṭṭatīri is the *Kocchinagaravarṇana*, a treatise written at the instance of King Vīrakerala Varma (1603-1615). A Devanāgarī edition of this work is available. It is a small prose work, being practically one sentence running to about twenty pages.¹⁵ Another work that may be assigned to him is the *Rāsavilāsakāvyaṃ* which is of considerable merit.

Bhaṭṭatīri is furthermore the author of two religious lyrics—the *Nārāyaṇīyam* and the *Śrīpādasaptati*. We have already referred to the circumstances in which the first of these works was produced. Our

13 Vide the writer's paper on 'Kuthu' published in the *QJMS.*, XII, 2, pp. 183-195.

14 Iravi Cākyar, alias Ravinartaka, figures as the author of a small Kāvya, *Cāṇakya-kathā*, published in the Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 6. The writer has a manuscript copy of the work.

15 The writer has noticed this work in the paper contributed to the Sixth All-India Conference at Lahore; vide pp. 471-91, vol. I of the Proceedings.

Paṇḍits are of opinion that it is the greatest *stotra* we have. Even when due allowance is made for local patriotism, it may be conceded that it is easily the best religious lyric in Sanskrit. It is a brilliant summary in a thousand verses of the *Śrī Bhāgavata* and is characterised by inimitable poetry infused by the sweet fervour of intense faith and devotion. It is one of the most popular books in our land. Numberless editions have appeared in the vernacular script, with and without commentaries in Malayalam; but a standard edition became available only when it was issued by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The *Nārāyaṇīyam* ranks high as a great religious lyric and is for that reason greatly honoured by us all. In the other lyric which is not so well known, are sung the praises of the Goddess enshrined at Mūkkola, Sanskritised as *Muktisthala*, where Bhaṭṭatīri is said to have died. This is also reported to be poetry of a high order.

Bhaṭṭatīri has in addition made his contribution to the *Sāstras* of *Vyākaraṇa* and *Mīmāṃsā*. From his own statement it is clear that, after studying *Vyākaraṇa* under Acyuta Pisharoti, who is the earliest author available in this *Sāstra* in our land,¹⁶ Bhaṭṭatīri wrote his treatise, *Prakriyāsarvasvām* at the request of his patron, Devanārāyaṇa of Ambalapula. This is a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the sūtras being rearranged and commented on to suit the practical point of view, the purpose served being the same as that served by the *Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣitar. Bhaṭṭatīri and his contemporary Dikṣitar were worthy compeers in the same field and the treatise of the one is as original in conception and treatment as that of the other. If tradition is to be believed, they heard of each other and compared their works, whereon Bhaṭṭoji gave the palm to Bhaṭṭatīri, but pointed out one defect in the *Sarvasvām*, namely that it did not deal with *Dhātus*. This tradition apart, the success of the work is attested to by the great popularity that the *Sarvasvām* had in Kerala for a long time. True, it lost its popularity some time later and was replaced by the *Kaumudī*;

16 Pisharoti is the author of the *Praveśaka*, primarily designed for beginners and particularly for Bhaṭṭatīri himself. This serves all the purposes of a practical manual of grammar and it was very popular in our land so long as the traditional method of Sanskrit study was in vogue.

but this was due not to the superiority of the latter, but to its all-India popularity. Bhaṭṭatīri's treatise is now being published in the Tri-vandrum Sanskrit Series and Part I has already come out. It is one of the important contributions in the field of *Vyākaraṇa*.

It has been mentioned that the *Sarvasvam* does not deal with Dhātus. This subject, however, is dealt with in the *Dhātukāvyā*¹⁷ which apparently is supplementary to the *Vāsudevavijaya* of Paṭṭatu Vāsudeva and which elucidates over three thousand roots. This *Kāvyā* thus forms a real supplement to the *Sarvasvam* and both together complete the whole range of *Vyākaraṇa*.

On his own admission, Bhaṭṭatīri studied *Mīmāṃsā* under his own father and in this *Sāstra*, he has produced a work of no mean merit. He is the author of the *Māna* portion of the *Mānameyodaya*, the *Meya* part being written by another Nārāyaṇa, well-known as Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. This is a unique *Prakarāṇa* work, and it occupies an important place in the scheme of *Mīmāṃsā* studies. In this treatise, an attempt is successfully made to establish the six *Pramāṇas* advocated by the Kumārila school, after refuting the various views on *Pramāṇa* advanced and accepted by the other schools particularly by the Prābhākara and the Naiyāyikas. The *Mānameyodaya* is referred to as a work of great philosophical importance, in which 'Kumārila epistemology and metaphysics are interestingly summarised'.¹⁸

It may be noted here that Bhaṭṭatīri's scheme was to deal not merely with the *Pramāṇas* but with the *Prameya* as well, as is stated in the second of his opening verses. But since the *Meya* is written by another Nārāyaṇa, the presumption evidently is that Bhaṭṭatīri did not live to finish his work. If this view is tenable, then the *Māna* constitutes the last work of Bhaṭṭatīri.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri was undoubtedly the most outstanding figure in the realm of letters during his age and no later scholar has been able to usurp his place. Even today he ranks as the greatest figure. It now remains to notice his date. Following the usual custom

17 Prof. Keith refers to a *Dhātukāvyā*, vide page 133 f.n. This work evidently must be different or the information given there is wrong.

18 Vide Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 474.

of Malayali writers of a later date, Bhaṭṭatīri has given us a few *Kali* chronograms in his works. Thus the *Nārāyaṇīyam* he finished on the date expressed in the *Kalirūcakam*, *āyurārogyasaukhyam*, which works to about 1587 A.D. Two chronograms are reported to be present in his *Sarvasam yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syād* and *kṛtārāgarasodhya*, and these give us the dates February and March, 1617 A.D., the interval of two months being held to be the period in which he wrote his grammatical master-piece.¹⁹ But this does not appear to be quite acceptable for there is the real difficulty of getting such a work done in two months. There is also the question whether we are justified to take both these as *Kalirūcakas*. The first of these alone deserve to be taken thus, and in that case, we have the date 1617 as the date on which he began his *Sarvasam*. There is also a statement recorded in an astrological treatise which says that Bhaṭṭatīri lived for twice 53 years.²⁰ From the *Kalis* mentioned above, it will be seen that Bhaṭṭatīri must have finished his education and entered upon literary career before 1587 A.D. and his greatest work, *Prakriyāsarvasam*, he began in 1617. When it is remembered that his first work was the *Nārāyaṇīyam* and that he entered upon higher studies later in life than usual, it may be legitimate to hold that Bhaṭṭatīri was born in the middle of the 16th century, and when to this is added the statement that he lived for 106 years, we have a fair approximation of his date 1550-1656. In his introduction to the edition of *Prakriyāsarvasam*, the editor says: 'Historians assert that Bhaṭṭapada lived for 106 years from 1560 to 1666 A.D.' We have not been able to find out the basis of this statement, but it agrees fairly with the approximation we have arrived at.

Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri is held to be the last of the many great intellectual giants that Kerala has produced. He is one of our greatest Sanskrit poets as he is also the greatest of our Vaiyākaranas. But he is honoured and respected more as the greatest of our *bhaktas*; and in this realm he is treated with as great respect as Śrī Śaṅkara is in the realm of Advaita philosophy.

K. RAMA PISHAROTTI

The Mādhyamikas and the Tathatā

I hope I shall have some day the leisure of stating in detail the position of the Mādhyamikas. Much has been written lately on this problem by Mr. Stecherbatsky, St. Schayer or Dr. Das Gupta, which does not seem accurate.

The reader will find here the translation of a few lines of the treatise named *Jewel in hand* or *Gem in hand*,¹ a work of Bhāvaviveka (reading of the Sk. Mss.) or Bhāviveka ('Clear distinction' of the Chinese translators). This Ācārya is of opinion that there is not, as wrongly maintained by the Vijñānavādins, a *Tathatā* or *Dharmatā*, "the essential and permanent nature of things". The correct conclusion to be drawn from this negative is that, amongst the Mādhyamikas, Bhāvaviveka-Bhāviveka at least is not a 'monist'. As an orthodox exponent, he definitely considers that Buddhism is alien to every metaphysical interest, being merely a Path leading to final rest by an unconscious and objectless contemplation.

"If it be contended that the *Tathatā*, although it is foreign to words (*abhilāpa*, *vyavahāravivikta*), is nevertheless a reality (*tattva*): in that case, the expression *Tathatā* refers only to the *Ātman* of the Tīrthikas under an other name. Just as the *Tathatā*, although it is a reality, is nevertheless, from the point of view of exact truth, beyond the concepts of being and not-being, it is the same with *Ātman*. The Tīrthikas think that the *Ātman*, which is real, omnipresent, eternal, agent, enjoyer, is nevertheless foreign to every concept (beyond the pale of conceptions). As it transcends the domain of words, and as it is not the object of the dealing-with-ideas-intellect (*vikalpabuddhi*), it is said to be foreign to concepts. The doctrines of the Tīrthikas say: "The words do not go there, the thought does not realise it; therefore it is named *Ātman*."

"The *Ātman* being such, is it reasonable to assert that "the knowledge (*jñāna*) which takes the *Tathatā* as its object, leads to

1 Nanjio 1297, Taisho 1878, vol. 30, p. 275, Col. 1.

deliverence, while the knowledge which takes the Ātman as its object, does not'-? But what is the difference between the *Tathatā* and the *Ātman*, since both are ineffable and real? It is only by *esprit de parti* (*paksagrahaṇa*) that it is so said." To conclude: Bhāvaviveka does not admit this *Tathatā*, which is described both as real and non-existing.²

LOUIS DE LA VALLEE POUSSIN

2 Candrakīrti too condemns the *Tathatā* of the Vijñānavādins, *Vṛtti*, pp. 176 and 264: "Lest the auditors should be frightened we say that there is a *svarūpa* of the fire"

Avadāna and Apadāna

The division of the Buddhist Scriptures into nine aṅgas is well known. It is mentioned repeatedly in the Pāli Canon itself, and has remained constant throughout the Pāli tradition: *Ekacce moghapurisā dhammaṃ pariyāpuṇanti, suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthaṃ udānaṃ itivuttakaṃ jātakaṃ abbhutadhammaṃ vedallaṃ* (M. i, 133). The *Mahāvīyutpatti* however has twelve aṅgas, that is, after *udāna* it adds *nidāna* and *avadāna*, and at the end *upadeśa*.¹ Max Müller in his preface to the *Dharmasaṃgraha*, p. iii, speaks of the Hīnayāna as having nine aṅgas and the Mahāyāna twelve. His statement probably rests upon the fact that the *Mahāvīyutpatti* has a list of twelve, but that this list is Mahāyānic is not at all proved. There is much that is Sarvāstivādin in that work. The *Dharmasaṃgraha* itself has more claim to be considered Mahāyānic, yet it gives nine aṅgas, *navāṅgapravacanāni*. The work is attributed in the colophon to Nāgārjuna himself, and the attribution, even if not correct, must have been made by a Mahāyānist.

The list there given (No. 62) is *sūtra, geya, vyākaraṇa, gāthā, udāna, jātaka, vaipulya, abbhutadharma, upadeśa*. It differs from the Pāli (apart from the minor differences mentioned) by omitting *itivṛttaka* and adding *upadeśa*. It also, like *Mvīyut.*, inverts the order of *vaipulya* (vedalla) and *abbhutadharma*. It is quite possible that it is a Hīnayāna list, but it was evidently accepted by a Mahāyāna writer. Even when we come to indisputable Mahāyāna works, we still fail to find twelve aṅgas. The *Lotus*, ch. 2. p. 46, makes Buddha say :

नवाङ्गमेतन्मम शासनं च प्रकाशितं

and a few lines above it specifies these nine :

सूत्राणि भाषामि तथैव गाथा इतिवृत्तकं जातकमद्भुतं च ।

निदान औपम्यशतैश्च चित्रैर्गेयं च भाषामि तथोपदेशान् ॥

¹ There are minor variations, *itivuttaka* and *itivṛttaka*, *vedalla* and *vaipulya*, which are passed by for the present.

Here are further differences. It retains *itivṛṭṭaka*, but omits *vyākaraṇa* and *udāna*. It makes the list up to nine by adding *nidāna* and *upadeśa*, but has no *avadāna*. *Āpamyasataiś ca citraiḥ* is doubtless a poetical equivalent for *vaipulya*, for to a Mahāyānist those works were exactly those 'varied with hundreds of similes'. The *Lotus* is usually reckoned an early Mahāyāna sūtra, but even when we come to a definitely late work, like the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, there is still no *avadāna*. The list in this work (p. 81) has eleven aṅgas, corresponding with *Mṛyut.*, except that it omits *avadāna*. The list recurs later on (p. 86), where there are only ten aṅgas, as it there omits *nidāna* as well.

We are therefore scarcely justified in describing the list of twelve aṅgas as characteristic of Mahāyāna. On the contrary the three aṅgas added to the Pāli list have nothing characteristically Mahāyāna about them. These are *nidāna*, *avadāna*, and *upadeśa*. *Nidāna* is well known in Pāli, though not as a separate aṅga. *Upadeśa* is so little characteristic of Mahāyāna that in the Tibetan collection there is only one item of that name, *Mahāyānopadeśa*, which also occurs as No. 41 in the list of Mahāyāna works in *Mṛyut.*- 65. The case of *avadāna* is still more striking. In the Tibetan collection there are eight items expressly called *avadāna*. One of these is the *Avadānaśataka* itself, and seven others are single *avadānas*, four easily recognisable as from the *Divyāvadāna*, both well known Sarvāstivādin works². This means that the bulk, if not all, of the *avadānas* recognised in the Tibetan as canonical are Sarvāstivādin. The later works known as *Avadānamālā* are Mahāyānist and elaborations by individual poets of the material of the *avadānas*, but they are not a part of the *dvādaśāṅgadharma pravacanam*.

If the term *vaipulya* were an addition in the list of twelve, there would be a reason for calling this longer list Mahāyānist, but it or the corresponding term *vedalla* occurs in all the lists, and it evidently has some relation to *vedalla*. What relation that it is has never been explained. The terms can easily be derived from *vidata* and *vipula*.

² Cf. *Index des Kandjurs*, Nos. 338, 341-7, 356 (St. Petersburg, 1875). Csoma de Koros, *Analyse du Kandjour* (ed. Feer), pp. 284, 285. There are also other *avadānas* there without the name.

respectively, and *vaipulya* as a term for the sūtras 'of great extent' is an intelligible description of such sūtras, but it throws no light on the term *vedalla*. The Pāli word appears to have been beyond the comprehension of the commentators, and the hopelessness of the moderns may be seen from the fact that the Pali Text Society's Dictionary ignores Burnouf's derivation from *vidala*, and suggests (1) that the latter part of the word may be a distortion of *ariya*, (2) that the whole word is from '*vedāṅga*'. It appears as if the Sanskritisers instead of trying to adapt an unintelligible term substituted for it a term of their own which had a familiar meaning. It has to be borne in mind that both Pāli and Sanskrit rest upon an earlier form of the Canon in some form of Prākṛt, and what the word may have been in that Prākṛt we do not know. As *avadāna* forms a very characteristic portion of the Sarvāstivādin literature, it appears probable that the list of twelve aṅgas (the only list mentioning *avadāna*) is really of Sarvāstivādin origin, and that the shorter Mahāyāna lists reproduce portions of this in various ways.

There is general agreement that the works of the type of the *Divyāvadāna* and *Avadānaśataka* originated with the Sarvāstivādins. Through the labours of Nanjio, Anesaki, S. Lévi and others we now have a clear idea of the structure of the Canon of the Sarvāstivādins and other related schools like the Dharmaguptas. Besides the Vinayas, which like the Pāli Vinaya contain a store of legends, there are the four āgamas corresponding to the first four Pāli Nikāyas, and also containing legends. But the *avadānas* are not a part of the āgamas. They consist of collections of legends taken chiefly from the Vinaya and combined so as to form a particular type of literature, the type in fact which forms the aṅga known as *avadāna*. The fact that it was drawn from canonical sources made it an easy matter to treat it as part of the Canon. The sources of its composition have been shown most fully in the case of the *Divyāvadāna* by S. Lévi.³ He has identified more than two thirds of the legendary part as being from the Vinaya of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins. There is also, as in the case of other *avadānas*, much that has been drawn from the sūtras. It is

³ *Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna* in *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 105 ff.

necessary to state these details, because the avadāna literature has sometimes been studied without any recognition of the fact that it is literature of a particular type. Windisch has given an excellent analysis of the *Mahāvastu* without once mentioning that it is an avadāna.⁴ This work belongs to another school, the Lokottaravāda, but it shows the same features of composition as the Sarvāstivādin avadānas, and expressly states its source. It does not, as has been asserted, claim to be the Vinaya, but the 'Great Story' of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* according to the text of the Mahāsamghikas, the Lokottaravādins of Madhyadeśa.⁵ Accordingly the compiler or compilers have gone through their Vinaya and collected all they could find which contributed to the *Mahāvastu*, the Great Story of the career of Śākyamuni, and have put it down with all its repetitions and all the sūtras, vyākaraṇas or jātakas from the rest of the Canon which contribute to the story of any of the characters.

All this literature is very different from what we know of the Pāli *Apadāna*. '*Avadāna*' says Speyer, "is interchangeable with *Apadāna*". This is doubtless true of the etymology of the words. Whatever the root of the word is, there is little doubt that *ava-* is the Prākṛt form of *apa-*, and that the two words coincide in sense in so far as they mean 'glorious achievement' or 'heroic story'. But this does not make them the same type of literature, any more than a novel is an epic. The only prose apadāna in the Pāli Canon is the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* in the *Dīgha N.*, which gives in a schematic form the careers of the last seven Buddhas, while the collection of Pāli apadānas known as *Apadāna* is a work in verse of a uniform character. Neither of them possesses the features of the Sanskrit Avadānas. There was in the Pāli Canon enough store of legends to have made it easy to produce works similar to the Sanskrit compositions, but this was never

4 *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu* (Abh. k. sachs. Ges. d. Wiss., 27), Leipzig 1909.

5 *Āryamahāsamghikānāṃ lokottaravādināṃ madhyadeśikānāṃ pāthena vinaya-piṭakāsyā mahāvastuye ādi. Mahāvastu*, vol. i. 2.

6 This Prakrit origin of the term is another indication of the Sarvāstivādin origin of the avadāna, for it is now recognised that the Sanskrit Canon of this sect was originally Prakrit.

done. Such legends still remain scattered in the *Vinaya* and commentaries of the later commentators. The Sarvāstivādins and related schools remained for centuries in India with a continuous growth, and once the collection of legends in a characteristic form as avadāna was begun, the further development was easy, and so we find the Aśoka legend drawn in. In Ceylon, on the other hand, the Theravādin Canon appears to have been earlier recognised as definitely closed. Hence it is that we never find a mention of Aśoka in the Canon. The Theravādins had the Aśokan legends, much as we find them in the *Divyāvadāna*, but they remained in the commentaries. The Sarvāstivādins by their invention of a new literary form and of a method which preserved the appearance of *Buddhavaṇana* were able to elaborate such legends into an *Aśokāvadāna*. Any legend referring to any period or age could be inserted by the device of introducing Buddha to explain the events recounted of the past or to prophesy about the future destiny of the characters in the legend. It remained *Buddhavaṇana* owing to the portions of Sutta or Vinaya interwoven into the story.

EDWARD J. THOMAS

The Kārdamaka Kings

In the Kanheri Inscription of the *amātya* Śateraka the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi is described as “*Kārddamaka-vaṃśa-prabhavā Mahākṣatrapa Ru.....putrī.*” The Mahākṣatrapa Ru.....has been identified with the Great Saka Satrap Rudradāman I who ruled over Malwa, Gujarat and some adjoining territories about the middle of the second century A.D. The term *Kārddamaka-vaṃśa* has, however, not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (iv. 2) and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (ii. 11) we have a similar expression *Kārddamika*. Dr. Bühler thinks it not improbable that *Kārddamaka-rāja* may have been a title of the Western Kṣatrapas apparently derived from a place called Kārd dama (IA., XII. 273). In this connection he refers to a locality called Kardamila known from the *Mahābhārata*, and also to the expression *Karddama-rāja* which occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VI. 200) as the name or title of a Kashmirian prince. The position of Kardamila has not, however, been indicated by him. As to Karddama-rāja mentioned by Kalhaṇa it is to be noted that it is a personal name which need not have any reference to the *Kārddamaka-vaṃśa* which is undoubtedly a dynastic designation, although (as Rapson points out) it is uncertain as to whether it is the designation of the paternal or maternal ancestors of the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi.

In the *Political History of Ancient India* (third edition, pp. 296, 343) the suggestion has been made that the Kārddamaka family probably derived its name from the river Karddama in Pārasika or Persia (*Pārasīkeṣu Karddama nāma nadī*—Com. on *Arthaśāstra*, ii. 11). The commentator on the *Arthaśāstra* does not, however, give us any indication as to the particular province of Persia where the river in question is to be located. As the Kārddamakas are ancestors of a Saka princess, possibly the daughter of the Great Satrap Rudradāman I, it is permissible to conjecture that they are to be looked for in one of the two regions of the Persian Empire which were specially associated with the Sakas viz. (1) Śakasthāna or Seistan, the valley of the Helmand, and

(2) the vast plains of the Syr Darya or Jaxartes referred to as 'Para-Sugda' in the Hamadan inscription of Darius. In the opinion of Professor Herzfeld, the editor of the inscription, the fertile valley of the Zarafshan river as far as the banks of the Syr Darya, was included within the old Achæmenian satrapy of Bactria or Balkh. And it is interesting to note that there is actual evidence of the existence of an Indian tradition connecting a line of 'Kārdama' kings with Bālhika or Bāhlika, modern Balkh. The Uttara-Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* knows a dynasty of kings whose progenitor is called Kārdameya (ch. 100, 19; 102, 20) or Kārdama (100, 29):—

uttiṣṭhotttiṣṭha rājarṣe Kārdameya Mahābala (100. 19)

na santāpastayā kāryaḥ Kārdameya Mahābala (102. 20)

evaṃ sa rājā puruṣo māsaṃ bhūtvātha Kārdamaḥ (100. 29).

The Kārdamas were closely related to the 'Aila' (lunar) race. They are said to have been descended from a *prajāpati* named *Karddama* (100. 3-7) and ruled over Bālhi or Bālhika:—

śrūyate hi purā saumya Karddamasya prajāpateḥ

putro Bāhlīśvaraḥ śrīmānIlo nāma sudhārmikah.

This Bāhli (Bālhi) or Bālhika (100.7) lay outside the Madhya-deśa (103. 21) and should, therefore, be distinguished from the place of the same name mentioned in the Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa (68. 18) as lying to the west (cf. *Pratyānmukho* of verse 13) of the river Ikṣumatī and to the east of Mount Sudāman and *Viṣṇopadaṃ*. The position of this 'Viṣṇupada' in relation to the Vipāsā (Ayodhyā K., 68. 19) or the Beas suggests that it is identical with 'Viṣṇupada-giri' of the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription of Candrar and, therefore, stood close to Delhi.

Nor is it reasonable to identify the Bālhi of the Uttara-Kāṇḍa with the territory of the Madras in the central Punjab on the strength of some passages of the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi., 113, 3; 125, 21 etc.) because the Madra kings are not styled 'Kārdama,' and the word 'Bālhika' in these passages may very well be a copyist's mistake for Bāhika (cf. the reference in Ādi. 67. 6, to Śalya, king of the Madras, *sa Śalya iti vikhyāto jajñe Bāhika-puṅgavaḥ*). So, too, in the passage '*Darado nāma Bālhikah*', the original reading may have been Bāhika. There is no valid reason for equating the term *Bālhika* with *Bāhika* and *Darada*. If the derivation of the name 'Kārdamaka' from the river

Kārdama in Pārasīka is correct then it stands to reason that the home of the Kārdama or Kārdamaka kings should be identified with Bāl̥hika or Balkh in Irān and not with any territory in India proper.

Thus far we have been dealing with the tradition connecting the Kārdama kings with Bāl̥hika. Have we any tradition about their connection with the Dekkan where the Kanheri inscription has been found? Now, the *Brahmapurāṇa* (IV. 12) connects a son of Prajāpati Kārdama with the *Dakṣiṇā diś*:—

*Dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi tathā
Kārdamasya Prajāpateḥ
putram Saṅkhaṇḍam nāma
rājānaṃ so'bhyasecayāt*

The verse cited above undoubtedly points to a period when the Kārdamas were associated with the Dekkan. The names Kārdama and Saṅkhaṇḍa are doubtless those of eponymous and legendary heroes, probably wholly mythical. But the Kārdamakas are a historic dynasty and tradition recorded in the Epic and Purāṇic literature undoubtedly points to Balkh and that neighbourhood as their early habitat whence they probably migrated to the south. Tradition, it may be conceded, is not history. But it cannot altogether be ignored in attempting an explanation of the term 'Kārdamaka-raṃśa-prabhavā.'

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

What a Deity Represents

There is a great variety of misconceptions prevalent in modern times with regard to the conception of godhead, not only in Hinduism but also in Buddhism. Most people consider the deity to be nothing more than an idol.

The deities are intimately connected, as all students of the Tantras know, with the Sādhana and Siddhi, and the conception of godhead is an essentially spiritual matter.

The Sādhana, as is well known, is concerned with the procedure for worshipping a particular deity. This consists in sitting in meditation in a quiet place, away from crowds, and there practising Yoga till a state similar to deep sleep is brought about. In this state the ascetic communes with the Infinite Spirit, or the inexhaustible store-house of energy, which is supposed to be the creative spirit which created the world structure. The ascetic by this communion draws forth energy from that inexhaustible store-house of energy and becomes powerful himself. This process of the realisation of the Infinite Spirit is what is called Sādhana, and when this Sādhana is practised for a long time with great devotion the ascetic is able to obtain certain supernormal powers which are called Siddhis, or perfections. These perfections are of many kinds, and include revival of the dead, omniscience, miraculous movements, flying in the air, and so forth. Altogether thirty-two kinds of Siddhis are generally recognized, and when an ascetic obtains several of these supernormal powers he is called a Siddha, or a Supernormal Being. In the Tantras, three different types of Siddhas are enumerated, the High, the Middling, and the Low. The highest type of Siddhas are called the Mahāsiddhas, and they are able to fulfil all their desires as soon as they arise in their minds.

The Tantras are, in fact, Sciences dealing with spiritual matters, and giving directions for a variety of psychic exercises. It therefore stands to reason that the Tantra is a Science or a Vidyā requiring competent preceptors and competent disciples. Like all other Vidyās, the Tantra is not open for all and the sundry, but only for those

who are initiated into the mysteries of the science, and are competent to follow the prescribed practices with zeal and patience. These are the right type of disciples for Tāntric practices or what we call 'Adhikārins'. In almost all Tāntric works long chapters are devoted to the qualifications of Gurus and disciples, and there are also rules for testing their respective competence to give or receive initiation.

The Adhikārin must have a certain equipment before he proceeds to receive his initiation in the Tantras from a preceptor. And, in fact, as the path of the Tantra is exceedingly difficult, the disciple is required to have a great deal more equipment than is necessary for pursuing any other Vidyā known to ancient India. First of all, the neophyte must be patient, enduring, devoted and sincere; he must serve the Guru with whole-hearted devotion. But the most important equipment necessary for him is that he should be proficient in the art of Yoga and Haṭhayoga, without which it is impossible to proceed with any Sādhana worth the name, or with any Tāntric practices.

The process for the realisation of the deity, or even the conception of deities, is very detailed, and is given in an elaborate form in the *Guhyasamāja*, a work of the Tāntric Buddhists, written, probably, in the third century A.D. But before an account or a summary is given of this elaborate process, it is necessary to point out that when the Jīvātman and the Paramātman commingle in the highest state of meditation, the mind sky is filled with innumerable visions and scenes, until at last, like sparks, the individual visualises letters or the germ syllables which gradually assume the shape of deities, first indistinct, then changing into perfect, glorious and living forms, the embodiments of the Infinite.¹ These beings are known as deities, and, once visualized, the deity never leaves the ascetic, but becomes instrumental in giving the ascetic more and more spiritual powers. This process of visualization is described in several well-known works.

1 This has been designated in the *Nityotsava* as Parā Śakti by Nityānandānātha who gives the following definition:

यस्यादृष्ट्यो नैव भूमण्डलांशो यस्यादास्यो विद्यते न क्षितीशः ।

यस्याज्ञातं नैव शास्त्रं किमन्यैर्यस्याकारः सा परा शक्तिरेव ॥

नित्योत्सव, पृ० १.

Below are quoted two verses which state clearly the origin of the deities, and their gradual evolution from the germ syllable. In the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* it is said:—

स्फूर्तिश्च देवताकारा निःस्वभावा स्वभावतः ।

यथा यथा भवेत् स्फूर्तिः सा तथा शून्यतात्मिका ॥²

“The manifestations of Sūnya are the forms of deities which are by nature non-existent. Wherever there is manifestation, it must also be Sūnya in essence.”

शून्यताबोधितो बीजं बीजाद्विम्बं प्रजायते ।

विम्बे च न्यासविन्यासौ..... ॥³

“From the right perception of Sūnyatā proceeds the germ syllable, from the germ syllable proceeds the conception of an icon, and from the icon its external representation.”

The equipment necessary for persons competent to worship deities, and the nature of the deities themselves, have already been indicated. It is now necessary to describe in detail from the *Guhyasamāja* the process by which an ascetic is able to visualize the deity. The *Guhyasamāja* calls this process Upāya, or ‘means’, which is recognized as of four kinds: Sevā, Upasādhana, Sādhana and Mahāsādhana. Sevā is again sub-divided into two: namely Sāmānya (ordinary) and Uttama (extraordinary). Of these two, the Sāmānya or the ordinary Sevā consists of four Vajras: first the conception of Sūnyatā; second, its transformation into the form of the germ syllable (Bīja); third, its evolution in the form of the deity; and fourth, the external representation of the deity.⁴ This process has already been explained above.

2 *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, G.O.S. edition, No. 49, p. 51.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

4 *Guhyasamāja*, G.O.S. edition, No. 53, pp. 162-3.

चतुर्विधमुपायन्तु बोधिवज्रं च वर्णितम् ।

... ..

सेवाविधानं प्रथमं द्वितीयमुपसाधनम् ।

साधनन्तु तृतीयं वै महासाधनं चतुर्थकम् ॥

In the *Uitama Sevā*, Yoga with its six limbs should be employed. These six limbs are: *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhyāna*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Dhāraṇā*, *Anusmṛti* and *Samādhi*. *Pratyāhāra* is here explained as the process by which the ten sense-organs are controlled. *Dhyāna* is explained as the conception of the five desired objects through the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas, namely, *Vairocana*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitābha*, *Amoghasiddhi* and *Akṣobhya*. This *Dhyāna* is again sub-divided into five kinds: *Vitarka*, *Vicāra*, *Prīti*, *Sukha* and *Ekāgratā*.⁵

Prāṇāyāma is the control of the breathing process by which breath, which is of the nature of the five *Bhūtas* or elements and the five kinds of knowledge, and is like a bright jewel, is drawn from inside and placed as a lump at the tip of the nose, and is meditated upon.⁶

Dhāraṇā is the meditation of one's own *Mantra* on the heart, and the placing of it on the *Prāṇabindu* after restraining the jewel of the sense-organs. When this is done, *Nimittas* or signs make their appearance. These signs are of five different varieties, and appear

सामान्योत्तमभेदेन सेवा तु द्विविधा भवेत् ॥

... ...
प्रथमं शून्यताबोधं द्वितीयं बोजसंहतम् ।

तृतीयं बिम्बनिष्पत्तिश्चतुर्थं न्यासमन्त्रम् ॥

5 *Guhyasamāja*, p. 163.

सेवा षडंगयोगेन कृत्वा साधनमुत्तमम् ।

साधयेदन्यथा नैव जायते सिद्धिरुत्तमा ।

प्रत्याहारस्तथा ध्यानं प्राणायामोऽथ धारणा ।

अनुस्मृतिः समाधिश्च षडंगो योग उच्यते ॥

दशानामिन्द्रियाणान्तु स्ववृत्तिस्थानान्तु सर्वतः ।

प्रत्याहारमिति प्रोक्तमाहारप्रतिपत्तये ॥

पञ्चकामाः समासेन पञ्चबुद्धप्रयोगतः ।

कल्पनं ध्यानमुच्येत तद् ध्यानं पञ्चधा भवेत् ॥

वितर्कं च विचारं च प्रीतिश्चैव सुखं तथा ।

चित्तस्यैकाग्रता चैव पञ्चैते ध्यानसंग्रहाः ॥

6 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

पञ्चज्ञानमयं श्वासं पञ्चभूतस्वभावकम् ।

निश्चयं पिण्डरूपेण नासिकाग्रे तु कल्पयेत् ।

पञ्चवर्णं महारत्नं प्राणायाममिति स्मृतम् ॥

successively. First is the sign of Marīcikā, or mirage, the second is that of smoke, the third of fire-flies; the fourth of light, and the fifth takes the form of a constant light like a cloudless sky.⁷

Anusmṛti is the constant meditation of the object for which the psychic exercise is undertaken, and by this Pratibhāsa or 'revelation' takes place. After commingling the two elements Prajñā and Upāya, the whole objective world should be conceived as contracted in the form of a lump, and this should be meditated upon in the Bimba or circle. By this process the transcendental knowledge is suddenly realised, and it is known as Samādhi.⁸

For the purpose of visualization it is necessary that the process should be continued for six months, and this should be done, according to the *Guhyasamāja*, always while enjoying all kinds of desires. If within six months the visualisation of the deity does not take place, the process should be repeated thrice while following the rules of restraint duly prescribed. Even with this if the deity is not realised, it should be done by the practice of Haṭhayoga. By this Yoga the ascetic attains the knowledge of the deity.⁹

7 *Guhyasamāja*, p. 164.

स्वमन्त्रं हृदये ध्यात्वा प्राणबिन्दुगतं न्यसेत् ।
 निरुध्य चेन्द्रियं रत्नं धारयन् धारणा स्मृतम् ॥
 निरोधवज्रगते चित्ते निमित्तमुपजायते ।

 प्रथमं मरीचिकाकारं धूम्राकारं द्वितीयकम् ॥
 तृतीयं खट्वोताकारं चतुर्थं दीपवज्ज्वलम् ।
 पञ्चमन्तु सदालोकं निरञ्जं गगनसन्निभम् ॥

8 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

विभाव्य यदनुस्मृत्या तदाकारन्तु संस्मरेत् ।
 अनुस्मृतिरिति ज्ञेया प्रतिभासोऽत्र जायते ॥
 प्रज्ञोपायसमापत्त्या सर्वभावान् समासतः ।
 संहृत्य पिण्डयोगेन विस्वमध्ये विभावनम् ।
 भवति ज्ञाननिष्पत्तिः समाधिरिति संज्ञितः ॥

9 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

दर्शनं च द्विधा यावत् तावत् षण्मासभावनम् ।
 सर्वकामोपभोगैस्तु कर्तव्यं सर्वतः सदा ॥

The above incidentally shows what part is played by Rājayoga and Haṭhayoga in the conception of godhead. It shows, also, that the Tantras begin where Yoga ends. Therefore, the worshippers of deities must be first adepts in Yoga before they make an attempt to follow the more advanced science of the Tantras, which, obviously, is not meant for ordinary people. The conception of godhead in Buddhist as well as the Hindu Tantras is thus philosophically most profound.

The individual soul is called the Jīvātman, while the Infinite is known as Paramātman, and when they combine in the state of the highest meditation, an artificial condition brought about by constant practice of Yoga, the deity appears in flashes or in sparks. The nature of the Jīvātman being finite, it is not possible to realise the Infinite in its entirety, that is to say, the result of the mystic experience of the Jīvātman also remains finite. And as the object for which the worshipper sits in meditation is different in different cases, the deity visualized also becomes different. It is the Bhāvanā of the worshipper which is of the nature of a psychic force, which re-acts on the Infinite Energy, giving rise to different manifestations according to the nature of the re-action. The nature of this re-action is of illimitable variety and, therefore, the resultant deity also appears in an infinite variety of forms, and this is the chief reason why we find innumerable gods and goddesses in the pantheons of the Hindus and the Buddhists. The ascetic who visualises a particular deity, generally makes it a rule to describe the deity and the particular process by which this visualisation took place for the benefit of his disciples, so that the latter may realise the deity in the easiest and most efficient manner.

B. BHATTACHARYYA

दर्शनं यदि वयमाख्येयं दुक्तं नैव जायते ।
 आरभेत त्रिभिर्बारेयथोक्तविधिसम्बरैः ॥
 दर्शनं तु कृतेऽप्येवं साधकस्य न जायते ।
 यदा न सिध्यते बोधिर्हृदययोगेन साधयेत् ।
 ज्ञानसिद्धिस्तदा तस्य योगेनैवोपजायते ॥

On some Tibetan names of the Buddha

Every Sanskrit scholar acquainted with Tibetan and the Tibetan mania for etymological translations must have been puzzled by the two most frequent names of the Buddha in that language, viz., *sañs-rgyas* and *bcom-ldan-hdas*. Are they translations of a Sanskrit compound, such as **सम्यक्संबुद्धः**, or of two uncompounded terms as, e.g. बुद्धो भगवान् or, if not, what is their origin? There are, of course, in Tibetan literature explanations for both of them, but I have seen none, either by a Tibetan or by an Indian or Western or Japanese scholar, which completely answers the question as to their Sanskrit original. I therefore venture to offer my own explanation of these terms.

There can be no doubt, to begin with, that either term is indeed, as Tibetan scholars hold, an *abbreviated compound*. The parts of either are also, excepting *sañs*, easily recognisable, but less so is the reason for which they were compounded.

Sañs means, according to three explanations quoted in his *Dictionary* by Sarat Chandra Das, either 'fully awakened [from the slumber of Avidyā]' or 'purified [from all the sins arising from Avidyā]' or 'liberated [from the beginning]'. Now, as there is no other term in Tibetan which could be regarded as a direct translation of the title बुद्धः and as it is unthinkable that no direct translation of it should have been attempted, we have first of all to ask whether *sañs.pa* may not actually mean 'awakened' or 'awaked'. That this is so, we learn from Jäschke who (on p. 458a of his *Dictionary*) states that in the *Dzanglun* the word is once connected with *ra.ro.ba.las* 'from intoxication' and another time with *gzim.pa.las* 'from a deep sleep'. Associating herewith, as we can hardly avoid to do, the phrase *htshoñ-rgya.bar. hgyur.ba* 'to become a Buddha' we arrive at the conclusion that there must have once been in Tibetan by the side of *htshan.ba*, *tshanis* 'to press into, to stuff' and *sañ.ba*, *sañs* 'to do away with, remove, cleanse' (e.g., in *sñun.sañs* 'the disease is removed') a now obsolete present *htshan.ba* 'to awaken' or 'to awake' with its still existing perfect *sañs*. The latter in *sañs.rgyas*, then, undoubtedly does mean बुद्धः. Why, then, was the Buddha not simply called *sañs.pa*?

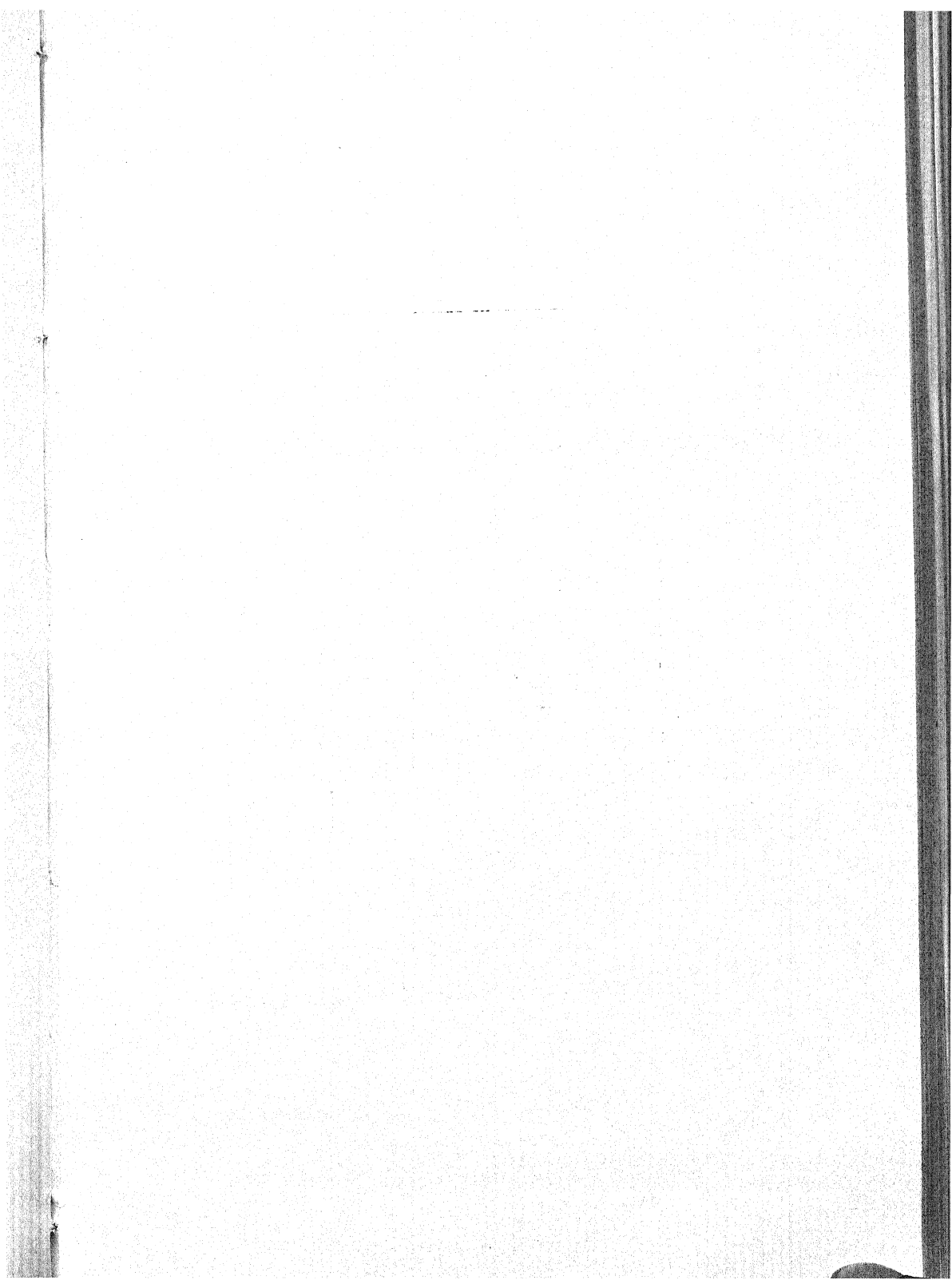
Because of the well known pedantic anxiety of the Tibetans to translate with absolute accuracy. The translators here, as elsewhere now and then, had become aware of the insufficiency of a literal translation. An extreme case of this kind is the translation of वातायनेषु in *Buddhacarita*, III 18, by *rluñ.brgyod.skar.khuñ.rnams.su* where the Tibetan word for 'window', viz., *skar.khuñ* (star-hole) has been added to the literal translation of the Sanskrit वातायनम् (wind-passage), because *rluñ.brgyod* has not in Tibetan the conventionally restricted meaning of वातायनम्. *Saṅs.pa* means 'awakened' in quite a general sense, as also 'removed, cleansed, purified', and it lacks the *positive* sense conveyed by the term बुद्धः. Therefore, to make good for this want and coin a technical term recognizable as such in Tibetan, the addition to *saṅs.pa* of *ye.śes.rgyas.pa* or *śes.rab.rgyas.pa* 'wide (perfect) in wisdom (प्रज्ञा)', was deemed necessary, and thus the compound *saṅs.ye.śes.rgyas* was created and further abbreviated in the same way as many other frequently used compounds. The result was that *saṅs.rgyas* practically ceased to be felt as a compound and was freshly compounded with *rdzogs.pa* (a synonym of *rgyas.pa*) and other 'prepositions' in *mñon.par.rdzogs.par.saṅs.rgyas.par.* = अभि-सं-बुद्धः and *yañ.dag.par.rdzogs.pañi.saṅs.rgyas* = सम्यक्-सं-बुद्धः.

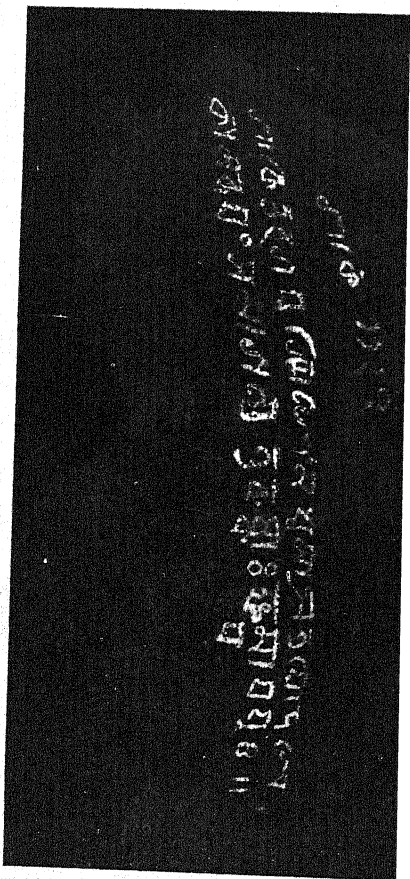
An altogether analogous case is *bcom.lḁan.ḥḁas* 'the victoriously consummated' (Schiefner) or 'he who, sated with conquest, has passed beyond' (Sarat Chandra Das). If *bcom* means भगः 'success, victory' (S. Ch. Das), then *bcom.lḁan* means of course भग-वान्, and the translation of this term alone, and not of a double term of which it was a part, can have been intended. This is also admitted by भगवान् only being given as the Sanskrit equivalent of *bcom.lḁan.ḥḁas*. For what purpose then, was *ḥḁas.[pa]* added? Because *bcom.lḁan* by itself does not mean भगवान् but 'victorious, triumphant [over enemies]' and thus, without an additional label, must be understood as an epithet of kings rather than of ascetics. And there can be but little doubt that *ḥḁas* is nothing but the remainder of a current expression shortened by composition, viz., of *myaṅ-ḥḁas* (being itself a contraction of *mya.nān.las.ḥḁas.pa*) 'which is now the usual, non-literal, Tibetan version of निर्वाण (Jäschke), but really means 'one who has passed away from sufferings', i.e., 'attained Nirvāṇa.'

Among the terms which did not require an additional label, because they are clearly an individual designation, is *de-b'zin.g'segs.pa* 'gone (or come) like those (or that one)', the Tibetan equivalent of **तथागतः**. It is another question whether this Tibetan translation, which follows the usual traditional explanation, is in accordance with the original meaning of the term. I think it is not. To my mind **तथागतः** in primitive Buddhism was just as little used in the literary sense as it is in non-Buddhist Sanskrit where it is (as early as, and probably earlier than, the *Rgveda-Prātiśākhya* synonymous with **तथाभूतः**, **तथागुणः**, **एवंरूपः**, **एवंगतः** meaning 'of such qualities (kind, nature, condition).'. But as a Buddhist religious term the word had, of course, from the beginning a more definite meaning (comp. **तथात्वम्**, **तथता** of later Buddhism), viz. 'being in such a condition [as is most desirable]' = 'the ideal man, the perfect man.' That this original meaning of **तथागतः** was still remembered even when it had already been obscured by scholastic sophistry, is shown by several passages in the Nikāyas such as the one of the *Aggañña-Sutta* translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids (though, curiously, with a foot-note explaining **तथागतः** as 'the thus-come' or 'thus-gone') as follows (*Buddhism*, p. 236): ".....because such names as these, belonging to the Norm (dhamma), or to the Highest; and again, One with the Norm, or the Highest, are tantamount to Tathāgata."

Note.—The author wishes to state that the usual method of transliterating Tibetan, as applied by the editor to the above paper (the manuscript of which has the Tibetan words in the native script), is not the one recommended by him. For the latter (which in his opinion is also preferable to Professor Liebhich's recent suggestions on pp. 238 ff. of his *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*) he begs to draw attention to his review of Jaschke's *Tibetan Grammar*, new edition, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1931, columns 760-762.

F. OTTO SCHRADER





Kūṁāibadī Inscription

I.H.Q., March, 1933

*By the courtesy of the
Rungpore Sahitya Parishat*

Muhammad Bakhtyar's Expedition to Tibet

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1927, on page 843, Mahamahopadhyaya Padmanath Bhattacharyya, in the course of a criticism of the second edition of Gait's *History of Assam*, referred to an important rock-inscription. It is situated at a place called Kānāi-badaśi-bāoā, about a mile north-east from the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, opposite the east-end of the town of Gauhati in Assam. It records, both in figures and words that on the 13th of Caitra, in Śaka 1127, the Turks or Turuṣkas were annihilated on reaching Kāmarūpa. The Mahamahopadhyaya says that the date corresponds to the 27th March, 1206 A.D.

The record at that time did not attract the attention it deserves. The Mahamahopadhyaya has re-edited the inscription with a fair illustration in his recent publication *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali* (Inscriptions from Kāmarūpa), Introduction, p. 44. This excellent publication, in which all the inscriptions relating to Kāmarūpa have been brought together, with the texts in Nāgarī characters and with Bengali translations and illustrations, would certainly have attracted the attention of Indologists all over the world, had it been published in English.

Through the courtesy of Mr. K. L. Barua, Minister to the Government of Assam, I obtained a fresh photograph of the Kānāibadaśi inscription. The Mahamahopadhyaya's transcription of the text is perfectly right. I give the text and its translation below.

Śaka 1127

Śake turagayugmeśe Madhumāsātrayodaśe/

Kāmarūpaṃ samāgatya Turuṣkaḥ kṣayamāyayuh//

Translation :—In Śaka (expressed by) Horse, Two and Iśa (horse=7, Two=2, Iś=11, i.e., 1127) on the 13th of the month of Madhu (i.e. Caitra), the Turuṣkas obtained annihilation on arriving in Kāmarūpa.

The Mahamahopadhyaya has worked out the equivalent of the date as the 27th March, 1206 A.D. The Śaka dates are traditionally reckoned in completed years. So this date would mean, when 1127 years

had been completed and when it was the 13th Caitra of the next year. During this period, the solar year began on the 25th March, according to the Julian Calendar. So the last day of the month Caitra, the 30th Caitra corresponded to the 24th March. Thus the 13th Caitra, 1127 Śāka, corresponds to the 7th March, 1206 A.D.

This record has naturally been taken to refer to the historic disaster that overtook Muhammad Bakhtyar and his aggressive army on their return march from his expedition to Tibet. The date of the disaster can fairly accurately be calculated from the records in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. It expressly states that the disaster happened in 602 H (Raverty, p. 573). The month and date of the event are indicated by the following account of Muhammad's broodings at Devkot, when he reached the place after the disaster. "During the adversity, he would be constantly saying—"Can any calamity have befallen the Sultan-i-Ghazi, that my good fortune hath deserted me!" and such was the case, for at that time the Sultan-i-Ghazi, Muizzuddin Muhammad-i-Sam had attained martyrdom" (Raverty, p. 572). This event happened on the 1st Shaban, 602 H (Raverty, pp. 484-85). This date corresponds to the 13th March, 1206 A.D. by the Julian reckoning. So it was by this date that Muhammad was brooding over his misery at Devkot. The disaster in Kāmarūpa took place immediately before this date and is strangely confirmed by the Kānāibadaśī inscription which says that the event happened on the 7th March, 1206 A.D.

The site of the Kānāibadaśī inscription, practically opposite modern Gauhati, gives rise to the presumption that the encounter between the forces of Kāmarūpa and the retreating Turks took place not far from the place of the record and the victorious party exultingly recorded their victory at the place where their leaders were in waiting. As the topography of Muhammad Bakhtyar's campaign has never been satisfactorily settled and Raverty's comments made confusion worse confounded, it would be useful if we study the text of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* afresh. The text, as translated by Raverty, is therefore quoted below with necessary comments.

TEXT

"After Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar possessed himself of that territory (Rai

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Lakhmanīāh's) he left the city of Nudiah in desolation and the place which is (now) Lakhnawati he made the seat of Government.....

"After some years had passed away and he had ascertained the state of the different mountain tracts of Turkistan and Tibbat to the eastward of Lakhnawati, the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistan and Tibbat began to torment his brain; and he had an army got ready and about 10,000 horse were organised.....One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kunch and Mej whom they were wont to call Ali, the Mej, fell into the hands of Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar, the Khalj, and at his hands also, the former adopted the Muhammadan faith. He agreed to conduct Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar into those hills and act as guide; and he brought the latter to a place where there is a city, the name of which is Burdhan (kot)." Raverty, p. 559.

COMMENTS

It is necessary to study Rennell's Bengal Atlas, sheet No. V closely in order to ascertain the topography of Muhammad Bakhtyar's route during this expedition.

Raverty has not discussed the starting point of the expedition. Blochmann says:—'He seems to have set out from Lakhnautī or Devkot' (*JASB.*, 1875, p. 282). But there is no talk of Devkot yet, which is mentioned as the place where Muhammad took shelter after his discomfiture. The seat of Government was fixed at Lakhnautī and the expedition must be taken to have started from Lakhnautī.

The direction in which the troops proceeded is not mentioned. Rennell's sheet No. V shows a bewildering maze of roads. There is no doubt about the fact that Muhammad had communication from the king of Kāmarūpa on the way to Tibet and was held up and worsted by the forces of Kāmarūpa on his return from Tibet. Also, before starting, Muhammad made inquiries regarding the state of the country *eastwards* of Lakhnautī and not in any other direction. So, when starting from Lakhnautī, his first object was to proceed eastwards and reach Kāmarūpa. The easiest way to do so was to follow the highways that led to the east. A glance at the map will show the routes that were open to Muhammad. Three principal roads can be distinguished. The northernmost one starts from Māldā, reaches Dinājpur via Devkot (Damdamāh) and passes through Rangpur, Kudīgrām and Dinhatā to Rāngāmātī. The

second more southerly route joins the first route at Kuḍigrām after passing through Nisānpur, Buxyganj, Ghodāghāt and Ulipur. The southernmost route bifurcates from the second route at Nisānpur, passes straight east by Kāñchan to Śibganj where it crosses the Karatoyā and then it goes north to Govindaganj and Bardhankuṭhi and joins the second route a few miles further north.

The narrative of the *Tabakat* expressly states that Ali Mech led the army to a city called Burdhankot. It will be seen later that possibly Ali Mech was not with the army at this stage. Any way, the army came to Bardhankot. Raverty cites some variants of the name from different manuscripts, one of which is Murdhan or Murdhankot. If Murdhan be the correct name of the place to which the army was led, Nek-Marddan, the famous cattle fair in the Dinājpur district at once suggests itself. The place is 37 miles northwest of Dinājpur and 16 miles south-west of Tākurgāon, a subdivisional town of the district. From time immemorial, a cattle fair, the biggest in Bengal, is held every year at this place, which, of itself is not of much importance now, having only about 500 inhabitants (*Dinajpur Gazetteer*, p. 139). The persistence of this extraordinary fair at this place is an evidence of its ancient glory. The place is directly north of Lakhnauti and on the high road leading to the north. From Nek-Marddan which is in Mālduār State (about eight miles north-west of Pīrgañj) the road passes north-east-east by Gobinagar, Cālpauni, Lālbāzār and Cooch-Behār to Rāngāmāti. Muhammad may have preferred this route to the southern routes in order to avoid crossing a number of rivers near their mouths, where they are the broadest. But the prefix Nek of the name Nek-Marddan is a difficulty hard to reconcile. This route, again is undoubtedly more circuitous than the other three and passed through more jungly and less civilized tracts. A man of common sense is more likely to prefer marching through inhabited tracts with plenty of provisions. The southern routes thus get preference and as a place called Bardhankuṭhi actually stands on the southernmost route, this has naturally to be preferred above all others. It is necessary to recall at this stage what the *Tabakat* says about Burdhankot.

TEXT

"They relate after this manner that in ancient times, Shah Gushtasib returned from the country of Chin and came towards Kamrud and by this route got into Hindustan and founded that city (Burdhankot). A river flows in front of that place, of vast magnitude, the name of which is Begmati; and when it enters the country of Hindustan, they style it, in the Hindu dialect, Samund (ocean); and in magnitude, breadth and depth, it is three times more than the river Gang. To the banks of this river, Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar came and Ali, the Mej, joined the army of Islam."

COMMENTS

The fact that the text is corrupt was noticed by Raverty himself, as he says in a foot-note:—"The reader cannot fail to notice that considerable discrepancy exists here in our author's statements respecting this river and bridge."

Ali Mech is said in the last passage to have conducted the army to Burdhanakot, in front of which flowed the large river, three times as big as the Ganges. But in the passage under discussion, Muhammad is said to have arrived at the bank of this big river, where Ali Mech joined him. These two statements are contradictory. Which of these two statements is right? Muhammad certainly did not require a guide in the territory under his immediate occupation. And the region of Bardhankuthi, if not within the territory of Muhammad, cannot have been far beyond it. Thus, the probability is in favour of Ali joining Muhammad on the bank of the great river. Up to Bardhankuthi and even beyond, Muhammad could very well manage for himself.

Bardhankuthi is close to Govindagañj in the present Raigpur district, on the Raigpur-Bogrā border. It is about 20 miles north of Bogrā civil station and 12 miles north of Mahasthāngarh. Govindagañj stands on the left bank of the Karatoyā and Bardhankuthi is about a mile to its east. Govindagañj is prominently marked on Rennell's sheet No. V on 1° east Calcutta Longitude and Bardhankuthi is also shown close to it, mis-spelt Burgancooty. It is a place of high antiquity and is at present the residence of a Zamindār, whose ancestors during the 16th century A.D. were proprietors of the big zamindari of Ghodāghāt, comprising—"the greater part of the Dinājpur district,

a portion of Raṅgpur in the south and nearly the whole of the districts of Bogrā and Māldā.' (*Rangpur Gazetteer*, p. 137). The present Dinājpur Rāj Estate was formed out of this big Zamindārī of Ghodāghāt.

The large river in front of Burdhankot which Minhaj calls Begmatī presents some difficulty. It was thrice as broad as the Ganges. This name and description has given rise to an amazing amount of confusion. Raverty (pp. 561-62, f. n.) recognises that this description suits only the great Brahmaputra river. "From what he says about the size, we are led to conclude that this river Begmatī or Bekmatī must be the Brahmaputra; but what part of it is the question to be solved".

Blochmann is of different opinion. He says:—"According to Minhaj, a large river flows in front of (*dar pesh*) the town. This can only refer to Karatoyā, which formed so long the boundary of ancient Muhammadan Bengal and later, of the Koch and the Koch-Hajo dominions. In fact, it was the boundary between Bengal and Kāmarūpa at the time of the Mahābhārata. Though the river in front of Bardhankot is said to have the name of Bagmatī, no other river than the Karatoyā can possibly be meant" (*JASB.*, 1875, pp. 282-283).

Blochmann is generally very acute and correct in his observations. But it is difficult to support him here. He seems to have forgotten altogether that Bardhankuṭhi is on the eastern bank of the Karatoyā, and to reach Bardhankuṭhi, Muhammad would have had to cross this river, three times as broad as the Ganges. And then, having crossed over to the Kāmarūpa side, it would not have been necessary for him to march along its bank for ten days and at last take the help of a bridge to recross it. Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur, late of the Archaeological Survey, saw this difficulty and in a Bengali article in the now defunct Journal *Sāhitya* for *Śrāvan*, 1320 B.S. (1918 A.D.) he proposed to identify Burdhan(kot), with Paṇḍravardhana, present Mahāsthāngarh, on the west bank of the Karatoyā. But it has yet to be proved that Paṇḍra-Vardhana was ever called simply Bardhan or Bardhankot, or that the place, which has long been known as Mahāsthān and whose identification with Paṇḍravardhana was so long a difficult problem, retained its name as late as 1200 A.D.

Then the size of the river is a difficulty which cannot be lightly overcome and can hardly be made to fit the Karatoyā.

Karatoyā, as marked on Rennell's map, is an insignificant stream (1783 A.D.). On Vanden Brouke's map (1631 A.D.? *Akbar* by V. A. Smith, p. 473: 1660 A.D.? *Rangpur Gazetteer*, p. 9), Ghodāghāt and Sherpur-Murchā are shown on its bank. There, it is a much larger river than on Rennell's, but it is shown to originate from the Brahmaputra and is much thinner in comparison. The silly tradition that at one time, Karatoyā was so large a river that Sherpur-Murchā in the Bogrā district stood on its western bank and *Daskāhaniā*-Sherpur in the Jāmālpur subdivision of the Mymensing district stood on its eastern bank, has found place in many books. The latter place is said to be distinguished as *Daskāhaniā* because ten Kāhans of cowries ($4 \times 20 \times 16 \times 10$ cowries) were charged by the ferryman as his fees for ferrying a man across. The absurd nature of the tradition will be apparent from the fact that the two places are now about 45 miles apart.

From the fact that Karatoyā is still flowing under the ramparts of the old fort at Mahāsthān, it may be inferred that in this region at least, it has not changed its course much. The river is at present a mere dry streamlet but we may judge the greatest width it ever attained by tracing its old banks. And the old banks of the river are distinctly traceable, nearly a mile apart (*Bogra Gazetteer*, p. 9). This agrees very well with its sketch on Vanden Brouke's map. It is very doubtful if this hill-stream ever attained a larger width.

Thus Raverty's assumption that by the description, we cannot think of any other river than the Brahmaputra, which, even on Rennell's map is about five miles wide in places, appears to be right. But Brahmaputra is even now about 14 miles east of Bardhankuthi, and on Rennell's map the distance is greater. Then again, Brahmaputra is a well-known name and the only other name by which the river is sometimes designated is Lauhitya. But the *Tabakat* calls it Begmatī or Bekmatī. The variants are Beg-hati, Bakmatī, Bagmatī, Bangmatī, Magmadi, Nangmatī and Nagmatī. When such confusion is found to exist with regard to such a remarkable topographical feature as the great Brahmaputra river, common sense would dictate that there is certainly some corruption of the text here.

The clue to the solution of this difficulty is to be found in the sentence:—"A river flows in front of that place, of vast magnitude, the name of which is Begmatī; and when it enters the country of Hindustan, they style it in the Hindui dialect Samund". This would suggest that at that place of which the author is speaking, the river had not yet entered the country of Hindusthān. That is, the place in front of which the river was flowing was outside Hindusthān. Can this be said of Bardhankuṭhi, only 12 miles north of Mahāsthāngarh? This must be some place in Kāmarūpa, beyond the eastern limit of North Bengal. Two variants of the name Begmatī are remarkable, viz. Baṅgmātī and Naṅgmātī. This name is practically identical with the name Raṅgmātī, if the initial letter be taken to be *re* instead of *be* or *nun*. With the name read as Raṅgmātī, before which the Brahmaputra flows even to this day and to which all the roads previously described which lead to Kāmarūpa converge, we at once land upon the solution. The author is speaking of Rāṅgāmātī on the gate to Kāmarūpa and of the broad river flowing in its front, without actually naming the river. This emendation at once solves all difficulties. Ali Mech very naturally joins Muhammad here to guide him through Kāmarūpa to Tibet. The broad river actually flows before Rāṅgāmātī, and not before Bardhankuṭhi on the eastern bank of the Karatoyā. It is by the northern (right) bank of the Brahmaputra that Muhammad marches towards Kāmarūpa starting from Rāṅgāmātī, and not along the right bank of the Karatoyā to Darjeeling or Sikkim, as Blochmann erroneously supposed. All the facts adjust themselves naturally and correctly with the very plausible change of *be* or *nun* into *re*. The text therefore should be emended in the following manner. The emendations and additions are italicised:—

"He agreed to conduct Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar into those hills and act as guide. *Muhammad came* to a place where there is a city, the name of which is Burdhan (kot). They relate after this manner that in ancient times, Shah Gushtasib returned from the country of Chin and came towards Kamrud and by that route got into Hindustan and founded that city (Budhankot). *Following that route, Muhammad came to a place called Rāṅgāmātī*, in front of which place flows a river of vast magnitude.....three times more than the river Gang".

A look at the map will show the importance of Rāngāmāṭi as guarding the gate of Kāmarūpa. The place was of very great strategic importance in old days; but its importance has dwindled down to such an extent that it is not even shown on modern maps. Buchanan, writing about 1809 says:—"It is said that the extent of the town from east to west was about six miles and that in this space was included 52 markets. The only traces of public buildings are those of a fort and a mosque. Those of the former show no appearance of strength.....The mosque is small and rude" (Martin's *Eastern India*, III, p. 472).

TEXT

"To the banks of this river Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar came and Ali, the Meḡ joined the army of Islam; and for a period of ten days, he took the army up the river among the mountains until he brought it to a place where, from remote times, they had built a bridge of hewn stone and consisting of upwards of twenty arches. After the army of Islam passed over that bridge he (Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar) installed there, at the head of the bridge, two of his own Amirs, one a Turk slave, and the other a Khaliḡ, with troops, in order to guard it until his return. Then Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar, with the whole of the rest of his forces passed over that bridge; and when the Rāe of Kamrud became aware of the passage (over the bridge) by the conquering troops, he despatched trustworthy persons saying:—"It is not proper at this time to march into the country of Tibbat and it is necessary to return and to make ample preparations, when in the coming year, I who am the Rāe of Kamrud, agree that I will embody my own forces and will precede the Muhammadan troops and will cause that territory to be acquired." Muhammad-i-Bakhtyar did not in any way accept this counsel and he turned his face towards the mountains of Tibbat."

COMMENTS

Raverty's translation of this portion of the *Tabakat* was probably published about 1875 A.D., because Blochmann could comment on it in his third contribution on the History and Geography of Bengal published in the *JASB* for 1875. Twenty-five years before these publications, an article by Major Hannay appeared in the *JASB*. for 1851, No. iv, p. 291, giving an account of a stone bridge, about 8 miles north-west of northern Gauhāṭi, as the town on the northern bank of

the Brahmaputra, opposite modern Gauhāṭi, is called. The bridge was at a place called Śilhāko (lit. Stone bridge). My friend Mr. Manoranjan Mukherjee, informs me that the bridge was situated over a hill-stream, about three miles north-west of the Railway station Chutiāpādā, which station, again, is about four miles north of Āmingāon, the terminus station.

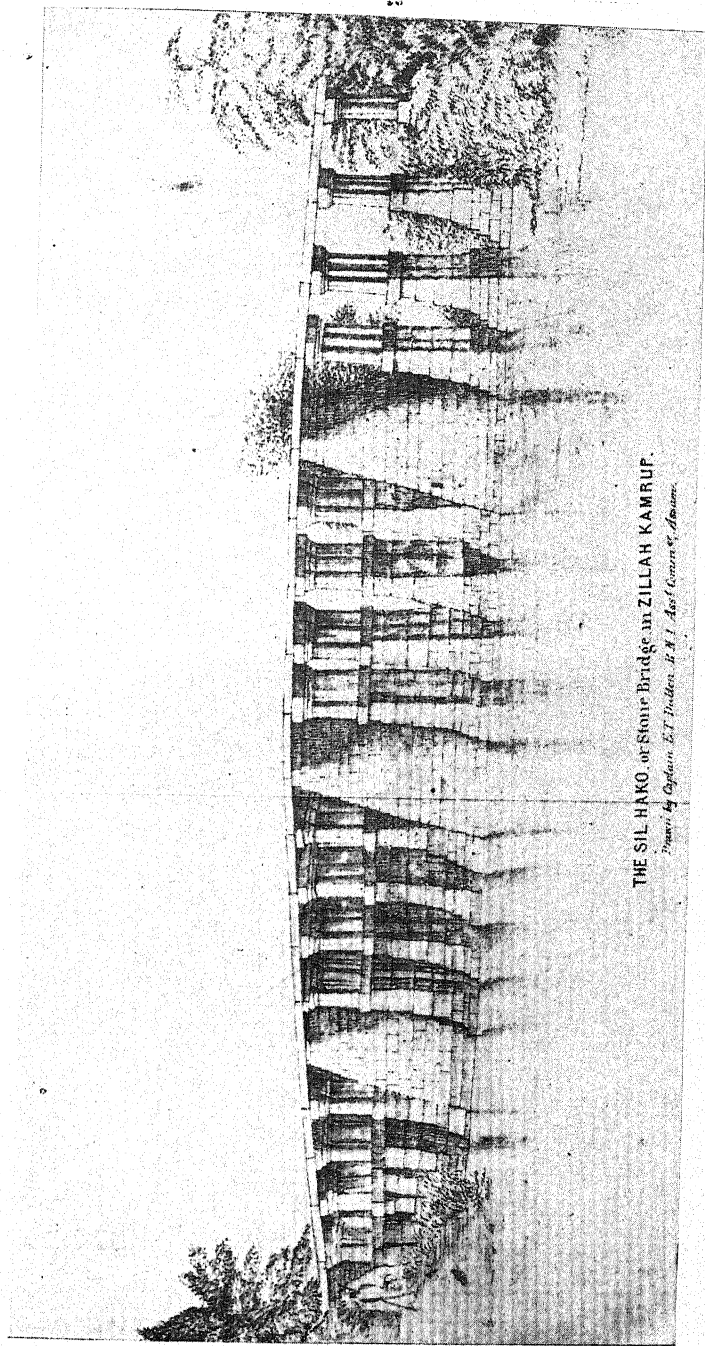
A very good illustration of the bridge accompanies Major Hannay's article and a copy of it is reproduced here.

"This bridge," says Major Hannay,—“a remnant of ancient times in Kamrup, is situated about 8 miles north-west of Northern Gowhatty, on the high alley which, no doubt, formed at one time, the principal line of land-communication with ancient Gowhatty (Pragjyotisa) and western Kamrup, and is built across what may have been a former bed of the Bor Naddi, or at one particular season, a branch of the Brahmaputra, appearances now indicating a well-defined water-course, through which, judging from marks at the bridge, a considerable body of water must pass in the rains, and at that season, from native accounts, the waters of the Brahmaputra still find across to it.

The structure is of solid masonry.....There are no arches, the superstructure being a platform, with a slight curve, 140 feet long and eight feet in breadth, composed of slabs of stone six feet nine inches long and ten inches thick, numbering five in the whole breadth resting on an understructure of 16 pillars, three in a row, equally divided by three large solid buttresses; with a half buttress projecting from a circular mass of masonry, forming the abutments at each end of the road, there being in the whole length 21 passages for water.

“.....if we could suppose that the expedition of 1205-6 came in sight of the Brahmaputra at Rangamati, crossed the Manash and marched through Northern Kamrup, the possession of which would oblige the Raja to submit, it is not improbable that this is the stone bridge over which Bactyar Khilji and his Tartar cavalry passed, previous to entering the outworks of the ancient city of Gowhatty (or Pragjyotisha) the bridge being but a short distance from the line of hills bounding Gowhatty on the North N. W. and West, on which are still visible its line of defences extending for many miles on each side from N. W. gate of entrance or pass through the hills.

The Muhammadan general is also said to have been obliged to return from an advanced position (perhaps Chardoar) hearing that the Raja of Kamrup had dismantled the stone bridge on his rear: now, it is quite evident from the marks

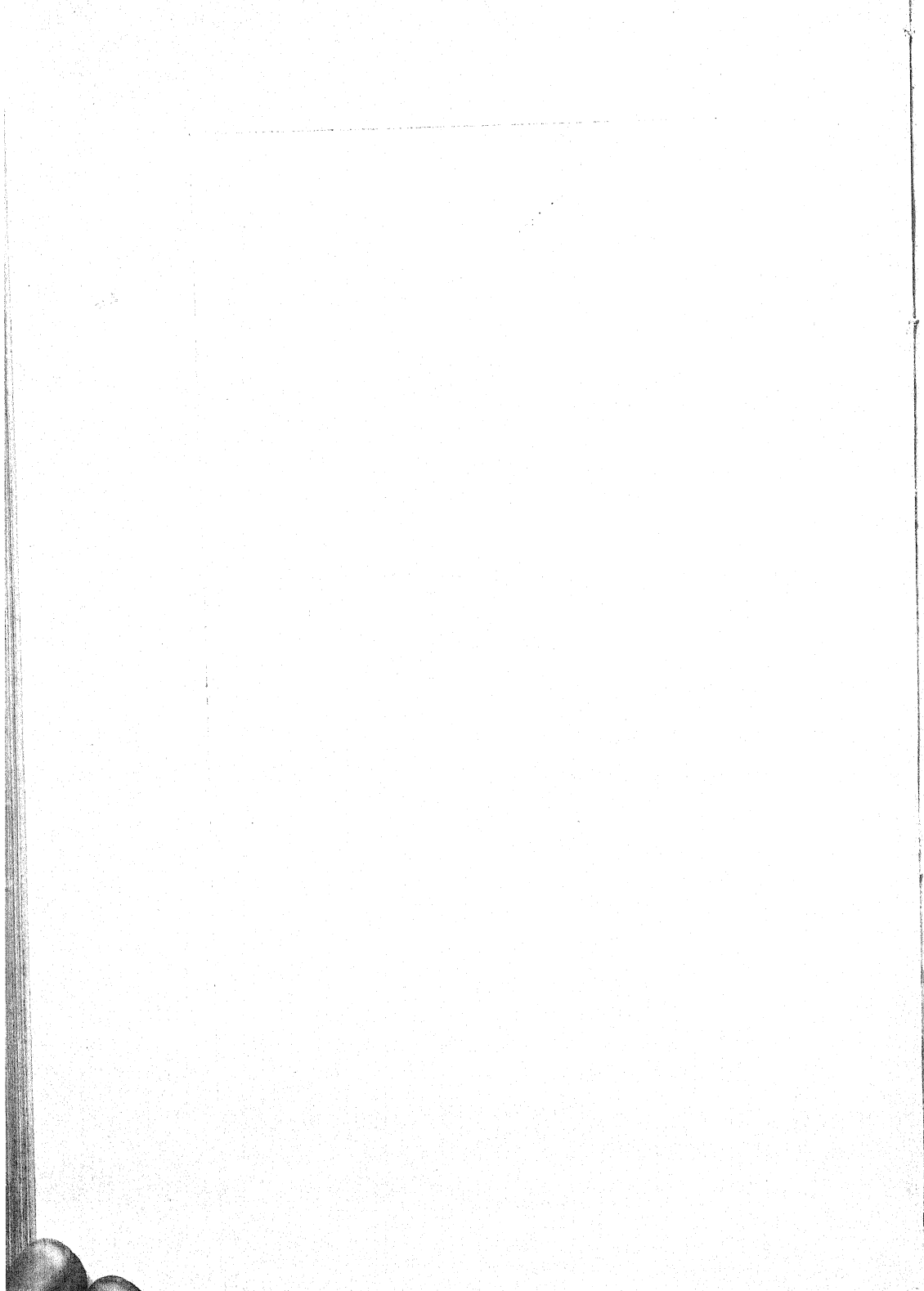


THE SIL-HAKO, or Stone Bridge in ZILLAH KAMRUP.

Drawn by Captain E.T. Holden, R.E. and Collected by Messrs. J. and W. G. Allen.

I.H.Q., March, 1933

By the courtesy of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal



on the stones of the platform that they had been taken off and replaced somewhat irregularly."

I have quoted in extenso from Hannay as no other good description of the stone bridge at Silhāko is available, and Hannay's description is now 81 years old. I learn from Mr. Manoranjan Mukherjee as well as from Mr. K. L. Barua that the bridge collapsed through the terrible earthquake of 1897. Some of the stumps of the pillars and buttresses are still standing. Many of the detached stones were carried away to Barpetta, about 40 miles west of Silhāko and employed there in building a temple.¹

It is striking, how the strong common sense of a military official got at the truth where scholars like Raverty and Blochmann heaped confusion on confusion. Stone bridges are not as plentiful as blackberries in Bengal and Assam. In fact, no other stone bridge of equal dimensions appears to be known in Bengal or Assam. The one at Silhāko had 21 openings for the passage of water, while Tabakat speaks of the bridge over which Muhammad passed as having 'upwards of twenty arches'. Hannay very pertinently suggests Rāṅgāmāṭi as the place where the Muslims struck the Brahmaputra; but yet it did not occur either to Raverty or to Blochmann that this might be the Baṅgmāṭi or Naṅgmāṭi of the *Tabakat*. The discovery of the Kānāi-baḍaśī rock inscription about 12 miles south-east of Silhāko now makes it almost sure that this must be the stone bridge over which Muhammad passed. But all the same, it is necessary to examine the grounds on which Blochmann and Raverty rejected the identification.

Blochmann takes Muhammad to the vicinity of Darjeeling, following the course of the Tistā and thus could not find his way to accept Hannay's identification. Raverty examines the question at length. Most of his objections either do not arise or are easily answered, once it is recognised that the Muslim army met the Brahmaputra at Rāṅgāmāṭi and then marched forward along the northern bank of the river. The distance from Rāṅgāmāṭi to Silhāko is about 100 miles and

1 It is very much to be regretted that the Government of Assam did not attempt to restore this priceless monument of antiquity soon after it was shaken by the earthquake. Attempts, I think, should even now be made to restore the monument.

considering the number of rivers to be crossed on the way, it is not unlikely that it took the Muslim army 10 days to cover the distance. Bardhankuṭhi to Rāṅgāmāṭi is about 85 miles and it is also not impossible that the period may refer to the time taken by the army to reach Silhāko from Bardhankuṭhi.

The encounter with the forces of Kāmarūpa shows that Muhammad did not march in a direction totally different to Gauhāṭi, as Raverty supposes. He must have entered Kāmarūpa to provoke the king of Kāmarūpa so. The Kānāibadaśī inscription clearly says, *kāmarūpaṃ samāgatya*, arriving in Kāmarūpa.

We now definitely know that the disaster to the Muslim army took place on the 7th of March, when the norwesters had already begun.

The two arches of the bridge were dismantled with the knowledge that the river was not fordable and that it was difficult to cross it without the bridge. Otherwise, there is no meaning in damaging the bridge.

Raverty has wondered why two such insignificant breaches, of the total length of 13 feet 9 inches should have put the Muslim army into such difficulty. I think it is only fair to credit the king of Kāmarūpa with some sense and to hold that he certainly wanted to make his work of destruction effective. The *Tabakat* says that two of the arches were destroyed; if so, not only were the platforms removed, but the pillars on which the platforms rested must also have been dismantled. And it was certainly no easy task to re-erect those pillars with the help of the exhausted and famished soldiers, the remnant of Muhammad's depleted forces, and get the bridge into working order with a hostile army at the back.

That the Muslim army was allowed to advance so far unmolested might appear strange. It should be remembered that the whole of Hindustan was at the feet of the Muslim invaders by this time and the fate of Bihar and Bengal at the hands of Muhammad must have struck terror into the heart of the king of Kāmarūpa, who was trembling for the safety of his own kingdom. Moreover, if we can judge from the subsequent history of Kāmarūpa and the repeated struggle of its kings with the Muslim invaders, this must have been the time-old military practice of the country. The enemy was allowed to advance even into the heart of the country during the dry season and set on hard with the

onset of the rains. When it was learnt that Muhammad's object was not Kāmarūpa but Tibbat, the king of Kāmarūpa even offered to accompany the Muslim invader into Tibet, if he would again come next year in proper time and with proper equipments. Muhammad did not pay heed to this offer but turned his face towards Tibet and marched forward.

The narrative of the *Tabakat* clearly implies that Muhammad did not advance further eastwards into Kāmarūpa, but turned north from Silhāko.

It is needless to follow the text of the *Tabakat* any further. The Muslim army marched for 15 days through defiles and passes and on the 16th day reached the open country where there was a fort and fought a fierce battle there from day-break to evening and suffered severe losses. Hearing that a vast number of horsemen had gathered at a city called variously Karpattan, Kararpattan and Karampattan about 15 miles from the fort, and would soon come up to meet the invading forces, Muhammad sought safety in retreat. On the return march, the army found the whole country deserted and suffered untold privations. On reaching the bridge, the Muslims found two of its arches broken. Thereupon, they took shelter in a lofty temple in the neighbourhood. The forces of Kāmarūpa came and began to make a strong bamboo wall round the temple from a distance to shut the Muslim army in, as if in a cage. The Muslims cut through this wall, jumped into the river on a false assurance of a ford having been found and were almost entirely drowned. Muhammad somehow got over, reached Devkoṭ and died of a broken heart. According to another account, he was strangled on his sick bed by one of his own followers.

Muhammad, during the 15 days of his march to Tibet from Silhāko, over difficult defiles and passes could hardly have covered more than about 50 miles. That is, he possibly crossed the first line of mountains into Bhuṭān. Tibbat was still far off. It is interesting to note that modern maps show a track actually proceeding straight north from the region of Silhāko and entering Bhuṭān by Raṅgiyā and Tāmbulpur. After crossing the first line of mountains and reaching the valley, we meet with a place called Karu-gompa. This may be the Karpattan or Kararpattan of the *Tabakat*. I know of no work from which the topographical details of this portion of Bhuṭān may be learnt. It would be

interesting to inquire if there is actually a fort on this track, and if Karu-gompa is a walled town. The Muslim army in their panic-stricken condition may have lent ears to many travellers' tales and magnified descriptions of dangers and the actual Karpattan may after all be a small place. Karu-gompa is about 60 miles north from Silhāko.

It would be interesting to identify the site of the temple in which the Muslim army took shelter. It has to be sought for in the vicinity of Silhāko. If the disaster overtook the Muslim army on the 7th March, 1206 A.D., it possibly started $16+16+10+10+10=62$ days earlier, or about the first week of January, 1206 A.D.²

NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI

2 Mr. K. L. Barua suggests that this may be the Gopeśvar temple five miles up the river spanned by the Silhāko. It stands on an eminence called Deo Duar (Deva-dvār). A place nearer Silhāko would seem to be indicated by the narrative. Captain Dalton was of opinion that the temple in question was the great temple at Hajo, seven miles down Silhāko, and near the place where the river falls into the Brahmaputra. (*JASB.*, 1855, p. 8, footnote). The river spanned by the Silhāko is called the Puspābhadrā.

Mr. Barua further suggests that Karam Sathan may be the modern village of Kumrikātā, which is quite close to Daranga where the annual Bhūtia fair is held and where Bhutia ponies called locally Tāngnā (Tāngan) are sold.

The Tamil Śāngam in a Pāṇḍyan Charter of the early Tenth Century A.D.

The following passage in Tamil forms part of the genealogical portion of an important copper-plate charter.¹ The passage in full gives a list of Pāṇḍyas who lived and passed away, but who look, from the description given, very much like legendary characters rather than historical ones. The allusions are clear in some cases, while in others they are far from being clear even as legends. But the part that follows begins with the well known point of the Mahābhārata War, and carries the genealogy down to the establishment of the Śāngam in Madura, and there the traditional portion comes to a stop. The actual genealogy starts thereafter with one that bore the name Parāṅkuśa. For the purpose of the present note, we are not concerned with that portion. We set down the text as it occurs on page 454, and its translation as found on page 460 of volume III, part IV of the *South Indian Inscriptions* published in the Archaeological Survey of India Series:—

mārathar malai-kaḷattaviyaṭ pāratattirpaḥaḍoṭṭiyum Vijayanai Vasu śāpanik-kiyum Vendaliyach churam pokkiyum vaśayil mākkayal puli śilai vaḍavarai neṭṭiyil varaindun taḍampūdam paṇi konḍu taḍāhangaḷ pala tiruttiyum aḍum paśi noy nāḍahaṭṭi ambor chitramuyariyum talai-ālangānattirṇannokkamiruvēndaraik kolai vāḷṭṭalai tumittuk kuraittalaiyin kūttolittum mahābhāratam taṃiḷ-paḍuttum Madhurāpurich-chngam vaittum mahārājarum sārvaḥmaumarum Mahimaṇḍalam-Kāttikandapin.

“He who led the elephants in the Bhārata (war) so as to destroy the great charioteers in a hill-battle; he who relieved Vijaya (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; he who drove (his enemies) to the forest so that they might be scorched up and destroyed (there) and had the blameless (royal emblems) of the big fish, the tiger and the bow engraved on the top of the Northern Mountain (i.e. the Himālayas); he who, securing the services of huge giants, restored many tanks and relieved the country from disease and pinching hunger; he who with a dreadful sword cut off the heads of two kings that advanced against him in the

1 The larger Sinnamanūr Plates, as they are called.

battles at Chitramuyāri and Talaiyālangānam and stopped the dance of their (two) headless trunks and he who had the Mahābhārata translated into Tamil and had established the "Sangam" in the town of Madhura and had ruled the circle of the earth and had passed away."

The first statement has reference to a Pāṇḍya who took part in the Mahābhārata War. The statement actually made here in regard to the Bhārata War is that the Pāṇḍya concerned charged with his corps of elephants in the Bhārata War, so that the Mahārathas (heroes of the chariot) may be suppressed in the field of fighting. The translation made by the Epigraphist leaves a good deal to be desired. The term *malai-kaḷam* is translated as a hill-battle. The compound-word actually is the field in which enemies contend for success. Of course, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar adds a footnote. But the translation given there leaves it still *malai-kaḷam* as the field of battle, taking *malai* for hill and making it the place of battle. *Malai* is the Tamil verb "contend" or "fight". *Kaḷam* is the field. "Charging with his elephants, so that the Mahārathas may fall", would mean that the Pāṇḍya led the elephantry to the destruction of the great charioteers of the enemy. The next statement refers to the Pāṇḍya who helped Arjuna to rid himself of the curse of Vasu.²

The next following statement is that he drove the enemy kings into the desert, so that they may be destroyed. This is a general statement, where he is said to have defeated other kings, and drove enemy kings into the desert as the only safety from his pursuit. This is the usual Tamil expression meaning that the enemy could find no freedom from the victor except by fleeing into the desert for protection. The next is a more definite statement. It is the imprinting of the Pāṇḍyan royal emblems of the time on the face of the Himālayas. This is a claim that is often made by Southern kings, all three of them, at various times. The Southern monarch that is said to have carried his arms successfully so far as the Himālayas, must have been overlord of his

2 This is, according to the *Mahābhārata*, prince Babhruvāhana, Arjuna's son by the Pāṇḍya princess Citrāṅgadā, who fought against him and defeated him in the course of Arjuna's peregrination preliminary to the celebration of the horse-sacrifice. The story will be found in chapters 70-82 of the *Āśvamedhika Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (Kumbhakonam edition).

two colleagues in the South, and if the Pāṇḍya happened to be the overlord, his authority is generally taken to have been acknowledged by the Cola and the Cera, and the emblems of the three together constitute the imperial Pāṇḍyan sign-manual. This is said to have been imprinted on the Himālayas as a sign that the Pāṇḍyan suzerainty had been acknowledged right up to the Himālayas in the north. In historical times a similar claim was made by Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I right up to the banks of the Krishna. His inscription in Poonamallee shows the combined emblem of the three kingdoms similarly. The claim here made is ascribed actually to the Pāṇḍyan hero³ of the *Silapadhikāram*. A victorious march up to the Himālayas has similarly been claimed by the Pallava Simhavarman in his Amarāvati inscription,⁴ and by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III.⁵ Although we cannot be very definite as to the particular individual who achieved this distinction, having regard to the fact that these rulers were in the habit of appropriating such extraordinary achievements of their ancestors to themselves, the reference here seems to be to the one who made claim to this for the first time. Since the hero of the *Silapadhikāram* is described as the Pāṇḍyan Neḍumśēliyan, victor over the Aryan army, it seems likely that this is the person under reference here.

The next following statements deserve careful scrutiny. The first has reference to the vast work of repairs to irrigation tanks carried out by a Pāṇḍyan ruler not with the assistance of human labour but with that of goblins. Of course, the work must have been stupendous and must have been carried out as a measure of famine-prevention. The next following incident is similar in point of character, that is, destroying hunger in the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. Apart from poetical language, this could only mean that the particular Pāṇḍya concerned took steps to give relief to his people at a time when they were bound to suffer from hunger owing to the failure of crops in the country as a result of famine. He is said to have got rid of hunger by measures which are not specifically stated, and to have brought this relief work

3 Book XVII, lines 1-5 and the Epilogue to Book XXIII.

4 *SII*, I, No. 32, ll. 29-39.

5 Sanjan Copper-plates of Amoghavarṣa: *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, No. 26, V. 23.

of his to a conclusion by raising "a picture that was painted in gold". This latter part has been coupled with what follows in the Epigraphist's translation, which makes *Citramuṇḍi* a battlefield like *Talai-ālankānam*. But the language used actually is that he got the country rid of a killing-hunger, and raised the golden picture, as if to say that the removal of the hunger was brought to a conclusion by raising this picture.

How could the raising of the golden picture complete, even ceremonially, the removal of hunger? It would be clear even to superficial readers that this item and the previous one, the large scheme of repairs to irrigation tanks are actually measures of famine-relief. If that be so, is there anything like the raising of a golden picture that could be connected with famine-relief measures; whether anything like the raising of a picture is symbolical of what was actually done? It is nothing more than the celebration of the famous festival to Indra, which brings to a fitting conclusion the vast efforts of the ruler to keep famine out of the country, if his own efforts could do so. That festivals to Indra were largely in vogue in India, we can presume from the familiarity with which comparisons are drawn to *Indradhvaja* and other details connected with it in literature. In the *Śilapadhikāram*, one whole book is devoted to this Indra festival, which seems to have come to a close on the full moon of *Caitra*, the first month of the Tamil year. The self-same festival is referred to in the opening book of the *Maṇimekhalai* as a normal condition of affairs in a Tamil city like *Kāveripattinam*, the Cola capital. That it was not confined to the Tamil country alone, we may presume from the reference to it in the third verse of the fourth *sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa*, where the ladies of the city with their children came to see the coronation procession of *Raghu*.⁶ In commenting on this verse, *Mallinātha* explains what the Indra festival under reference was, and gives us some details as to its celebration. The term *Puruhādadhvaja*, the festival of the raising of which is brought into comparison with the coronation procession of *Raghu*, is explained by the commentator as the festival celebrated by

king with a view to the timely fall of rain. He gives three *śloka*s in explanation thereof, all of them probably from the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa*. The first one⁷ defines the flag as having the form of an elephant, raised on four posts, and fixed up standing in front of the city-gate. 'In this manner the inhabitants of the city celebrated the festival of Indra in the rainy season'. In a second verse,⁸ he gives another definition. The Śakradhvaja is four-sided, in the form of a flag, and fixed in front of the royal-gate of the palace. 'This, people call 'the flag of Indra', and brings health and happiness to the people of the city'. Another verse⁹ quoted in the context explains the purpose, and the verse is addressed to Yudhiṣṭhira. Whoever is the king that carries the flag of Indra in festival procession, in his kingdom the clouds pour the amount of rain wished for, without a doubt. Thus it is clear that the raising of this flag connotes a festival to god Indra with a view to an abundance of rainfall at the proper seasons of the year, and the celebration is a festival conducted by kings. This is exactly the description that we find given of the festival in Bk. V of the *Śilapadhikāram*, and the first book of *Maṇimekhalai* as well, in both of which it is explained as taking the flag on which was a representation of the Airāvata, Indra's elephant, from the front of the building in which is placed Kalpavṛkṣa (the wish-giving tree) of Indra with the eight auspicious signs, and taking it round in festive procession. This festival begins with the announcement by the big drum, placed in the hall dedicated to the Vajrāyudha (the thunder-bolt) of Indra, carried on the back of one of the royal elephants, and the festival announced by beat of drum both when it begins and when it closes, in the temple hall where the image of the white-elephant, Airāvata, is housed. It is not explained so fully in the corresponding portion of the *Maṇimekhalai*, but in substance it is the same. It will be seen from

- 7 गजाकारं चतुस्तम्भं पुरद्वारे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
पौरा कुर्वन्ति शरदि पुरुहूत महोत्सवम् ॥
- 8 चतुरस्रं ध्वजाकारं राजद्वारे प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
आहुः शक्रध्वजनाम पौरलोके सुखावहम् ॥
- 9 एवं यः कुरुते यात्रामिन्द्रकेतोयुधिष्ठिर ।
पर्जन्यः कामवर्षी स्यात्तस्य राज्ये न संशयः ॥

this detailed description that the festival was actually a celebration in honour of god Indra with a view to obtaining rain, and all the features associated with the festival are features in close association with Indra and his royal heavenly paraphernalia, his characteristic weapon, the Vajrāyudha, his special mount Airāvata, his special tree Kalpaka and the flag, all of them alike symbolising the coming of Indra, to which the *Maṇimekhalai* adds the statement (I, ll. 5-15) that, in the days when the great festival of Indra was being celebrated in Puhār, the capital of the colas, by special permission of the god, Indra's heaven itself became empty, and all the gods came down to the Cola capital in various forms to witness the great festival.

The point for explaining the passage in the grant consists in this. That the particular Pāṇḍyan under reference undertook active measures to prevent famine as far as human agencies could provide for it, and assured himself of unfailing timely rain, without which all human efforts would have been in vain, by celebrating this traditional festival to bespeak the good offices of the rain-god Indra. The two statements therefore together constitute work that was done in connection with one particular object, and must be so taken in our interpretation of the passage. Then follows a series of three statements. The first is the achievement of a Pāṇḍyan, who won the victory at Talaiālamkānam, where, on the field of battle, he cut off the heads of the two other crowned kings like himself, and stopped the dancing of the headless trunks. Without all the poetical embellishments, it simply means the two kings, the Cola and the Cera whoever they were, were killed in the battle. The next statement is the doing of the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil, and the next following statement is the establishment of the Sangam in Madhura. Of course, the passage comes to a close with the statement that, after these great kings and *Sārvabhaumas*, or emperors, had ruled and passed away began another series of rulers. The purpose of the grant in doing this is to indicate that when these rulers of old who lived and passed away so gloriously, another set of rulers of modern times began to rule in succession. This manner of stating it gives indication of a comparatively long interval between the one set and the other.

The really interesting question in respect of this passage is whether we should ascribe each one of these events, or achievements, to

a separate ruler, or whether some of these have to be taken together and ascribed to one and the same ruler. This turns out to be of importance particularly with reference to the last three of them. We have seen already that in respect of irrigation-works, and the celebration of the Indra festival, we would be justified in taking the two together as the work of one and the same ruler. Similarly one may be inclined to take the two incidents connected with the *Mahābhārata* together; but that is hardly called for as the active assistance in the war may be the work of a Pāṇḍya sovereign who might even have fallen in battle, from the way that his part in the war is described. The victory that Arjuna's own son won against his father betokens a comparatively young ruler, and, having regard to the additional fact that Arjuna married the princess in the course of his *Tīrthayātrā* he must have come to the throne later in succession to the other. The next one is a general statement, the defeating of contemporary kings which may be ascribed to one Pāṇḍyan of distinction. and may even be common to several. We have pointed out that the imprinting of the Pāṇḍyan emblem on the Himālayas, whether it is actual or merely poetical, is ascribable to a particular Pāṇḍyan from whom, of course, his successors could have assumed it, as is often the case, without any achievement to substantiate it. Then follows the one distinguished for the famine-works referred to, and then comes the next one, the victor at Talaiālamkānam. The Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiālamkānam is a famous figure in the so-called Sangam literature of Tamil, and the victory at Talaiālamkānam is itself under reference by a number of poets of the first rank among those regarded as poets of the Sangam. First and foremost there is the Madurai-kāñji of Māngudi Marudan included in the Sangam collection called Pattup-pāṭṭu (*Ten poems*). This poem of 850 lines is in celebration of this Pāṇḍyan whose exploits are described in full, and the purpose of the poem is to draw his attention to the necessity of providing himself for the life to come, having done all that need be done by a sovereign on earth to discharge his duties and make himself famous. Then the great poet Nakkīrar refers to him in some poems ascribed to him. But in one, *Ahanānūru* 36, there is a full and unmistakable reference to the battle, and to the seven enemies whom he had overcome. Their names are enumerated categorically as the Cera,

the Cola, the chief Titiyan, the chief Elini, the chief of Erumaiyūr, the chief Irungovenmān, and the chief Porunan. These seven are referred to allusively in the *Madurai-kañji*. Another poet Kurungu-ḷiyūr Kilār refers to another achievement of this Pāṇḍya, his taking the Cera 'prince of the elephant-look' prisoner in poem 17 of the *Puṛaṇānūru*. In poem 19, the same poet addresses the same sovereign, and the poet refers by name to the Cera prince 'of the elephant-look' in other poems, making him undoubtedly a contemporary with him. Another poet, Kallāḍan addresses this very same Pāṇḍyan in poem 23. There is a similar reference to him mentioning specifically his Cera and Cola enemy in poem 25 of the same work. So then we see that the Pāṇḍyan, who was victor at Talaiālamkānam against the two other enemies and a number of chiefs, their allies, is actually celebrated by poets, whose names undoubtedly figure in the traditional lists of the Sangam as they have come down to us, and whose works are undoubtedly included in the collection known as the Sangam collections. Poem 18 of the *Puṛaṇānūru* exhorts this Pāṇḍya to make his territory well provided with irrigation works. Can we, therefore, identify him with the Pāṇḍya who is mentioned in this charter, as having distinguished himself by similar works and celebrating the great Indra festival?

There would be justification for identifying this Pāṇḍyan with the Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiālamkānam, as poem 19 by the same author refers unmistakably to the battle of Talaiālamkānam, in which he is said to have overcome the seven enemies. Taking the two poems together, it leaves us in no doubt that the poet Kuḍapulaviyanār does celebrate the Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiālamkānam. His exhortation in regard to the duty of the Pāṇḍyan to make the food supply abundant in the country by providing irrigation works would, therefore, warrant our taking it that, according to the charter under discussion, it was he who took steps to get rid of hunger from his country and celebrated the Indra festival as a fitting completion to his benevolent work. If so, then it amounts to this; that the Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiālamkānam at some time in his reign, felt the urgent necessity for embarking upon large irrigation works and providing the country with the means for raising an ample supply of food and putting it beyond reach of famine.

We then proceed to the next incidents, the doing of the Mahābhārata in Tamil, and the establishment of the Sangam in Madura. So far as the doing of the Mahābhārata is concerned, we have definite information regarding three versions of the *Mahābhārata*. The latest is what is popularly known, and in popular use, as the *Mahābhārata* of Villiputtūrar, sometimes spoken of as *Villiputtūr Alvār*, supplemented by a comparatively modern writer, Nallā Pillai. This is the complete version of the work we have. The next is a version of which we have not as yet come upon even a complete manuscript, but of which portions are available covering three or four *parvas* from the Udyogaparva. The part available has recently been published, but it is only a part. Even so, it gives us the information in one of the verses included in the published part that the work was composed in the reign of Nandivarman of Tēḷḷāru, whom we know as the Nandivarman, grandson of the great Nandivarman, Pallava-Malla of the eighth century. The work therefore is referable to the middle of the ninth century after Christ. The name of the author, however, is Perumdevanār. This Perumdevanār has often been mistaken for the Perumdevanār, whose name figures in the so-called eight Sangam collections, for the eight of which he composed the poems in invocation. This would mean that it was in his time that the collections were actually made, and that it fell to his lot to compose the poems in invocation; and he composed the eight poems for Siva, Viṣṇu, and Skanda or Subrahmanya, according to occasions, showing a broad-mindedness in matters religious, fairly a general feature of the times. We find the name Perumdevanār among the list of writers compiled from the Sangam works, and there is at least one poem among the collections by a Perumdevanār, which probably was in those days a common name. To distinguish, therefore, the particular Perumdevanār who translated the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil, he is always referred to as the Perumdevanār who wrote the poem *Mahābhārata* in Tamil. That is, he is generally distinguished as the author of the Tamil *Mahābhārata*. Quotations from the *Mahābhārata* occur in the classical grammar *Tolkāppiyam* and elsewhere, for purposes of illustration. These have been collected to the extent of about forty verses, and several among these are not found in the part so far published of the Bhārata of the more modern Perumdevanār whose work is distin-

guished by the name *Bhārataveṇbā* indicating the metre of the verses in the poem. It seems clear, therefore, that we have to look for another Perumdevanār who rendered the Mahābhārata in Tamil, and composed the poems in invocation for the eight collections of the so-called Sangam works in Tamil. Can we refer the rendering of the Mahābhārata in Tamil by this author as under reference in the expression 'the putting into Tamil of the Mahābhārata' in the charter under examination? This will become clearer in the next section where we shall take up for consideration the establishment of the Sangam in Madura.

According to the traditional account of the Sangam, that is really the only account that is available so far, there were three such Sangams. It is by the maintenance of a court of learned men, it is hardly necessary to give these Sangams any stricter organisation than that as far as our information of them at present goes, that the Pāṇḍyas encouraged the growth of Tamil literature, and made it possible for the comparatively large output of Tamil literature at the period. In the course of the progress of this literature, a famine is said to have supervened and, lasting for the proverbial twelve years, made life in the country impossible. The ruler for the time being, finding it difficult to maintain such a large court at a time of such great distress, dismissed them all by allowing them to scatter themselves elsewhere than in the Pāṇḍya country during the time of distress, and return immediately that the famine ceased. The famine having lasted perhaps longer than was expected, those that returned were comparatively few, and among them it would appear there was nobody who had cultivated that part of Tamil grammar relating to love, one of the five main sections of Tamil grammar. The Pāṇḍya ruler at the time finding that the court was so denuded of scholars of eminence made a systematic effort to collect the poems, as far as he could arrange it, the best among them with a view to putting them in a permanent form. The eight collections of works generally called by Tamil scholars Sangam works had been thus made in his time. He was however much exercised about grammar or Lakṣaṇa Grantha for one important section, and offered a prize for one that would compile an abbreviated work on that subject. Finding no one came forward to do the work, he did not know what exactly to do, when just under the seat of the god in the great temple at Madura,

a set of copper plates was discovered containing a work on that subject in sixty *sūtras*. This work had necessarily to be commented upon and all the poets who then happened to be at court were asked to comment upon the work. Six such commentaries were presented and were submitted for approval to the dumb child of a Brahman regarded as an *Aratār* of Skanda or Subrahmanya. Of the six commentaries, the young umpire approved in part of that by a scholar by name Madurai Marudan Iḷanāgan. The commentary of Nakkīrar received far greater approval, and that got, therefore, incorporated with the *Sūtras* and has come down to us. So says tradition in regard to the work known as the *Iṭayanār Ahapporuḷ*.

The dumb prodigy that did this miraculous work was the person who collected, probably later in life, the 400 poems on love comprising what is known as the *Ahanānūru*. As we stated in the paragraph above, the work of collection must have begun earlier, and must have led to the discovery relating to the lack of that particular section of Tamil grammar. Whether all the collections were completed then or later we have no indication for certain. But that this collection was made by this Brahman, Rudraśarman, son of the rural celebrity Uppūrikuḍi Kīlān is clearly stated by the commentator on the work, and it is followed by the further statement that he made it for the Pāṇḍyan Ugraperuvaḷudi, who must, from the name itself, be regarded as a separate, and, in all probability, the next succeeding ruler to the other mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. That this is so is confirmed by the fact that the poems in invocation for the *Ahanānūru* as well as all the other collections were composed by the Perumdevanār who achieved his fame by rendering the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil. So the rendering of the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil by this author must have preceded his composing the poems in invocation for the collections. The collections therefore must have been completed at a time subsequent to his achieving the great reputation by doing the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil.

We thus come to this conclusion as a result of our investigation of the passage in the large Sinnamanūr copper-plate charters issued by the Pāṇḍyan king Rājasimha who had the title Mandara Gaurava, son of Parāntaka Śaḍaiyan (Sans. Jaṭila): the first Pāṇḍyan mentioned

in this passage is the Pāṇḍyan who played an active part in the war of the Mahābhārata. The next one is the prince Babhruvāhana, son of Arjuna himself. Another Pāṇḍyan seems to be under reference, victor over contemporary monarchs, perhaps because he achieved the hegemony in the Tamil land. Then we come to the Pāṇḍyan who imprinted the combined Pāṇḍyan emblem of the three kings, fish, the tiger and the bow, on the Himālayas. This may be the same as the one above, and may be the Pāṇḍyan 'victor over the Aryan army'. Then follows one to whom, as we have arranged it, the following achievements are credited: the great scheme of putting in repairs innumerable irrigation-tanks, thus putting his kingdom beyond reach of hunger and celebrating the achievement by a great festival to Indra. The next achievement of his is the killing of the two contemporary monarchs in battle at Talaiālam-kānam. Then the doing of the Mahābhārata in Tamil. Then the establishment of the Sangam in Madura. While the passage gives no indication which is manifest, that these were the achievements of a single ruler, we have shown reason why these have to be ascribed to a single monarch on the evidence of the Sangam works themselves, which must be regarded as contemporary. Thus the Pāṇḍyan victor at Talaiālamkānam seems clearly to stand out as the celebrity who did these things. The person responsible for the drawing up of the charter saw good reason to stop there in his recital of the ancient Pāṇḍyas. We do not know exactly why. He passes on to the more recent dynasty, the reigning ruler of which at the time conferred a charter upon a learned Brahmin.

The charter is datable in the middle of the tenth century A.D., as the Pāṇḍyan donor of the charter seems to be certainly the ruler who was overthrown by the conquering Cola Parāntaka I, A.D. 906-955. We cannot investigate in this paper how many generations backwards from him are actually known to us on the authority of the copper-plate charters, and what interval came between these and the ancient Pāṇḍyas under advertence. We must reserve that investigation to another occasion. But we may state here roughly that the historical Pāṇḍyas known from these charters take us through thirteen generations as the epigraphist has arranged it on his genealogical table, taking us back through four centuries and bringing us to the second half of the

sixth century. We have shown reason for a long interval, an interval of two to three centuries between that and the flourishing period of Pāṇḍya rule¹⁰ and the last Pāṇḍya referred to here must belong to a period in the second or third century of the Christian era.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR

10 *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 240 ff.

Remarks on the fourth Rock Edict of Aśoka

When trying to establish, according to my humble opinion, the order of publication and the interrelations of the thirteen (fourteen) Rock Edicts of Aśoka¹ I pointed out that the Edicts III and IV are most probably only pieces of one original rescript. This seems to me to be proved by the identical words recurring in III, A-B, and in IV, K (cp. Girnār: *Devānaṃpiyo Piyādasī rājā evaṃ āha dbādasa-rāsābhisitena mayā idaṃ āṇapitaṃ* (III) with *dbādasa-rāsābhisitena Devānaṃpiyena Piyadasinā rāṇā idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ* (IV). Further in III, D, Aśoka inculcates certain meritorious actions such as *ahiṃsā* and a decent behaviour towards relatives, ascetics and Brahmins, the very absence of which he deplures in IV, A. Because of these reasons I hold it as fairly sure that Rock Edicts III and IV should be read as one.

Now what I intend here is nowise to give any new and startling interpretation of Edict IV simply for the reason that I am not able to do so. I shall, however, try to establish, according to my lights, the meaning of certain expressions within the first three paragraphs of the Edict which still look somewhat dubious. Thus let us begin with quoting these paragraphs from the new edition of the inscriptions by the late lamented Professor Hultzsch; for practical reasons the Girnār version is referred to here.

A. *atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vadhito ēva² prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā ca bhūtānaṃ nātisu asaṃpratipatī brāhmaṇa-sramaṇānaṃ³ asaṃpratīpatī.*

B. *ta aja Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo dhaṃmacaraṇena*

1 Cp. BSOS., VI, 313 ff.

2 K. *vā*; Dh. J. *va*; Sh. M. *vo*.

3 K. *Samaṇa-bambhanānaṃ*; Sh. M. *Samaṇa-bramaṇana(m)*; Dh. *Samaṇa-bābhānesu*.

bherīghoso aho dhammaghoso vimānadasaṇḍā⁴ ca hastidasaṇḍā⁵ ca aggi-khaṇḍhāni⁶ dasayitpā janaṃ.

C. yārise bahūhi vāsasatehū na bhūtapuve tūrise aja vadhite Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo dhammānusaṭṭiyā anāraṃbho prāṇānaṃ avihāsā bhūtānaṃ ñātinaṃ saṃpatipatī brāhmaṇa-sama-ṇānaṃ⁷ saṃpatipatī mātari pitari⁸ susrusā thaira-susrusā.⁹

What is first of all apt to attract our attention is the expression *atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ bahūni vāsatāni vadhito eva prāṇāraṃbho* etc., i.e. "in times gone by, for many centuries, there has ever been increasing the killing of animals" etc. To this corresponds the *bahūhi vāsasatehū* of C. The phrase *atīkrāntam antaram* is not a very rare one; it occurs in the Rock Edicts IV, V, VI, and VIII as well as twice in the Pillar Edict VII at Delhi-Toprā. But why 'for many centuries'? According to my humble opinion this does not simply mean a lump sum intended to express a high but unlimited number of years. Instead of that it means, as I venture to suggest, that for many centuries the Buddhist doctrine (*dhamma*)¹⁰ had been in abeyance; after many hundreds of years, however, through the pious exertions of Aśoka it had again risen to its former height. As, according to the Rummindei inscription, Aśoka thought himself to be well aware of the Buddha's birth-place it might not be too venturesome a suggestion that he also believed the founder of Buddhism to have lived several centuries ago. Thus it comes to this: for several hundreds of years, since the time of the decease of Gautama the Buddha, his doctrine had been in a state of increasing decay until it was again lifted up to its former height by the reforms of Aśoka.¹¹

4 Like Senart and Buehler I am unable to read here anything but *dasana* (Hultzsch has *darsaṇā*).

5 K. *hathini*, Dh. *hathini*; Sh. *astina*; M. *astine*.

6 Sh. *joti-kamdhani* (all other versions—except G.—*kamdhāni*).

7 Dh. *Samana-bābhānesu*.

8 K. *mātā-pitisu*; Sh. M. *mata-pituṣu*; Dh. *māti-pitu-susūsā*.

9 Sh. *vudhanaṃ susrusa*; M. *vudhrana susrusa*; Dh. *vudha-susūsā*.

10 Cp. Geiger, *Abhandl. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, philol.-hist. Kl.*, XXXI: I, 33ff.

11 In this connection we may also remember that in another passage Aśoka reminds us of the pious kings of yore (Delhi-Toprā VII, B): *Ye atīkaṃtam*

Many different interpretations have been put forth of the words *bherīgghoso aho dhammagghoso* in B.¹² All sorts of more or less ingenious interpretations have been proposed and rejected; the difficulties to be surmounted, however, do not in reality seem very great. First of all we must, of course, interpret *aho* as = *abhūt* as was correctly suggested by Kern,¹³ a suggestion that has been endorsed by most scholars. In spite of the great reverence that we still feel for the work of the immortal Burnouf there can be no doubt at all that his interpretation of *aho* as being an exclamation¹⁴ is essentially a mistake. Thus *bherīgghoso'bhād dharmagghoṣaḥ* can mean nothing but: "the sound of drums became the announcement of *dharma* (i.e. the doctrine of Buddha)". And here we are reminded of the words of Professor Bhandarkar that "the sound of a drum invariably precedes either a battle, a *public announcement*, or the exhibition of a scene¹⁵ to the people". The sound of drums thus preceded the proclamation of the Aśokan edicts; and as these contained the maxims of the simple and practical Buddhism taught to laymen such proclamations may well be called a *dharmagghoṣa*. As the first commandment of this Buddhism for laymen is *ahiṃsā*, the non-killing of living beings,

aṃtalaṃ lājāne hsu hevaṃ icchisu kathaṃ jane dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍheyaṃ no ca jane anuluḍḍhiyā dhammavaḍḍhiyā vaḍḍhiṭṭhā. Thus the exertions of these rulers came to naught, perhaps because their behaviour was rather that of the children of the world, cp. Rock Edict VIII, A (Girnār): *atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno* (K. Sh. M. *Devanaṃṇī(r)iyā*) *viḥārayātāṃ āyāsu/eta magavyā aṇāni ca etārisāni abhīramakāni ahuṃsu*// Aśoka, however solely went on tours for preaching *dhamma* and thus achieved every sort of success.

12 Authorities dealing with this passage are Lessen *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, II,² 238 n. 3; Wilson, *JRAS.*, XII, 174 ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 731; Kern, *Jaartelling*, p. 45 ff. (=I.A., V, 261); Senart, *I.A.*, X, 84; Buehler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, 467; Hultzsch, *JRAS.*, 1911, 785 ff.; 1913, 651 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, *I.A.*, XLII, 25, De la Vallée Poussin, *Les Mauryas*, p. 109 ff.; Wickremasinghe, *BSOS.*, VI, 545 f.; Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 136.

13 Cp. Johansson, *Shāhbāzgarhi*, I, 32.

14 Quite recently repeated by M. de la Vallée Poussin.

15 This drum is sounded to announce great spectacles or festivals; it is the *chaṇabheri* of which we hear in *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 465, 8 ff.: "*atha rājā nagare chaṇabheriṃ carāpetvā sattāhaṃ chaṇaṃ karontu*, etc *Imaṃ atthaṃ pakāseto Sattā āha: āhaññantu sabbavīṇā bheriyo deṇḍimāni ca/ nadantu māgadā sakhā vaggu vadatu dundubhī*//

we may well compare the *bherī* sounded by Aśoka's officials with the *māghātabherī* spoken of in a passage of the *Jātaka*. The king of Kosala, so we are told in the introduction to the *Aṭṭhasaddajātaka* (418; vol. III, p. 428 ff.), in the middle of the night heard a fearful sound; consulting the Master he came to know that he ought not to fear:“*na hi, mahārāja, evarūpaṃ bhayānakam avinibbhogasaddaṃ tram ev' eko suṇi, pubbe pi rājāno evarūpaṃ saddaṃ sutvā brāhmaṇānaṃ kathāṃ gahetvā sabbacattakayaṇṇaṃ yajitukāmā paṇḍitānaṃ kathāṃ sutvā yaṇṇaharaṇatthāya gahitasatte vissañjetvā nagare māghātabheriṃ carāpesuṃ.*”

In the *aṭṭhavatthu* the king of Benares also hears some dismal sounds: Brahmins persuade him to prepare an immense sacrifice but a wise and pious man (the Bodhisattva) explains to him the real cause of the sounds, and the king upon hearing his words cancels the sacrifice and commands the *māghātabherī* to be sounded all through the town.¹⁶ It seems to me that the passage in the Edict may perhaps get its most easy explanation by means of this parallel from the *Jātaka*.

Curiously enough no scholar so far seems to have noticed the necessity of putting a full stop after *dhammaghoso*. That this must be done will be made obvious by our translation which will follow presently.

We now, however, come to the most crucial passage of the inscription viz., the words: *vimānadasaṇā ca hastidasaṇā ca agnikhaṇḍhāni ca añāni ca divyāni rūpāni dasayitvā janaṃ*. The construction of the sentence is wholly clear; the main question is, however, in what way to translate the words *vimāna*, *hastin*, and *agniskandha* in this connection, and there the opinions of very prominent scholars differ widely.¹⁷ Thus, to quote only a few examples, Burnouf translated the two first expressions¹⁸ by “des promenades de chars de parade, des

16 Cp. also the *dhammabherī* mentioned in *Jātaka*, IV, 269, 15f: (*Uṭṭā*).....
nagaraṃ gantvā “ito paṭṭhāya sakalaratṭhavāsino pañcasālāni rakkhantū” ti dhammabheriṃ carāpesi.

17 Their different opinions are mostly to be found in the literature referred to above.

18 For reasons that will become obvious presently we leave *agniskandha* aside here.

promenades d'éléphants'', while Kern has (quite correctly): "apparitions of chariots of the gods, and apparitions of celestial elephants"; about the same suggestions are found in the translations of Buehler and Hultzsch.¹⁹ Senart's translation of *vimāna* by 'reliquaries' is, of course, out of the question. There is, however, no need to continue this enumeration as I shall take it for granted that the translation 'representations of aerial chariots' and 'representations of (celestial) elephants' are as nearly correct as they can possibly be.

The *vimānas*, of course, are celestial chariots, celestial mansions of the *devatās* moving about in the sky and described in the *Vimānavatthu* and cognate texts in the most exuberant expressions. In Jātaka 541 king Nimi, after having visited in the company of Mātali the lurid and terrifying abodes of the denizens of Hell, finally arrives at the *devaloka*. There he sees one *vimāna* after another, with pillars of gold and jewels, surrounded by lotus ponds and trees of paradise, built from gold, crystal, jewel etc. and described in a most fanciful way.²⁰ The representations of these *vimānas* are apparently meant to give an idea of the bliss of the heavenly world, in which men of meritorious *karman* dwelt for periods that might to a human being seem strongly to approach to eternity. As for the (celestial) elephants Professor Bhandarkar²¹ has suggested that the scenes may be representations of the Buddha when in the shape of a white elephant he descended into the womb of his mother. Although this idea was apparently familiar to Aśoka as is proved by the *[sa]rrasveto hasti sarvalokasukhāharo nāma* of Gīrnār and by the *gajātame* of Kālsī²² the suggestion of Professor Bhandarkar is for obvious reasons an impossible one. Professor Hultzsch suggests the elephants of the Mahārājas or Lokapālas which seems far more acceptable. But above all we

19. *JRAS.*, 1911, 788; *CII.*²; I, 7.

20. In the verses describing these *vimānas* there often appears a word *vyamha* 'mansion, palace,' the derivation of which does not seem clear. *Vyamha*, however, is derived from °*veṃha* < °*vesma* < *veśman*, and is simply a metrical form like *vyamhita*: *vimhita*, *vyasanna*: *visanna*.

21. *IA.*, XLII, 26 f.

22. Cf. Kern, *Jaartelling*, p. 44; Buehler, *ZDMG.*, XXXIX, 490; Windisch, *Buddhas Geburt*, p. 6 f.; Hultzsch, *CII.*, I, p. 27 n. 2.

have probably to think of the elephant of Indra²³; for Indra, the ruler of the *devatās*, is the most prominent being in the world of bliss, his position being the highest one to which a man might rise according to the belief of Aśoka's subjects.

But if so far we are on fairly safe ground we seem to be getting into deep waters when trying to deal with *agniskandha*. There, if anywhere, the suggestions of the authorities differ very widely. Thus Prinsep,²⁴ quoting *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 34, found here an allusion to the *Aggikkhandhasutta* of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* (vol. IV, p. 128 ff.). This suggestion was correctly refuted by Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 628, who pointed out that the word must mean something like 'a mass of fire.' Burnouf himself (*Lotus*, p. 731) translates it by 'feux d'artifice' (fireworks) while Kern and Hultzsch²⁵ preferred to interpret it by 'fiery balls of fire, meteors.' In an earlier publication Hultzsch²⁶ approved of the interpretation of Buehler²⁷ who suggested that 'fire-trees' should be the correct mode of rendering the puzzling word.²⁸ Later on Hultzsch, apparently misled by certain passages in the Pāli Canon, translated it by 'radiant beings of another world', which has later on been altered into the more general expression 'masses of fire'. Professor Bhandarkar again thought that the *agniskandha* might refer to the fiery pit mentioned in the Jātaka 40 (*Khadiraṅgārājātaka*, vol. I, p. 226 ff.), a suggestion which, though by no means plausible in itself, still contains a hint in the true direction as will be seen presently. Finally Professor Thomas pointing

23 *Airāvata*, *Āirāvāṇa* (*Ērāvāṇa*). In the Pāli texts there seems to be no trace of his female counterpart *Abhramu*, which is perhaps first mentioned in *Sisūp.*, 1,52: *Salīlayātāni na bhartur Abhramor na citram Uccaiḥśravasah padakramam/anudrutaḥ saṃyati yena kevalaṃ Balasya satruḥ praśasaṃsa śighratām* ||

24 *JASB.*, VII, 266.

25 *JRAS.*, 1911, 788.

26 *ZDMG.*, XXXVII, 555.

27 *ZDMG.*, XXXVII, 260; *EL.*, II, 467.

28 Such a suggestion has to a certain degree been supported by Professor S. K. Aiyangar, *JRAS.*, 1915, 521 ff., who points to the South Indian custom of igniting a tree on the full-moon of Kārttika (the day of Viṣṇu's victory over Bali).

29 *JRAS.*, 1914, 394 ff.

to certain passages in the literature³⁰ arrives at the conclusion that the word must here mean "bonfire". Unfortunately this ingenious suggestion is hardly disputable as it is quite obvious that *agniskandha* must here allude to some supernatural phenomenon.

In order to try to settle this disputed question let us first of all throw a glance at the eschatology of the Aśoka Edicts.

It has repeatedly been pointed out that a central point of the Buddhist doctrine, viz., the idea of *nirvāṇa* is never mentioned in the Edicts of Aśoka.³¹ The historical Buddha undoubtedly preached the doctrine of Nirvāṇa, but only to the initiated; and it would certainly have been somewhat unpractical to preach to the common layman a doctrine which did either mean that the highest bliss consisted in complete annihilation or rather in an eternal existence not to be qualified by any attributes intelligible to the human mind. And it is the typical Buddhism of the layman that is proclaimed in the rescripts of Aśoka. To the layman meritorious actions performed during one or several existences led to a blissful life in Heaven (*svarga*). This is proved by several passages in the Edicts (such as VI, L Gīrnār):

yaṃ ca kiṃci parākramāmī ahaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ānaṃṇaṃ gaccheyaṃ idha ca nāni sukhāpayāmi paratrā ca svagaṃ ārādhayaṃtu; IX, K. L. (Gīrnār): ta tu kho mitrena va suhadayena vā ṇatikena va sahāyana va ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe idaṃ kacaṃ idaṃ sādha iti iminā saka svagaṃ ārādhetu iti. Kiṃca iminā katavyataraṃ yathā svagāradhī; Dhauli Sep. I. S, U: vipaṭipādayamīne hi etaṃ nathi svagasa āladhi na lājāladhi.....saṃpaṭipadyamīne cu etaṃ svagaṃ ālādhayitha mama ca ānaniyaṃ ehatha.

Cp. further the passages, Sahasrām, Bairāt G and Brahmagiri-Siddāpura H.³² Nothing more need be said about this here as the idea

30 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 72f. where *agniskandha* is translated by 'conflagration' but may as well simply mean 'mass of fire.' Cf. also *SBE.*, XXII, 238 (Trisālā dreams of a great fire).

31 Cp. e.g., Hultzsch, *III.2* I, p. liii.

32 i.e. *sahāyena*.

33 The passage is also found in the recently discovered Gavimaṭh inscr. G: *no hi iyaṃ mahateṇeva cakiye pāpotave kkhūḍakena pi pakomamīṇena vipule pi cakiye svage ārādhayitave.* Cp. Professor Turner in *Hyderabad Arch. Series*, No. 10, p. 15 f.

of *svarga* as the ultimate goal of a meritorious existence is wholly clear as far as these inscriptions are concerned.

But if the remuneration of the just and pious man is the attainment of *svarga* then the simple and easy law of retribution—familiar to the adherents of nearly every religion—craves that the wicked and sinful one should get his ample share of tortures and punishments in Hell. It is quite true that Buddhism does not, at least in its developed form, know anything like an eternal Hell—just as little as an eternal Heaven. Time comes when its denizens are again sent back to earth to struggle, if possible with greater success, with the problems of ethics and morality. However, the periods allotted to the existence in various Heavens and Hells are of such an immense duration that to the common man they may well appear to be equal to eternity.

As far as I am aware there is no direct mention of Hell in the Edicts of Aśoka. But there is, on the other side, ample mention of those sins that were sure to land the sinners in the very abyss. First among them stands the killing of animals. There are, within the Buddhist literature, so many horrid descriptions of the tortures awaiting the butcher, the hunter, the fisherman in the other world that no example need be adduced here.³⁴ Aśoka also mentions other serious sins such as discourtesy and disobedience to parents and relatives and discourtesy to Brahmins and ascetics.³⁵ No doubt these heinous crimes would all, according to common belief in the time of Aśoka, lead to an existence in the abode of damnation.

Keeping in mind what has now been said we may perhaps ask ourselves whether this might not throw some light upon the mysterious *agniskandhāḥ* of Rock Edict IV.

34 Cp. e.g. *Jātaka*, VI, 109, 4 ff.; 111, 4 ff. where fowls are getting their throats split and are scalded in boiling water while butchers are cut in slices etc. Cp. also *Jātaka*, V, 270, 3 ff.

35 Impudent behaviour against Brahmins will be punished in Hell according to AV., V, 19, 3 and other Vedic texts. The terrible fate awaiting the *paribhāsakā samaṇabrāhmaṇānaṃ* is described e.g. in *Jātaka*, V, 266, 23 ff. and in VI, 106, 21 ff.; 108, 23 ff. (where those *ye sīlavaṃ samaṇaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ ca hiṃsanti rosentī supāpadhammino* are plunged headlong into a giant blazing iron cauldron).

It seems tolerably clear that the representations of *vimānas* and elephants were meant to afford the spectators a view of the splendours of the celestial world; they were an exhortation to the pious, holding out to their eyes the rejoicings that were in store for them in the Heavens inhabited by the *devatās* and ruled over by Indra. But if such were the case then a contrast to these brilliant things was also wanted, viz., a picture bringing into the minds of the spectators the horrible places of torture whither led the path of the sinner. No exhortation to virtue and piety could be a more effective one.

The Indian hells, however, are mainly abodes of fire; burnt, brazed, boiled in giant cauldrons, torn to pieces with glowing pincers, racked on beds of molten iron, running through caverns where the floor, the walls, and the ceiling are plates of blazing metal are the denizens of these torture-chambers.³⁶ It is quite true that to the Jains—just as to Dante—the deepest pits were a desert of ice and snow pervaded by a most horrid cold; but I know of no correspondence to this amongst the Buddhists. Even *Avīci*, the very lowest hell, is to them a blazing furnace.³⁷ And I may say that I believe the *agniskandhāḥ* of Aśoka to have been meant as representations of the hellish flames.

Now it is quite true that *agniskandha* does sometimes denote persons or supernatural beings of extreme brilliancy and splendour. It is an old idea that a fiery light emanates from a pious and liberal man;³⁸ we see pictures of the Buddha with flames radiating from his shoulders etc. And such persons are sometimes compared to an *agniskandha*. Professor Hultsch, in order to support his interpretation of the word, speaks of 'radiant beings of the other world.' To the quotations adduced by Childers Hultsch himself has added *Mahāvagga* (I, 16, 1; 17, 1; 18, 1) where the four Mahārājas, Sakka, and Brahmā

36 Without giving here any extensive quotations I simply point to the descriptions of the hells given in the Jātakas 530 and 541 and in *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 4 ff.; III, p. 454 ff. Cp. the literature quoted by myself in *Paccakabuddhageschichten* (1908), p. 11 n. 1.

37 Cp. e.g. *Jātaka*, I, 232, 16 ff.: *sa* (: *aṅḍarakāṣu*) *khadiraṅḍarapupphā sampajjalitā sajetibhūtā Avīcimahānirayo viya khaṇṭhita*.... On the etymology of *Avīci* cp. Johansson, *Monde Or.*, II, 97 ff.

38 Cp. e.g. Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa in *Chānd. Up.*, IV, 2, 1 ff.

Sahampati stand in front of the Buddha like huge piles of fire (*seyyathāpi mahantā aggikkhandhā*, s. *mahā aggikkhandho*). To these examples may be added a few other ones such as *Jātaka*, IV, 124, 21: *mayhaṃ dve puttā aggikkhandhā viya jalanti*, "my two sons blaze like masses of fire";³⁹ *Jātaka*, VI, 372, 7f.: *mahā aggikkhandhasadiso Mahosadho paññāya jalati*, "Mahosadha because of his wit shines brilliantly like a great pile of fire" etc. However in all these passages great persons are only compared to *agniskandhā*; there is no example of the word having exactly the sense attributed to it by the late Professor Hultzsch.

In all passages known to me, however, the sense of the word is simply 'a mass, a pile of fire', perhaps even 'a bonfire'. Thus let us take at random some examples from the Pāli texts:

Jātaka, IV, 139, 25ff.:

"*Nāvā taṃ samuddham atikkamitvā parato Aggimālaṃ nāma gatā. So pajjalita-aggikkhandho viya majjhantikasuriyo viya ca obhāsaṃ muñcanto aṭṭhāsi.*" (Like a blazing pile of fire).

Jātaka, V, 269, 13 ff.:

*Ayomayā simbaliyo soḷasaṅgulakaṇṭakā
dubhato-m-abhilambanti duggaṃ Vetaraṇiṃ nadim.
Te accimanto tiṭṭhanti aggikkhandhā va ārakā
āditā jātavedena uddhaṃ yojanaṃ uggatā.*

Here the *Sālmali*-trees growing on both banks of the Vaitaraṇī river are compared to piles of fire.

Jātaka, VI, 330, 6 ff.:

*rājaṅgaṇe catūsu kaṇṇesu cattāro aggikkhandhā mahāpākārappa-
māṇen' utṭhāya jalanti* ("four bonfires").

Cp. further *Mil. P.*, p. 304, 7 (*mahatimahā aggikkhandho*); *Therīg.*, 351 (*amittā vadhakā kāmā aggik(k)handhūpamā dukkhā*); *Saṃy. Nik.*, II, 85f. (a huge pile of fire consuming even forty wagon-loads of fuel); *Paṭis.*, I, 125; *Dīpav.*, VI, 37 etc.

The simple *khandhā*, meaning 'a bulk, the trunk of a tree' is

sometimes used in a sense which does not very much differ from that of *aggikkhandha*. Thus in *Jātaka*, VI, 107, 14f; we hear about the sinners in Hell that

*Sajotibhūtā paṭhavim kamanti
tattehi khandhehi ca pothayanti, etc.*

The commentary to the second line runs thus :

“*Khandhehi ca pothayanti* ti nirayapālehi anubandhitvā tālappamānehi jalita-ayakkhandhehi jaṅghāsu paharivā patitā teheva khandhehi pothayanti cunṇavicunṇaṃ karonti.”

In *Jātaka*, VI, 113, 35 the ‘*khandhā sajotibhūtā*’ are explained in the commentary to be great masses of flaming mountains; literally we can only translate it by ‘bulks flaming with fire’. Further examples could perhaps be adduced but these may be sufficient for our present purpose.

If then *aggikkhandha* means nothing but ‘a mass, a pile of fire’, and if it is even used in at least one passage⁴⁰ of the trees in Hell it may not seem too hazardous to suggest that in the Rock Edict IV it also means ‘piles of fire’ meant to symbolize the tortures to be suffered in the hellish fire-pits.⁴¹

My translation of Rock Edict IV, A-C, would then run as follows :

A. “In times gone by, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been increasing the killing of living beings, the hurting (of living beings), discourtesy to relatives and discourtesy to Brahmins and ascetics.

B. Now, however, because of the observance of the Buddhist doctrine on the part of the Beloved of the gods, the king of auspicious countenance, the sound of drums has become the announcement of the true religion (Buddhism). Showing the people representations of

⁴⁰ *Jātaka*, V, 269, 15.

⁴¹ An old and well known tradition tells us that Aśoka before his conversion was a very cruel ruler, who had amongst other things constructed a ‘Hell’ where people were subjected to the most fiendish tortures (cp. on this ‘Hell’ Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, 300; *Divyāvadāna*, 374 ff.; *Fa-hien* (Giles, 1923), p. 56 ff.; *Yuan Chwang* (Watters), II, 89; *Tāranātha*, p. 28 ff. etc.). May not the legend of this torture-chamber contain a misrepresented tradition of the spectacles presented by Aśoka to his subjects as described in this Edict?

celestial mansions and of (celestial) elephants, piles of (hell-)fire and other supernatural apparitions,

C. these are now promoted by the Beloved of the gods, the king of auspicious countenance,⁴² through instruction in the Buddhist doctrine, abstention from killing and hurting all living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brahmins and ascetics, obedience to mother and father, obedience to the aged such as they had not existed formerly for many a century."

I am well aware that my interpretation is no more than a hypothesis; still I venture to think that it may solve the difficulties of the passage in question in a somewhat easier way than some previous efforts.

JARL CHARPENTIER

⁴² *Devānampriyasa Priyadasino rāṇa* does not directly rule *anussatiyā* but must be taken together with *vadhite*.

Satvant, Sātvata and Nāsatya

Under the title 'The Sātvatas and their Religion' Sir R. G. Bhandarkar wrote: "In the Ādiparvan Vāsudeva addressing the Vṛṣṇis says that Pārtha does not think them who are Sātvatas to be covetous. Vāsudeva is called Sātvata in Ādip. 218, 12; Kṛtavarman in Ādip. 221, 31; Sātyaki in Droṇap. 97, 36; and Janārdana in Udyogap. 70, 7. At the end of chap. 66 of the Bhīṣmaparvan Bhīṣma says: 'This eternal god, mysterious, beneficent and loving should be known as Vāsudeva, and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras worship him by their devoted actions. At the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, he was sung or expounded by Saṃkarṣaṇa according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi).' At the end of chap. 12 of the third book of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* it is stated in the account of the genealogy of the Yādavas and the Vṛṣṇis that Sātvata was the son of Amśa, and all his descendants were called after him Sātvatas. The *Bhāgavata* represents the Sātvatas as calling the highest Brahman Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (IX, 9, 49) and having a peculiar mode of worshipping him. It mentions the Sātvatas along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were Yādava tribes (I, 14, 25; III, 1, 29), and calls Vāsudeva Sātvatarṣabha (X, 58, 42; XI, 27, 5). In *Patañjali* (IV, 1, 114) Vāsudeva and Bāladeva are given as derivatives from Vṛṣṇi names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva.....From all this and such other passages from *Patañjali* it will appear that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race of which Vāsudeva, Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Aniruddha were members, and that the Sātvatas had a religion of their own according to which Vāsudeva was worshipped as the Supreme Being, and thus the account given above from the *Nārāyaṇīya* is amply confirmed (*Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism and Minor Rel. Systems*, § 6).

In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (2, 25) Haug had read: *tasmād dhā'py etarhi Bharatāḥ satvanām vittim prayanti turiye haiva saṃgrahītāro vadante*. He translated (p. 128): "thence when now-a-days the Bharatas spoil their enemies (conquered in the battle-field) those

charioteers, who seize the booty say: the fourth part (of the booty is ours) alone." Weber (*Indische Studien*, IX, p. 253) objects to this translation and remarks, by comparing it with the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 21: *ādatta yajñam Kāśinām Bharataḥ Satvatām iva*), that in *Aitar. Brā.* (2, 25) we have perhaps to read: *Satvatām vittim*. In fact, in *Aitar. Brāh.* (8, 14) Satvant is the name of a people of the South (*ye ke ca Satvatām rājānah*).

This name has also been found by the authors of the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, Cowell, Max Müller and Weber in the *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*, IV, 1; Macdonell and Keith think that the reading there is not *Satvan-Matsyeṣu*, but *sa-Vaśa-Matsyeṣu* (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 421).

It is probable that Satvant of the *Brāhmaṇas* and Sātvata of the Epic and the Purāṇas are two variants designating the same Southern people and are other names of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis.

I have shown elsewhere (*JRAS.*, 1929, p. 273 seq.; *JAHS.*, IV, p. 49 seq.) that Prākṛt Satakani=Sātiyaputa of the Aśoka's inscription. The Sātiyaputas may be compared with the Setæ described by Pliny immediately after the Andhras and with the tribe of the Satakas or Satakas. In all these names, we find a non-Aryan radical *sata* which appears in modern Muṇḍā languages in the form *sadam*, 'horse'. Sātiyaputa=Satakani means 'son of the mythic Horse'. It seems probable that Satvant is formed in a similar way from the radical *sat* 'horse' and the Aryan suffix *vant*.

Whitney (*Sanskrit Grammar*, 2nd. ed., § 1233) gives numerous possessive adjectives made by this suffix, from noun-stems of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later. "Instead of the specialized meaning of 'possessing', the more general one of 'like to, resembling' is seen in a number of words, especially in the derivatives from pronominal stems, *māvant*, 'like me' etc. Other examples are *indrasvant*, 'like Indra', *nīḍāvant*, 'nestlike', *nīlavant*, 'blackish', *nṛvānt*, 'manly', *prṣadvant*, 'speckled', *kṣāitavant*, 'princely'....." Accordingly, *satvant* may have the meaning 'horselike' as it suits the descendants of the mythic Horse.

The researches of M. Dumont about the Aśvamedha have brought to light the procreative power of the mythic Horse. The final rite of this ceremony consecrated a magic union between the Queen and the

sacrificed Horse. The princes born of this union could, therefore, be called 'sons of the Horse'.

The Satakani kings, we know, celebrated the horse-sacrifice. *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 4, 21) refers to the defeat by Bharata of the Satvants and his taking away the horse which they had kept ready for an *Aśvamedha*. Since the Satakanis were considered as descendants of the ancestral Horse, the same may be said of the Satvants and this descent accounts for their name.

The Sātvatas of the Epic and Purāṇas are especially known as adorators of Bhagavat. Vāsudeva is called Sātvata and Sātvatarṣabha. In a recent paper (*Archiv Orientalní*, IV, p. 261 seq.), I have tried to establish that the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis were of the same stock as Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva. If, as Bhandarkar assumes, Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race, we are probably right in considering as equivalents Satvant, Sātvata, Sātiyaputa and Satakani.¹

Sata, Sāta, Sātiya being various forms of a radical synonym of *Aśva*, 'horse', it is now possible to explain Nāsatya which is a Vedic name of the *Aśvinau*. Nāsatya has no satisfactory etymology in Indo-Aryan. To analyse it into *na+asatya*, *nā* (= *netar*) + *satya*, or *nāsā+tya* is impossible or fanciful. In examining some non-Aryan words like *patana*, *varuṇa*, I have isolated an affix *-na* after the radicals *pata-*, *varu-*. If we put off the same affix, we find in Nāsatya our radical *satya*, 'horse', the form of which is here intermediate between *sat* and *sātiya*. As it would be shocking in Sanskrit to call two great gods *na-satya*, 'non-truth', the lengthening of *ā* may have taken place to improve the meaning. This being admitted, *nāsatya* is to *satya* like *aśvin* to *aśva*. We have two derivatives of two radicals meaning 'horse'. The first (*nāsatya*) is non-Aryan; the second (*aśvin*) is Aryan. We should now answer the question: why were two Vedic gods called at the same time by an Aryan and a non-Aryan name? This problem will be discussed subsequently.

Avestic Nāōnhaidya, equivalent of Nāsatya, is also without etymology. It is the name of a demon (*daēva*). In *Bundahišn* (28, 10)

1 *Sat* being a non-Aryan radical, the variations of quantity *sat*, *sāt* are explicable in words of foreign origin. The same variations appear in modern Mundā languages.

the business of the demon 'is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures' (cf. West, *SBE.*, 5, 128, n. 4; 37, 213, n. 4; Blochet, *RHR.*, 32. 113; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörtb.*, s. v.). This feature agrees with our thesis: the *daéva* in Iran, as the *asura* in India, are hostile to Aryan gods and men; hence a connexion between *daévas* and non-Aryan notions.

J, PRZYLUKI

The Nāgavaṃśis of Cakrakotya

I propose to give here a short account of the Nāga dynasty of Bastar, which was quite unknown till the beginning of the current century, when I deciphered a number of inscriptions, for which a strenuous search was made by my friend Rai Bahadur Panda Baijnath, who was then Superintendent of that state, extending north to south from almost the sources of the Mahanadi to the banks of the Godavari, which at places forms the boundary between it and the Nizam's Dominion. It comprises an area of 14000 square miles mostly covered with primeval jungle, described in the latest *Imperial Gazetteer* as one of the most untrodden regions of the Peninsula, where in the deep recesses of the wild forest is the home of the Gond races, one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct, a people who still erect rude stone monuments and use stone implements unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders. Scattered in this forest more than twenty inscriptions were discovered written in beautiful Sanskrit and revealing the existence of a dynasty of kings, who worshipped the Aryan gods and were not less advanced in point of civilization than other well-known dynasties ruling in the centre of Hindustan or in the countries south of the Godavari. These inscriptions give us the names of at least 7 or 8 Nāgavaṃśī kings, who ruled between 1023 and 1342 A.D. It is therefore clear that the records of many kings, if they left any, are yet to be discovered. In a period of 300 years we might expect about double the number of kings we have come upon. We cannot at present arrange them in a genealogical table, as we do not yet know the relationship which they bore to each other except in three cases. We know their dates from the inscriptions from which we can easily judge where the gaps lie.

The oldest record of the Nāgavaṃśī kings of Bastar goes back to 1023 A.D. when one Nṛpatibhūṣaṇa¹ was ruling the country then known as Cakrakotya. As part of the king's name has been lost we can not

1 *U. P. Inscriptions* (2nd Edition), p. 166.

say for certain, whether this was the proper name of the king or it was one of his titles. After him we find a record² of Jagdekabhūṣaṇa Dhārāvarṣa dated in the year 1060 A.D. The inscription records the construction of a tank at Bārasūra, which was the capital of the Nāgavaṃśīs in those days, by Māhārāja Candrāditya, a feudatory chief of Jagdekabhūṣaṇa. Candrāditya claimed descent from the Karikāla family, who held sway over the country watered by the Kaveri. The family traced its origin to the well-known Cola race. These details are interesting and show that Candrāditya was connected with the ancient Colas of the Cuddapah Dist., who probably invaded the Bastar country and left him or his ancestor in charge of the conquered dominion, which the local kings recovered and reduced the Cola Governor to the status of a feudatory. We know from other inscriptions that the Cola king Kulottuṅga, who ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., had once attacked the Bastar country in his youth. It is therefore possible that Candrāditya accompanied him and remained behind as his representative in the country he conquered. Dhārāvarṣa died before 1065 A.D., as the Rājapur copper plate grant shows, leaving a minor son Someśvaradeva, who was apparently ousted by Madhurāntakadeva belonging to a collateral branch, in 1065 A.D. This is a unique record which deserves notice at some length. It records the grant of Rājapur village to one *Meḍipota* or a *Churikāra Meḍipota* and his descendants together with 70 Gadyānaka coins. The purpose of the grant is described as follows:—"Nobody enters the *Churi-prabandha* at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the local Yoginis. For this purpose this village is taken for the benefit of all creatures for showing kindness to them and for performing virtue." This statement appears to be something like an agreement made by the donee, who gives the reasons for accepting the grant for a purpose, which is clothed in an obscure language. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. In editing this inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*³ I have shown how I arrived at this conclusion. It must be remembered that in that part of the country human sacri-

2 *C. P. Inscriptions*, p. 153.

3 Vol. IX, pp. 174ff.

fices were rampant even a hundred years ago; no body indeed can say that cases of that nature do not occur even now. A careful perusal of Police reports would show that even in these times belief in the efficacy of human sacrifices has not disappeared. In Bastar there is a shrine of Dantēśvarī to whom human sacrifices were offered since she was installed there and the Bhonslas, when they became the overlords of that state, were constrained to keep a guard at the temple in order to prevent human sacrifices.

When the British took over these wild territories they had to appoint an officer to repress that practice. Col. Macpherson of the Madras army, who was appointed to this office wrote in 1852 as follows:— "In the worship of the earth goddess the rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation; such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers or should many die in child-birth or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts or should greater crops threaten to fail or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs." Madhurāntakadeva's action in giving a grant for the supply of victims appears to have been as much prompted for the general welfare of the people as his own safety, because he appears to have been a usurper, as we find him later on ousted by Someśvara-deva, the rightful heir, notwithstanding these precautions.

The earliest dated record of Someśvaradeva's times belongs to the year 1069, but the figures of the date are somewhat doubtful. The other dates which are quite certain are 1095, 1097 & 1109 A.D. It appears that Someśvara was a valorous king who not only displaced Madhurāntaka whom he killed in battle, but crossed the Godavari and burnt Vengi,⁴ which was the name of the country lying between the Godavari and the Kṛṣṇā. He also subjugated Bhadrāpattana and Vajra, which I have identified with Bhāṇḍak and Vairāgarh in the Chāṇḍā district. Vairāgarh is referred to in Tamil literature as Vairāgaram, a corruption of Vajrākaram, which means a mine of diamonds. It is well-known that diamond mines existed in Vairāgarh. The Vengi kings were perpetual

enemies of the Cakrakoṭya kings and they were wont to burn each other's towns when opportunity offered itself. Someśvara also claims to have taken possession of six lacs of villages belonging to Kośala or the Chattisgarh country, but this seems to be an exaggeration. It is possible that he may have raided the neighbouring Kośala country and may have held an indefinite number of villages in his possession, until he was driven out again. This surmise seems to be supported by Jājalladeva's inscription of 1114 A.D., in which it is recorded that he seized in battle one Someśvara after having slain an immense army.⁵ We know from Bārasūra inscription that Someśvara was living in 1109 A.D. and that he had died in 1111 A.D., which is apparent from his mother's inscription⁶ of that year found at Narāyanpāl. Jājalladeva was king of Ratanpur, the capital of the Kośala country and finds a mention among Someśvara's rivals along with the kings of Orissa, Lānji in the Bālāghāt District, Lavana in Raipur and 3 others mentioned before, viz., Vengi on the other side of the Godavari and Bhāndak and Vairāgarh in the Chāndā District. Someśvara appears to have been the greatest of his dynasty in the Cakrakūṭa kingdom. His son and successor was Kannaradeva, who is mentioned in his grandmother's inscription of 1111 A.D., where it is plainly said that he ascended the throne on his father Someśvara having gone to heaven.⁷

Of Kannara's deeds nothing is known. There is a big gap after him, as the next inscription in point of time belongs to the year 1218, when Jagdekabhūṣana Narasimhadeva was ruling. In that year there was an eclipse of the sun and the month of Jyeṣṭha was intercalary. So a feudatory chief of his made a grant of land to the Brāhmaṇas and got a record carved on a stone. Another record of a gift during his reign is dated in the year 1224 A.D. That is the sum total of the information available about him. Another name found in an undated record is that of Jayasimha of the Nāga family. It is not known whether he was the predecessor or successor of Narasimha. Similarly another undated record of what appears to be a second Kannaradeva has been found. A Sati stone of the reign of Hariścandradeva dated in 1324 A.D. is the last

5 *C. P. Inscriptions*, p. 160.

7 *ET.*, vol. IX, pp. 311 ff.

6 *ET.*, vol. I, p. 32 *et seq.*

record which apparently refers to the Nāgavaṃśī line of kings. It mentions him as ruling Cakrakoṭya showing that that name was still in use in the 14th. century.

I will now quote the titles of the Bastar Nāgavaṃśīs, which go to establish a connection with other Nāgavaṃśīs ruling elsewhere. In the Narāyanpāl inscription we find Dharavarṣadeva described as "Mahārāja Paramabhattachāraka Parameśvara born of the Nāgavaṃśa, resplendent with the mass of rays of a thousand hood-jewels, the Lord of Bhogāvati, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the Kāśyapa *gotra* and who had made his shout of victory universally known and was a glorious ornament among kings." In other inscriptions the name of the family is mentioned as Chindaka, which is a variant of Sindaka or Sinda family, which also claimed to have belonged to the Nāgavaṃśa and to have been the Lord of Bhogāvati. These were ruling in Yelbarga in the Nizam's dominions. There was another branch ruling in Bāgalkoṭa in the Bijapur district. These branches were distinguished from one another by some variations in their crest or *lāñchana*s and banners or *dhvaj*a*s*, *patākā*s or *ketana*s. The Vyāghra *lāñchana*, (tiger crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty, which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk. The story of their mythical origin relates that the long armed Sinda, a human son of the serpent king Dharanendra was born at Ahicchattrā in the region of the river Sindhu or the Indus and was reared by a tiger. This is recorded in the Bhairanmatṭi inscription in the Bāgalkoṭa Tāluka of the Bijapur district in the Bombay Presidency. Parenthetically I may note here that the name of Dharanendra is found in the vulgar form of Dhāru with a similar story in the Jubbulpore district in connection with the descent of another royal family tracing its origin from a snake. We find that the Bāgalkoṭa branch of the Nāgavaṃśīs owned the tiger crest and Phaṇiketana or banner of hooded serpents. The Halavur branch of the Vanavāsī tract had the *vyāghra-mṛga-lāñchana* or a crest of a tiger and a deer and the Niladdhvaja or blue banner. In Bastar there were apparently two branches, the main branch having *Savatsa-vyāghra-lāñchana* or a tiger with a calf as their crest, thus depicting probably

the story of their origin in a clearer way. Their banner is not mentioned anywhere. In the second branch in which Madhurāntaka was born the *lāñchana* was *dhanur-vyāghra* or bow and tiger and the banner was *kamala-kadalī* or lotus-flower and plantain leaves. To judge from their titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara Mahārāja, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than other branches of this dynasty. If ancient sites of the state be properly explored it is very probable that several other records would be forthcoming, which will throw a good deal of light on the Nāga dynasty.

It appears that the dynasty had democratic institutions. A notification recorded on stone by Māskadevī, a younger sister of Rājabhūṣaṇa Mahārāja proves it. It says:—"In view of the fact that every member of the agricultural classes has been troubled by the King's officers while collecting rents, which have been exacted even before they were due, the elders of the five great assemblies and the agricultural classes in meeting assembled framed the following rules:—That in future those villages which at the time of the coronation of any king may be required to render service shall collect the taxes etc. only from such residents as had been settled long there. They shall be traitors to the king and Māskadevī, who living in Cakrakotya will violate these rules". This sounds like a legislative council ruling.

The Nāgpur country carries the name of Nāga with it and the old Bhogāvati which Bastar kings claimed as their original seat or capital has been traced up in the vicinity of Nāgpur, where the great queen Prabhāvati Guptā, daughter of the Imperial Gupta king Candragupta II and queen of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II made a grant, in which she mentioned her relationships with the Nāgas, apparently as a matter of pride. Nāgārjuna is said to have hailed from the adjoining portion of the country and to have visited the Nāgaloka, his original home, to deliver lectures to the Nāgas of that place. All this stray information together with the new light which the learned scholar Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has recently thrown on the dark period of Indian History has to be strung together for a connected history of the great Nāga tribe setting all their branches in their proper places in and out of the Central Provinces.

A note on Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Caitanya-Caritāmṛta

It is somewhat strange that the date of composition of this important biography of Caitanya has not yet been settled, for there appears to exist a great deal of difference of opinion on this subject. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his two works on Bengali Language and Literature¹ gives 1615 A.D. as the date of composition of the work. But in the one place he states that the work was completed after seven years' labour, in another, after nine years' labour. On the other hand, Jagadbandhu Bhadra, in the introduction to his *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, states that the work was completed in 1503 Saka (=1581 A.D.). This latter opinion appears to have been accepted by Satish Chandra Ray in the introduction to his edition of the *Pada-kalpataru*,² as well as by Dinesh Chandra Sen again in his *Chaitanya and His Age*³ and in his *Vaisnava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal*.⁴ It appears, however, that the former date is probably the correct one. In some manuscripts of the work a *śloka* is found after the colophon which appears to give an indication of the date of its composition. This verse, however, is not found in all manuscripts, and the printed texts (e.g. Kālā edition) sometimes omit it. The verse is also missing in some of the Dacca University manuscripts which I have examined.⁵ As it occurs in most of the manuscripts, which contain it, after the colophon, it is probably a scribal addition which was naturally omitted in some of the manuscripts. The authenticity of the verse is therefore not beyond question, but probably it records the traditional date. The verse in most manuscripts runs thus:

śāke sindhvagni-bāṇendau jyaiṣṭhe vṛndāvanāntare/
sūryāhe sita-saptamyāṃ grantho'yaṃ pūrṇatāṃ gataḥ||

1 *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 487; and *Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya*, Calcutta, 1334 B. S., p. 319.

2 Pt. V, p. 51.

3 Calcutta, 1922, p. 77.

4 Calcutta, 1917, p. 63.

5 See note at the end of Gauḍiya Mādhva Maṭha edition, which mentions this fact of omission.

This would give us the date Śaka 1537 (=1615 A.D.) But another reading *śāke'-agni-bindu-bāṇendau* is also found in other manuscripts of the text, and this would give us the date Śaka 1503 (=1581 A.D.). These two readings, unfortunately, make a difference of 34 years and have probably led to the divergence of opinion regarding the date of the work mentioned above. It seems, however, that the date 1615 A.D. given by the tradition recorded by the first reading of the verse given above is the more probable one. From internal evidence, it appears that the latest work cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopāla-Campū* which is expressly dated as having been completed in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.).⁶ Kṛṣṇadāsa could not therefore have completed his work in 1581, and the only other date given by tradition being 1615 A.D., it has to be accepted in view of this citation of Jīva Gosvāmin's work. The fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa's work explicitly acknowledges its indebtedness to Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, while it is in its own turn not mentioned in the list of previous biographies of Caitanya given by Jayānanda and Locanadāsa, would go to support the conclusion that it is one of the latest biographies of Caitanya in Bengali.

Dinesh Chandra Sen gives⁷ a short list of works cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, but this list he compiles practically from a similar list given in Jagadbandhu Bhadra's work. It must, however, be pointed out that these and such other lists, which are compiled generally from the printed editions of the text, are often misleading; for the printed editions do not often distinguish between works which are actually cited by name by the author and those from which anonymous quotations are given; and the editors themselves often supply as headings to such quotations the names, by chapter and verse, of the works which the manuscripts of the text very often quote anonymously. As a notable instance, we may refer to verses 5-12 which open Kṛṣṇadāsa's work. These verses are printed in some editions (e.g. the Vaṅgavāsī edition, the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha edition etc.) as quota-

6 The first part bears the date Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.); the second part is dated in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.).

7 *Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya*, p. 320: *History of Bengali Language and Litera-*

tions from Svarūpa Dāmodara, with the superscription *svārūpa-gosvāmī-kaḍacāyām*, although in the Kālnā edition this indication is omitted. The manuscripts of the text which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection and elsewhere do not support this attribution to Svarūpa Dāmodara, and no such superscription as given above is found in the manuscripts. This appears therefore to be a piece of unjustifiable "padding" by zealous editors, of which instances are not infrequent in the printed editions. We give below a full list of the works and authors actually cited by name, as well as those cited or referred to anonymously, prepared from one of the dated manuscripts of the work existing in the Dacca University Library (No. 207, dated Śaka 1672).⁸

The following works and authors are actually mentioned by name in the text itself :

Aṣṭādāśa līlā-chandas by Rūpa (Madhya i, 39), Āgama (Ādi ii, 20; iii 83; Madhya ix, 42) or Āgama-śāstra (Antya xix, 25), *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 38), Upaniṣad (Ādi ii, 12, 24 vii, 108 etc.), *Upa-purāṇa* (Ādi iii, 81), *Karṇāmṛta* or *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* (Madhya i 120, ii, 77; ix; 305-9; Antya xv, 27), *Kalāpa* (Ādi xvi, 32), *Kāvya-prakāśa* (Antya xiii, 111), *Kūrma-purāṇa* (Madhya i, 117; ix, 201), *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* by Guṇarāja Khān (Madhya xv, 99), Korān (Ādi xvii, 155; Madhya xx, 5), *Gīta-govinda* (Madhya ii, 77; x, 115; Antya xiii, 79; xv, 27, 83; xvii, 6, 62), *Gītā* or *Gītā-śāstra* (Ādi iii, 21; v, 88, 89; vi, 27; vii, 117 etc.), *Gopāla-campū* by Jīva (Madhya i, 44; Antya iv, 230), *Govinda-birudāvalī* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 40), *Caṇḍīdāsa* (Ādi xiii, 42; Madhya ii, 77; x, 115; Antya, xvii, 6), *Caitanya-maṅgala* by Vṛndāvana-Dāsa (Ādi viii, 33-38, 44, 63; xi, 54; xv, 7, 33; xvii, 138, 330; Madhya i, 11 etc.), *Caitanya-stava-kalpa-vṛkṣa* by Raghunātha-Dāsa (Antya vi, 326; xiv, 72, 119; xvi, 86; xvii, 70; xix, 75), *Jyotiṣa* (Ādi xvii, 103), *Daśama-carita* by Sanātana (Madhya i, 35), *Daśama-tīppaṇī* (Madhya i, 35), *Dānakeli-kaumudī* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 39; Antya iv, 226), *Nāṭaka-varṇana* by Rūpa [= *Nāṭaka-candrikā*]

⁸ In preparing this list Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee of the Dacca University Manuscript Library very materially assisted me and I take this opportunity of thanking him for his help.

(Madhya i, 40), Nigama-purāṇa (Madhya xx, 393), Nyāya (Madhya xxv, 50), *Pañjī-ṭikā* (Ādi xv, 6; Antya xiv, 10), *Padyāvalī* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 39), *Pātañjala* (Madhya ix, 42; xxv, 51), Purāṇa (Ādi iii, 38, 83 etc.), Bṛhat-sahasra-nāma (Ādi xvii, 90), *Brahma-saṃhitā* (Madhya i, 120; ix, 237, 239, 309, 323), *Brahma-sūtra* (Madhya xxv, 98), *Bhāgarata* (many references), *Bhāgaratāmṛta* by Sanātana (Madhya i, 35), *Bhāgarata-sandarbha* (Ādi iii, 79; Madhya i, 43; Antya iv, 229), *Bhārata* or *Bhārata-sāstra* [= *Mahābhārata*] (Madhya vi, 97; Ādi iii, 83), *Bhramara-gītā* (Madhya xxiii, 56; Antya xix, 107), *Mathurā-māhātmya* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 40; xxv, 208), *Yoga-sāstra* (Ādi ii, 18), *Rasāmṛta-sindhu* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 38; xix, 133; iv, 223), *Rāyer Nāṭaka-gīti* [= *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*] by Rāmānanda Rāya (Madhya ii, 77), *Laghu-bhāgaratāmṛta* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 41), *Lalitā-mādhava* by Rūpa (Madhya i, 38; Antya iv, 225), Vidyapati (Ādi xiii, 42; Madhya ii, 77; x, 115; Antya xv, 27; xvii, 6, 61), *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Ādi vii, 117), *Uyāsa-sūtra* (Madhya vi, 133, 138; xxv, 43, 89; also see *Brahma-sūtra*), *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* (Antya, ii, 95), *Śikṣāṣṭaka* (Antya xx, 138, 139), *Ṣaṭsandarbha* (Antya iv, 231), *Sāṃkhya* (Madhya ix, 42; xxv, 49), *Siddhārtha-saṃhitā* (Madhya xx, 223), *Stavāvalī* or *Stava-mālā* (Madhya i, 39), *Hayaśirṣa-pañcarātra* (Madhya xx, 237), *Hari-vaṃśa* (Madhya xxiii, 110), *Haribhakti-vilāsa* by Sanātana (Madhya i, 35).

In addition to some of the works mentioned above, quotations are given in our MS with the actual citation of the following works and authors by name: *Gopī-premāmṛta*, *Gautamīya* (Tantra?), *Caitanya-carita* [= *candrodaya*] *nāṭaka*, Jayadeva, Tantra, *Nārada-pañcarātra* (or only *Pañcarātra*), *Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa*, *Padma-purāṇa* (also *Padmottara-khaṇḍa*), Brahman (taduktam brahmaṇā) *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*, Bharata-muni, *Bhāgarata* (referred to also by Skandhas, e.g. *daśame*, *dvītiye* etc.), *Bhāṣya*, *Mamaiva ślokāḥ* Rāmānanda-kṛta *Gīta*, *Viśva* or *Viśvaprakāśa*, *Sāstra*, *Sāstrajña*, *Śrīdhara-svāmin*, *Śrīmukha-Śikṣā-śloka*, *Śrī-yāmunā-cārya-stotra*, *Śrī-rūpa Gosvāmin* (also *tatkṛta saptam-skandha-vivecana*), *Śrī-sahasra-nāma-stotra*, *Śruti* (also general references as *Veda* and *Vedānta*), *Sāmudraka*, *Siddhānta-tattva-bheda*, *Sindhu* (= *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), *Stuti-śloka*, *Smṛti*, *Haribhakti-sudhodara*.

Anonymous quotations appear to be given from the following works in addition to most of those mentioned above :

Abhijñāna-śakuntala, Amara-koṣa, Ādi-purāṇa, Uttara-rāma-carita, Ekādaśī-tattva (Ādi ii, 74), Garuḍa-purāṇa, Govinda-līlāmṛta (Kṛṣṇadāsa's own work), Jīva's Tattva-sandarbhā, Lakṣmīdhara's Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī, Naiṣadhīya, Pāṇini, Bhāvārtha-dīpikā of Śrīdharasvāmin, Bhāraṇī's Kīrātārjunīya, Raghuvamśa, Rāmāyaṇa, Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad, Sāhitya-darpaṇa (Antya i, 186), Skanda-purāṇa.

S. K. DE

The Phallus Worship in the Veda

Eminent oriental scholars, both European and their Indian followers, have tried to prove the practice of Phallus Worship in the Veda. The only argument advanced by them in support of it lies in the word *śiśnadeva* used twice in the *Rgveda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 10, 99). I have discussed the question at some length in my *Vedic Interpretation and Tradition*¹ arriving at the conclusion that the word *śiśnadeva* can mean nothing but 'lustful', as it is interpreted traditionally. In the course of my discussion I quoted from Sanskrit literature the following words for comparison: *śiśnodara-parāyaṇa*, *śiśnodara-trp*, and *śiśnodarambhara*, all bearing the only sense 'one addicted to lust and gluttony'. Besides, the following words compounded with *-deva* as the last member were also cited from different Vedic works: *mātr-deva*, *pitṛ-deva*, *ācārya-deva*, *atithi-deva*, and *śraddhā-deva*. Certainly these words do not mean a mother-worshipper, a father-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, a guest-worshipper and a faith-worshipper respectively.

To the above list I can add one more; it is *stri-deva* meaning *kāmuka* 'lustful', as it is evident from the following lines of the *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, I. 9-11 (as added to the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, Nirṇayasāgara Edition, p. 4):

प्राप्ते कलियुगे घोरे नराः पुण्यविवर्जिताः ।

दुराचाररताः सर्वे सत्यवार्तापराङ्मुखाः ॥

परापवादनिरताः परद्रव्याभिलाषिणः ।

परस्त्रीसक्तमनसः परहिंसापरायणाः ॥

देहात्मदृष्ट्यो मूढा नास्तिकाः पशुदुद्भयः ।

मातापितृकृतद्वेषाः स्त्रीदेवाः कामकिङ्कराः ॥

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Tapas

In the creation legends in the Brāhmaṇas or Upaniṣads there occurs a phrase *sa tapo 'tapyata* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2-4, 1; *Brhadāranyaka Up.*, 1, 2, 6; *Taittirīya Up.*, II, 6, 1 etc.). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (loc. cit.) one reads: *so 'śrāmyat sa tapo' tapyata*. It literally means 'He exerted himself, he performed *tapas*'. My esteemed friend Dr. Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta University, 1927, p. 220, translates it thus: 'He tortured himself and mortified himself.' And he adds here the following note: "As the magician must prepare himself for his magic, and the priest must prepare himself for the sacrifice, by means of self torture and mortification, so Prajāpati, too, has to prepare himself in the same way for the great work of creation.....The word *tapas* actually means 'heat,' then 'ascetic fervour,' then 'asceticism itself.' He says further (p. 223): "As the term *tapas* not only means mortification, but also heat, it is possible, in the case of the words 'when they had mortified themselves,' which might also mean 'when they had become heated' to think of 'hatching-heat,' and it is quite possible that there is intentional ambiguity in the Sanskrit words." In another note of the same work he writes: "*Tapas* may here have its original meaning of 'heat' (some 'creative heat' analogous to the heat by which the brood-hen produces life from the egg) or it may mean the 'fervour' of austerity; or, as Deussen thinks, both meanings may be implied in the word."

This explanation seems to be due to too much adherence to the philological aspect of the question utterly ignoring the tradition.

According to it *tapas* in such cases is to be taken in the sense of 'knowledge' (*jñāna*), 'thought' or 'reflection' (*ālocana*). And it is very clear from the *Muṇḍaka Up.*, I, 1, 9: *yasya jñānamayaṁ tapaḥ*, 'whose *tapas* is in essence *jñāna*. And this *jñāna* is nothing but *ālocana* 'thought' or 'reflection'. So writes Śaṅkara in his commentary on the *Taittirīya Up.*, II, 6, 1 that *tapas* here means *jñāna* there being no possibility of other kind of *tapas*, for His desires are already satisfied

(*āptakāma*), and so He cannot perform any austerity. And so the phrase in question means that He reflected upon the creation etc. of the world He is about to make.¹ Śaṅkara writes the same thing also in his commentary on the *Praśna Uṇ.*, 1. 4.²

In the course of a discussion on the meaning of this word, *tapas*, used in the *Parāśara-dharmasamhitā*, I. 23, Śāyaṇa Mādhavācārya in his commentary has arrived at the same conclusion saying that *tapas* means *ālocana* 'reflection', the word being derived from the root *tap* which means in such cases 'to reflect' (*tap ālocane*).³

In the *Mahābhārata* in its edition mainly based on South Indian texts by Kṛṣṇamacārya and Vyāsacārya, Bombay, 1907, *Sāntiparvan*, 228, there are various meanings of the word of which the last one is *jñāna*.⁴

१ स आत्मेवकामः संस्तपोऽतप्यत तप इति ज्ञानमुच्यते "यस्य ज्ञानमयं तपः" इति श्रुत्यन्तरात् (मुण्डकोपनिषत् १।१।६) । आसकामत्वाच्चोत्तरस्यासम्भव एव तपसः । तत् तपोऽतप्यत तसवान् । सुज्यमानजगद्वचनादिविषयामालोचनामकरोदात्मेत्यर्थः । See Śāyaṇācārya's Commentary on the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, VII, 2 (Anandāśrama, 1898, p. 626).

२ प्रजानां स्थावरजङ्गमानां पतिः सन् जन्मान्तरभावितां ज्ञानम् तपोऽन्वालोक्यदत्तप्यत । अथ तु ज्ञानमन्वालोक्यम् ।

३ यत्तु तत्रैव (स्कन्दपुराण) उक्तम्—

कोऽसौ मोक्षः कथं केन संसारं प्रतिपन्नवान् ।

इत्यालोचनमर्थज्ञास्तपः शंसन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ इति

सोऽन्य एव तपःशब्दः । तप आलोचने इत्यस्माद् धातोस्तदुत्पत्तेः । तत् तपोऽन्न ज्ञानशब्देन संगृहीतम् ।

4 These are the meanings: fast, the religious observance to be performed during the acquirement of the Vedas, any particular practice, acquiring the knowledge of Ātman, the act of giving, austerity, control of senses, etc. Let the text be quoted here:

पक्षमासोपवासादीन् मन्यन्ते वै तपोधनाः ।

वेदव्रतादीनि तप अपरे वेदपारगाः ॥ २

यथाविहितमाचारस्तपः सर्वं व्रतं गताः ।

आत्मविद्याविधानं यत्तत्तपः परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ३

त्यागस्तपस्तथा शान्तिस्तप इन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।

ब्रह्मचर्यं तपः प्रोक्तमाहुरेव द्विजातयः ॥ ४

ज्ञानात्मकं तपःशब्दं ये वदन्ति विनिश्चिताः ॥ १०

Compare here the meaning of the word *aikṣata* used frequently in the creation legends in the principal Upanisads and *Chāndogya*, VI, 2-3, (see the *Concordance to the Principal Upanisads* and *Bhāgavadgītā*) with that of *tapo* 'tapyata' and it will be clear that both of them are used, in fact, in the same sense.

As we have seen, Sāyaṇa Mādhavācārya takes the root *tap* to mean 'reflection' (*ālocana*). But though this meaning of the root is hardly found in any other place, so far as goes my information, we cannot discard it altogether. There must be some origin of it, otherwise he could not write it so boldly.

Be that as it may. Now as the word *tapas* has thus both the senses, austerity and reflection, I think, Roth is quite justified in suggesting that in these cases *tapas* is 'intense abstraction', or 'severe meditation' as Muir would say (See Roth's *Lexicon* and Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. V, p. 361).

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

New Contributions to the Interpretation of the Mahāvamsa

In the following pages, *Mahāvamsa* will mean the whole chronicle, including its more recent continuations generally called *Cūla-vamsa*¹ and not its most ancient part only.

I *Local traditions on Dutthagāmaṇi in Rohaṇa*

When I was myself travelling in Rohaṇa in the winter of 1926 I was surprised to hear legends and popular traditions everywhere concerning King Dutthagāmaṇi (101-77 B.C.) who is, no doubt, the national hero of the Sinhalese. With the help of these traditions I am now able to describe more accurately the topography of Dutthagāmaṇi's war with his brother Tissa (*Mhvs.*, 24, 32 ff.). Dutthagāmaṇi had his residence in Mahāgāma, Tissa in Dīghavāpi. Regarding the situation of Mahāgāma there is no doubt that it is the modern Māgama in the cultivated area of Tissamahārāma NE. of Hambantota on the left bank of the Kirinda-oya not far from its mouth. As to Dīghavāpi I conjectured (*Mhvs.*, trsl., p. 8, n. 1) that this was perhaps a name of the Mahakandīya-veva (Kandiyakattu-veva), about 30 miles SSW. of Batticaloa. This has been verified by what I learned on the spot to my question referring thereto. The Ratamahatmaya at Bibile told me that the name Dīghavāpi is still well known in the country, and it is nothing but Mahakandīya-veva.

Dutthagāmaṇi's dominion was, therefore, the South-Western part of Rohaṇa i.e. the greater part of the present Province Uva together with the Eastern districts of the Southern Province, that of Tissa the North-Eastern Rohaṇa, the district round the Mahakandīya-veva, what is now called the Eastern Province of Ceylon.

In the first war between the two brothers Dutthagāmaṇi was unsuccessful and fled to Mahāgāma, while Tissa retired to Dīghavāpi.

1. I may be allowed to publish here a few notes to my translation of this important work (Pāli Text Society, *Mhvs.*, 1912; *Ovs.*, I, 1929; II, 1930) which is still the richest source of the knowledge of Ceylon history.

In the second war the elder brother (styled *rājā* in the *Mhvs.*, while Tissa is referred to as *kumāra*) was victorious. There the popular tradition enables us to give an exact description of the scene of war. According to it the locality of the decisive battle was a place named *Yudaganāva*² a little more than a mile NNW. of Buttala. There is a *pansala* on the spot and a *dāgoba*, no doubt erected in commemoration of the historical event. The tradition suits very well to the topographical facts. Buttala is nearly half-way between Mahāgāma and Dīghavāpi, and the boundary of the two dominions was probably not very far from that place. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi must have approached from Mahāgāma along the old high-road passing through Kataragāma and leading from Buttala to Medagāma-Bibile-Alut-nuvara (old Mahiyaṇigaṇa) on the Mahaveli-gaṇga.

After the battle, prince Tissa fled and came to a monastery the name of which is not mentioned in the chronicle. He was pursued by the king. But the priests protected Tissa and helped him in escaping to Dīghavāpi. Local tradition locates the scene of this event at the *O k k a m p i t i y a - v i h ā r a*, situated about 4 miles, as the crow flies, east of Buttala.

Finally according to the tradition (which I heard myself on the spot), Duṭṭhagāmaṇi after his victory stayed for some time at a place where later on the *T i m b a r u k a - v i h ā r a* was erected. This tradition, too, is quite true. The monastery lies a mile or so East of Medagama in the jungle.³ Medagama is about 20 miles away from Buttala to North, nearly half-way on the road to Dīghavāpi. It appears that after Tissa's escape Duṭṭhagāmaṇi took a new and strong position nearer to the hostile capital in order to watch the further military operations of his brother and eventually to prevent a new attack. When he saw that Tissa's resistance had definitely broken down, he returned to Mahagāma where afterwards the reconciliation of the two brothers took place.

We do not know, of course, how far such local traditions contain

2. The name itself reminds us of the historic event, for *yuda* is the Vedic and Pāli *yuddha*, 'battle.'

3. I visited it on the 10th of February, 1926.

an historical kernel. But they help us at least to understand the text of the *Mahāvamsa* in a more accurate and exhaustive manner.

II *Single words and terms*

There are in my translation of the *Mahāvamsa* some words and terms which are not precisely or even wrongly explained. This may partly be excused for the long distance which separated me (i.e. during my work) from Ceylon and the lack of reliable sources. To my venerated friend Buddhadatta Thera (Aggarama, Ambalangoda) I owe a series of useful suggestions and corrections some of which I may be allowed to publish here with additional notes of my own.

1 *Udakkukkhepasīmā*, lit. 'boundary (made) by throwing up water' (*Mhvs.*, 89. 70; 94. 17; 97. 12) is an interesting Buddhist ceremony, insufficiently described by Wijesinha (*Mhvs.*, trsl., p. 312, n.) and by myself (*Crs.*, trsl., II, p. 199, n. 3). According to Buddhadatta a note on the term should run as follows: Ecclesiastic acts must be performed within a sacred boundary (*sīmā*) and they can be performed not only on dry ground but also in water, either in a building erected on piles in a river or lake, as we see so frequently in Ceylon, or even in a boat. If the act takes place in water, the boundary must be fixed in the following manner: After the chapter of the *saṅgha* has assembled, one of the priests takes water in a vessel or a handful of water from the lake or the river. He then throws the water with his hands to the four quarters. The boundary is marked by the furthestmost points where the water has fallen. When doing so the bhikkhu who throws the water must stand within the *hatthapāsa*, in the immediate vicinity of the chapter.

2 *Catubhāṇavāra* (*Mhvs.*, 98. 24). We are told that king Vijayarājasīha (1739-47) invited the sāmaṇera Saraṇaṃkara and had a commentary on the *Catubhāṇavāra* made by him in the language of Laṅkā (*nīmantetvāna tass' eva catubhāṇavāravannaṇaṃ Laṅkābhāsāya kāretvā*). It is well known that *bhāṇavāra* means a section of holy texts, and that the Tipiṭaka, for the purpose of learning and recital, is divided into a great number (2547) of such sections. But I did not know what by *catubhāṇavāra* is meant. Buddhadatta informs me that

this is a name for the *Maha-pirit-pota*, 'the great Pirit-book', *paritta*, i.e. a collection of holy texts, short hymns or sermons which are publicly recited on certain occasions with a view to warding off the influence of evil spirits. The description of a *Paritta* ceremony is found in my book, *Unter Tropischer Sonne*, p. 28 ff. The *Mahā-pirit-pota* is called *Catubhāṇavāra* because it consists of four such sections. Subsequently I saw that Saramkara's commentary on the Paritta-book is even mentioned in L. de Zoysa's *Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese, and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon* (Colombo 1885), p. 6 under the title *Catubhāṇavāra-Atthakathā*, and that it is common in the island. Finally I may point to the fact that the phrase *pirīt satar baṇṇar*, the four bhāṇavāras of the *paritta* already occurs in a Sinhalese inscription of the first half of the 10th century (Wickremasinghe, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 48, l. 38). We see from this passage that the *paritta* collections are by no means quite modern as Childers (s.v. *parittā*) has said.

3 *Dhammaghosaka*. In a note on *Mhvs.*, 37, 149 I have suggested that this term (37, 173) means the same as *dhammabhāṇaka* 'preacher of the doctrine'. This is wrong according to Buddhadatta. *Dhammaghosaka* denotes a Bhikkhu who invites people for a sermon proclaiming that such and such a priest will preach on some subject of the *dhamma* on such and such a day at such and such a place. I may add a notice on *dhammakathika* and *dhammabhāṇaka*. Are they synonymous? The first term occurs frequently in Buddhist literature, often in combination with *vinayadhara*, 'one who masters or knows by heart the Vinaya' and *bahussuta*, 'one who has a wide knowledge of tradition'; also with *suttantika*, 'one who is versed in the Suttantas' (cf. Stede, *PTS. Dict.*, s.v. *dhamma*). It must therefore have a general meaning like 'one who is able to converse about subjects of the holy doctrine'. This is quite in concordance with the meaning of *dhammā kathā* or *dhammakathā*, 'ethical discussion, conversation about the Dhamma' (Stede, I. 1) and with that of *dhammaṃ katheti*. On the other hand, *dhammabhāṇaka* does not occur in the older literature. It is entirely missing in Childers' and Stede's Dictionaries, and I have in my own collections the only quotation *Mhvs.*, 37, 173. But we meet terms like *Dīghabhāṇaka*, *Majjhimbhāṇaka*, *Samyuttabhāṇaka*,

Āṅuttarabhāṇaka, *Khuddakabhāṇaka* and *Jātakabhāṇaka*. It appears clearly from *Dīgha Commentary* (ed. PTS., I, 1886, p. 15²⁷) that they denote priests who have learned the *Dīgha*-, *Majjhima-nikāya* etc., who know it by heart, and who are able to recite it from memory.

The same difference of meaning between *kathika* and *bhāṇaka* results from *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner, p. 341):

Bhagarato kho, mahārāja, dhammanagare evarūpā janā paṭivasanti: suttantikā venayikā ābhīdhammikā dhammakathikā Jātakabhāṇakā Dīghabhāṇakā Majjhimbhāṇakā Samyuttabhāṇakā Āṅuttarabhāṇakā Khuddakabhāṇakā sīlasampannā etc.

There are no *dhammabhāṇakā* in this list nor *Jātakakathikā* and so on. In *Mhvs.*, 37, 173, however, *dhammabhāṇaka* is, I believe, simply synonym of *dhammakathika*. But this is a more modern development of meaning influenced by Sinhalese language. Here *baṇa* at present means, accordingly to Buddhadatta, 'a sermon preached in Sinhalese' (not a recital of Pāli Texts) so that all laymen understand it. Such a Baṇa-preaching lasts two or three hours in the afternoon or first half of the night, sometimes in up-country it lasts for a whole night.

III *Mahāvamsa and the inscriptions*

Finally a short supplement to my article on 'the Trustworthiness of the Mahāvamsa' in the present *Journal*, VI, p. 205 ff. We are told in the *Mahāvamsa* (70, 327 ff.) that when Parakkamabāhu after a long campaign had nearly conquered Rājaraṭṭha, the province of his cousin Gajabāhu, the latter in his distress asked the Bhikkhus for intervention, and owing to their admonition Parakkamabāhu indeed stopped the war and returned to his own country Dakkhinadesa. It is then stated in 71. 2-4 that after the end of the hostilities Mānābharana, the ruler of Rohaṇa, tried to enter into an alliance with Gajabāhu. But Gajabāhu who desired no treaty with him betook himself to the vihāra by name Mandaligiri. There he had the words 'I have made over Rājaraṭṭha to the king Parakkama', graven on a stone tablet..... The inscription means no doubt: According to the treaty made with him Parakkamabāhu is appointed my successor in Rājaraṭṭha. Mandaligiri is the present Medirigiriya in the Tamankaḍuva district. In the

ruins there the inscription of Gajabāhu has not yet come to light. But recently the parallel inscription of Parakkama has been discovered by Paranavitana, the epigraphist (now acting Commissioner) of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon, at an ancient vihāra at Saigamuva near Gokarella NE. of Kurunegala i.e. on the ground of old Dakkhinadesa.

"In this document the two princes (Gajabāhu and Parakkamabāhu) seem to treat each other as independent sovereigns of equal status, but Gajabāhu, being the elder of the two and, moreover, the ruler of the capital city of the Island, is given precedence. The treaty itself consists of four clauses by the first of which the two cousins solemnly declare that they would not wage war against each other till the end of their lives. The second clause lays down that the kingdom of the one who will be the first to pass away will become the property of the survivor. We do not know what the third clause was about, as this part of the record is damaged. By the fourth clause, the two princes enter into an offensive and defensive alliance declaring that a king who was an enemy to one of them was an enemy of both."⁴

Thus again a passage of the *Mahāvamsa* is confirmed and supplemented by an inscription.

WILH. GEIGER

The Yerragudi Copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict

Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar has earned our gratitude by publishing a tentative reading of the Yerragudi Copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict together with a reproduction of a photograph of the same.¹ As he himself has realised, the reading offered by him is far from satisfactory, far, we mean, from indicating the real course of the text of the inscription through the labyrinth created by the scribe. King Aśoka has, in his R.E. XIV, regretted the incompleteness or distortion of some of his inscriptions due partly to error or carelessness on the part of the scribe-engraver (*līpikarāparādha*). If there be any glaring instance of his scribe-engraver's error or carelessness, it is certainly the inscription under discussion. There is hardly any uniform method in the madness of the scribe.

He engraves the first line, as he ought to, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines, here marked as **1** and **1a**. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the left half of the second line as a continuation of L. **1a**. To indicate this left half of the line it is marked as **2a**.

Like a good man he engraves the third line from left to right, while coming to the fourth line, he proceeds again from right to left, and whimsically stops without completing the line, and that apparently to leave space for the first four letters of L. **5**, engraved from left to right. As might be expected, he engraves the next line from right to left. But here he suddenly halts after engraving ten letters in order to begin the seventh line from the margin on the left. He finds space enough for engraving the six letters of L. **7**, the continuation of which he engraves from the left margin. The continuation of L. **7** is, therefore, marked here as **7a**. Here he creates a further trouble by accommodating four letters of L. **7a**, reading °*dhetave e*, in an intervening space

between L. 7 and L. 6. He does not place these four letters between the *kākapādas* in order to keep them distinct. The four letters are taken to make up a short line, here marked as **7b**. The manner of engraving is such that lines **7**, **7b** and **6** appear to form one line at its full length.

The seventh and eighth lines are engraved both from left to right, while the next line exhibits the scribe's caprice for engraving from right to left. Here again he arbitrarily stops after engraving just twelve letters in order to commence L. **10** from the left margin. The next line, comprising nine letters, as it does, is engraved from left to right and placed below the left extremity of L. **10**. A short line marked as **10a**, consisting of six letters engraved from the right margin from right to left leads arbitrarily to L. **11**. Like L. **11**, the twelfth and thirteenth lines consist each of nine letters and are arranged on the same short scale, L. **13** being engraved from right to left.

The next line, engraved from left to right, does not run to its full length. After L. **15**, engraved at full length from left to right, but before coming to L. **16**, one has to trace up the course of the text in continuation of L. **11**. The continuation proceeds in a number of short lines, here marked as **11a**, **11b**, **11c** and **14a** some of which are engraved from right to left.

The continuation of the text ending in L. **14a** is to be traced in L. **15**, which proceeds at full length from left to right. Here the scribe tries to satisfy his predilection for writing from right to left in a short line comprising four letters, which is conveniently marked as **16b**.

Like L. **16**, the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first lines are engraved at full length from left to right, while coming to the concluding line, the scribe finally seeks to satisfy his bias for writing from right to left.

For distinguishing the lines that run from left to right from those that proceed from right to left, in the case of the former the numerals are put before and in the case of the latter these are put after.

The anomaly in the engraving of the inscription might be partly due to the fact that the scribe entrusted with the work was inefficient and careless, and partly due to the fact that he was so much habituated

to writing the Kharoṣṭhī form of writing from right to left that it was very difficult, nay, impossible for him to shake it off even in writing a Brāhmī inscription. The long habit of writing from right to left worked within him by fits and starts, and it could not have operated so virulently if he were not of unsound mind at the time of engraving it or damagingly careless in habits.

The language of the inscription does not materially differ from that of other copies of the Minor Rock Edict. The *l* sound is nowhere substituted for the *r*, and so far as this is concerned, the language shows a tendency to get rid of Māgadhism. But the use of *e* as a nominative singular case-ending for the masculine and neuter stems ending in *a* is patent. In one instance we have *prāna* for *pāna*, *svaga* for *saga*, and *ārokam* for *ārogyam*. We trace vowel-sandhis in *meyasa* = (*me* + *asa*), *hiyatha* = (*hi* + *atha*), and *hathīyārohā* = (*hathi* + *ārohā*). We have a few peculiar verbal forms in *susutaviye* for *susutariye*, and *vaḍhasitā* for *vaḍhitā* or *vaḍhisati*.

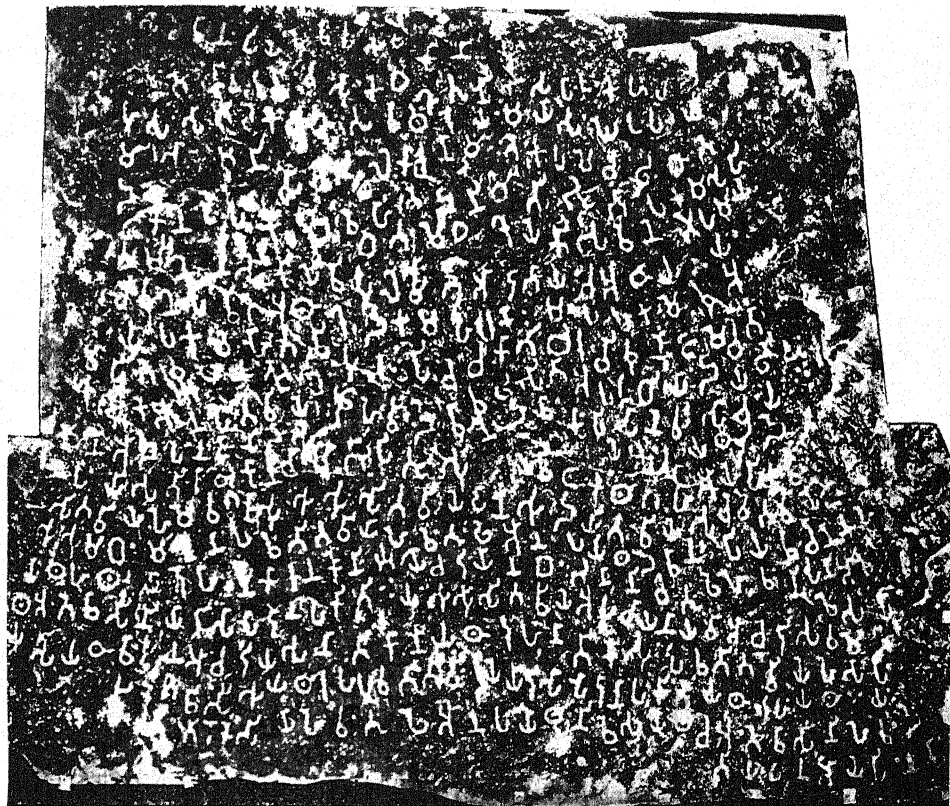
The find-spot of the inscription is a place called Yerraguḍi in the Kurnool District of the Madras Presidency. The copy is incised on the face of the same set of boulders that bear a copy of the fourteen Rock Edicts. The discovery of a copy of M.R.E. along with a whole set of the Rock Edicts in South India and on the same rock is important as upsetting the earlier hypothesis that the Rock Edicts were intended to mark the upper or northern boundaries of Aśoka's empire, and that the Minor Rock Edicts were meant to mark its lower or southern boundaries.

The historical importance of the inscription lies also in the additional matters that it contains. The additional matters give a clear hint as to the method and agents employed for a wide circulation of the message to be proclaimed. The message was officially communicated to the *Rājūkas* who by the beat of drums made it known to the public at large. The elephant-riders, the *kāraṇakas*, the charioteers and the religious teachers were expected to set to work and instruct their resident pupils. The kinsmen were required to talk to the kinsmen, and the neighbours to the neighbours by implication.

The riddle of the enigmatic *vyuthena* 256 remains unsolved. It is, however, decided that it is intended to signify either 256 nights or years. If it signifies nights, we must understand 256 nights spent in

A. THE TEXT AS FOUND INSCRIBED

- 1 Devānampīye hevaṃāha
te(kapa) rachavasam kame 2a
kho tu na kesapāu kamha (ya) 2
3 husa sāti(r)ekam (tu kho) savachare yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayi-
(a-) (na) lekā ca nāmii tekapa me cha dhabā te- 4
5 -mīsā muni-
-sā devehi te dāni misibhūtā pakamsa hi
kha- yekisa vanetpahama (na) 6
7 -dakena pi pa (rā)-
7b -dhetave e-
7a (ka) mīnena sakiye vipule svage ārā— tāye va athāya iyaṃ
8 (s)āvane sāvite athā khudaka-mahadhanā parākamevu aṃ-
ca kātīthiraci vunejā me ca tā- 9
10 (i)yaṃ pakame hotu vipule pi ca vadhasitā aparadhiyā
diyaḍhiya
-sā nevasā ca yaṃi 10a
11 -(vāp)ite vyathena 200 50 6
11a hevaṃ devānampi-
11b -yena yathā de-
12 (rāju)ke ānapitaviye
-naā dampanajā nāribhe 13 (na)yepinaṃvā- 11c
14 -payisati raṭhikānaṃ ca mātāpitūsu su-
14a (sa)va(tha) kathitā hia
15 -sitaviye hemeva gurūsu sususitaviye prānesu dayitaviye
16a -sa- ca vataviyā (na)
16 susuma dhammagunā pavatitaviyā hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha
devānampiyavacanena he-
hi- nidā vaṃ- 16b



Yerragudi Copy of Aśoka's M.R.E.I.
(By kind permission of the Editor, *Bhārati*, Madras)

I.H.Q., March, 1933.

- 17 -yathā hatthiyāroḥāni kāranakāni yū(g)yacariyāni² bambhanāni
ca nivesayā-
18 -tha amtevāsīni yā(ri)sā porānā pakiti iyaṃ sususitaviye
apacāyanā ya vā me ācari-(m) sa va me-
19 -yasa yathācāriṇa ācariyasa nātikāni yathārahaṃ nātikesu
pavatitaviye hesā(p)i
20 amtevāsīsu iyaṃ yathāraha pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti
yathāraha yathā iyaṃ
21 ārokaṃ siyā hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca
amtevās(i)ni hevaṃ de-
tiyapanaā yepinaṃvā- 22

B. THE TEXT AS MADE OUT

- 1 Devānampīye hevaṃ(āha)[:] 1a (s)ā(dhi)kāni.....³
2 (y)[aṃ] hakaṃ upāsake na tu kho 2a ekaṃ samvachar[aṃ] (paka)te
3 husa[.]Sāti(r)ekaṃ (tu kho) savachare yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayi-
4 -te bādha ca me pakate [.] Iminā ca kāle(na) (a)-5 -misā munisā
devehi te dāni misibhūtā[.]Pakamasa hi⁴ 6 (n)a mahatpaneva sakiye
kha-⁵ 7 -dakena pi pa(rā)- 7a -(ka)mīnena sakiye vipule svage ārā-
7b -dhetave [.]E- 7a -tāyeva aṭhāya iyaṃ 8 (s)āvane sāvite athā khudaka-
mahadhanā parūkamevu Aṃ- 9 -tā ca me jānevu ciraṭhītikā ca 10 iyaṃ
pakame hotu [.]vipule pi ca vadhasitā aparadhiyā diyadhiy(aṃ)[.]
10a Iyaṃ ca sāvane sā- 11 -(vāp)ite vy[u]thena 200 50 6 [.]
12 (Rājū)ke ānāpitaviye 13 bherinā Jānapadaṃ āna- 14 -payisati
Rāṭhikānaṃ ca [:] Mātāpitūsu su-⁶ 15 -sitaviye [.]hemea gurūsu
sususitaviye prānesu dayitaviye [.]11a Hevaṃ Devānampi- 11b -yena⁷
yathā De- 11c -(vānampīye(na) 14a (sava)tha kaṭhītā hia ca vataviyā
[.] (Naṃ) 16 susuma[:] Dhammagunā pavatitaviyā [.] Hevaṃ tuphe
ānapayātha Devānampiya- 16a -sa vacanena [.] He- 16b -vaṃ dāni hi-

2 The reading is kindly suggested by Mr. N. G. Majumdar.

3 The gap may be filled up with the words *adhatiyāni vasāni*; supplied from other copies of M.R.E.

4 Other copies read *Pakamasa hi iyaṃ phalaṃ*.

5 Read *kh[u]*—.

6 Read *su[su]*—.

7 Read **pyenēva*.

17 -yathā . hathiyārohāni kāranaḥkāni yūgyacariyāni bambhanāni ca nivesayā- 18 -tha aṃtevāsīni yā(ri)sā porānā pakiti [.] Iyaṃ sususitaviye [:] Apacāyanā ya vā ācari(m) sa va me- 19 -yasa yathācāriṇa ācariyasa[.] Nātikāni yathārahaṃ nātikesu pavatitaviye [;] hesā (p)i 20 aṃtevāsīsu yathārah [aṃ] pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti [—]yathārah[aṃ] yathā iyaṃ 21 ārokaṃ siyā [.]Hevaṃ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṃtevāsīni [.]Hevaṃ De- 22 -vānampiye ānapayati [.]

Translation

Thus verily His gifted Majesty saith:—

During (the period comprising) more than two years and a half⁸ since I became a lay worshipper (of Buddhism),⁹ the (first) one year I was not exerting myself (for the cause of the good faith). (Subsequently) when more than a year (passed) since I came in contact with the Buddhist Holy Order¹⁰ I exerted myself strenuously. By this (interval of) time¹¹ men who were unmixed with the gods have now been intermingled. It is not indeed that the man of greater position striving energetically is able to obtain the bliss of paradise in its full magnitude. For this very purpose I have caused this declaration to be declared that the man of lesser position as well as the man of greater position will strive energetically, that the Antās (inhabitants of the allied outlying tracts and principalities),¹² too, will come to know of it,

8 The expression *sāṭirekāni aḍḍhatiyāni* or *sādhikāni aḍḍhatiyāni* signifies 'more than two years and a half and less than three.' Accordingly the Pāli expression *sādhikāni diyaḍḍhasatāni sikkhāpadāni*, occurring in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* should mean 'more than 150 and less than 200 rules of conduct.' But Buddhaghosa explains it in such a manner as to explain away the force of *sādhikāni*.

9 & 10 These would seem to accord with what Buddhaghosa says regarding the first two stages of Aśoka's conversion. In the first stage he cherished but an ordinary kind of faith (*poṭhujjanikā saddhā*), a mere personal admirer of an individual monk, while in the second stage his faith became deepened after he had come in contact with the representatives of the Holy Order.

11 Literally, 'by this time.'

12 In the Pāli and general Buddhist sense, the term *aṃtā* or *paccantā* means 'the regions or areas outside the Middle Country.' There are passages, in which the same term denotes the outer zones of a realm or kingdom.

and that this tradition of energetic effort will become ever-lasting, and will greatly increase, at least, one and a half times.

This declaration is caused to be declared in 256¹³ in terms of the time gone by.¹⁴ The message is to be officially communicated to the Rajjukas (touring district officers).¹⁵ They shall announce (the same) by the beat of drums to the Jānapadas (people of the districts)¹⁶ as well as to the Rāṣṭrikas (citizens of the hereditary tribal states)¹⁷: "Proper attention should be paid to the parents,¹⁸ proper attention should likewise be paid to the teachers and preceptors,¹⁹ and tender regard should be paid for the (different) forms of life".

CORRECTION SLIP

Page 117, l. 24—Read *hemera* for *hemea*.

Pages 118, Insert between ll. 17 and 18 after the word 'position':—
(alone) is capable of this energetic effort; (for) even
the man of lesser position.

amata is here interpreted as *amata* *amata* *amata* as engaged in measuring land and fixing boundaries of allotments or plots of land belonging to different owners or tenants. The external support to such an interpretation may indeed be derived from the *Indika* of Megasthenes mentioning a class of such officials in the service of the Maurya Court. But as represented in Aśokan edicts, R. E. III and P. E. IV, the *Rājūkas* were the high officials in charge of the districts, going from time to time on tours of inspection. They were empowered to discharge the magisterial as well as the judicial functions.

16 & 17 We cannot suggest at present any better way of distinguishing between the *Jānapada* and the *Raṭhika*, and both from the *Amā*.

18 Literally, 'mother and father.'

19 The word *guru* is taken here in a collective and comprehensive sense denoting both *ācārya* and *upādhyāya*, both *śikṣā-guru* *dīkṣā-guru*.

20 *Hathiyārohā* is = Pāli *hatthirohā* = Skt. *hastipakāḥ*.

21 *Kāraṇaka* or *kāraṇikā* means in Sanskrit 'a judge,' 'an examiner.' It may also mean "a scribe or clerk."

teachers)²² (your) resident pupils to work according to the good old rule.²³

This is to be attended: "That which I have practised as a filial duty, let it be due to the teacher properly behaving as such". The kinsmen should propound the matter to the kinsmen as far as they can. The same should also be propounded as far as possible to the resident pupils according to the good old rule, so that this (noble tradition) will remain unimpaired. Thus instruct ye the resident pupils and keep them engaged.

Thus verily His Gifted Majesty commandeth.

B. M. BARUA

²² The word *bambhana* is interpreted here in a general sense which seems to fit in with the context.

²³ *Porāṇā pakiti* is evidently an Aśokan expression for the Pāli *dharmma sanantano* or the Skt. *sanātana-dharmaḥ*, or *ṛtīḥ purāṇaḥ*.

The Pratihāra Administration

The kingdom of Kanauj, whose fortunes had received a rude shock in the confusion following Harṣa's death revived and re-called its power and prosperity during the vigorous rule of the Pratihāras, who held sway over it for about two centuries and a quarter. Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, the two most powerful monarchs of this dynasty, carried on protracted campaigns, as a result of which their empire grew to enormous dimensions, comprising territories as widely apart as Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Gorakhpur district, Ujjain, Karnal district (Pehoa), Bundelkhand, and Rajputana. In this paper we wish to deal with the administrative machinery of the Pratihāras. Unfortunately no mediæval Kauṭilya or Megasthenes has left to posterity an account of this system of government, but a few facts may be gleaned from the Pratihāra inscriptions, and we may further supplement them from those of the Gāhaḍavālas, who, it may be reasonably assumed, must have inherited the traditions and general structure of administration from their predecessors.

At the head of the state was the king, whose office was hereditary. He exercised absolute powers, and except his immediate advisers the people in general had hardly any share in the determination of his policy in peace or war. The inscriptions usually apply to him the epithets *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*, which have been taken to imply imperial status. But sometimes to the names of even mighty potentates like Mihira Bhoja are prefixed merely the honorific *Śrīmat*¹ or the unassuming title of *Mahārāja*.² In the Gāhaḍavāla records the kings are given the appellations of *Aśvapati*, *Narapati*, *Gajapati*, *Giripati*, and *Triśaṅkupati*, (the exact connotation of the last term is obscure).³ Next to the sovereign were the chief

1 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 156.

2 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 90.

3 *Ibid.*, X, p. 98; XIV, p. 193 etc. These terms perhaps signify lords of various classes of feudatories; but the first three may also stand for the lordship over the three branches of the army. According to the *Si-yu-ki*, however, when there is no paramount monarch the southern, western, northern and eastern

queen (or *paṭṭamaḥiṣī*) and the crown-prince (*yuvārāja* or *Mahārājaputra*); and from the Gāhaḍavāla plates they appear to have been quite important personages being invested with certain 'royal prerogatives' of granting land.⁴ Their grants had, however, to receive the consent of the ruling monarch before they could take effect. Thus, when the *yuvārāja* Jayacandra⁵ and the *Mahārājñī* Gosaladevi⁶ make a grant, they do so with the approval of Vijayacandra and Govindacandra respectively. Sometimes the crown-prince was more closely associated with the government, as was Govindacandra during the life-time of his father, who appears to have been an invalid.

The suzerain was the centre of a number of feudatory chiefs, who helped him in military undertakings, and rendered him personal attendance when required. Such, for instance, were the chieftains named *Uṇḍabhāṭa* of *Siyadoni*,⁷ *Balavarman* and *Avanivarman* of *Saurāṣṭra*,⁸ *Mathanadeva* of *Rajorgarh*⁹ during the Pratihāra times and *Siṅgara Kamalapāla* and *Vatsarāja*¹⁰ under the Gāhaḍavālas. These feudatories are described as having obtained from their overlord the *Pañcamahāśabda*,¹¹ or the *Rājapaṭṭi*, i.e. the royal fillet or tiara.¹² The inscriptions bestow on them such subordinate titles as *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, *Samadhigataśeṣamahāśabda*, and *Mahāpratihāra*,¹³ but sometimes they even assumed the bombastic epithet of *Mahārājādhirāja*, as did *Mathanadeva*, *Durbhāṭa* and *Niṣkalaṅka*, which was probably due to varying degrees of dependence.

The powers of these subordinate chiefs must have been considerably restricted, since we learn from certain inscriptions that even their grants were countersigned by provincial representatives of the suzerain. Thus, according to the *Una* charter, *Dhika*, who was perhaps such an official under *Mahendrapāla*, gave his approval to a grant made

parts of *Jambudvīpa* (India) are respectively supposed to be ruled over by four sovereigns called *Gajapati*, *Chatrapati*, *Aśvapati*, and *Narapati* (*Beal's Trans.*, vol. I, p. 13, note).

5 *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 118.

6 *Ibid.*, V, p. 117.

7 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 169.

8 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 1f.

9 *Ibid.*, III, p. 263f.

10 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 130.

11 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 1. See also for an explanation *Ind. Ant.*, IV, pp. 106, 204; XII, p. 95; XIII, p. 134; *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 254 etc.

12 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 130.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

by the Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II Yoga.¹⁴ Again, the Partabgarh inscription represents that it was to the provincial governor of Ujjain, named Mādhava, that Indrarāja, the Cāhamāna feudatory, after having built a temple to the sun-god Indrādityadeva) applied to make an endowment for its upkeep. The record calls Mādhava a 'tantrapāla', and also gives him the titles of *Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. These governors were assisted in the enforcement of their authority by the military, which were posted at strategic points in the distant provinces. Thus, Maṇḍapikā (Mandu), near Ujjain, was the military headquarters for the southern regions, as we are told that Mahendrapāla II stationed there one Śrī-śarman as his commander-in-chief.¹⁵

Besides, provincial defence was organised by building forts, which were placed in charge of officers called Koṭṭapāla (guardian of fort). Under Bhoja I one such official was Alla. But his father Vaillabhaṭṭa, who was in the service of Rāmadeva, is given the designation of *Maryādādhurya*, or *Dhurodhikārī*, meaning chief of the boundaries. This shows that one of his functions was also to watch that the existing boundaries were not disturbed by foreign encroachments.¹⁶

Another provincial officer whom we know from the Barah copper-plate¹⁷ was the Vyavahārīn or controlling officer. He supervised the grants that were made by kings with a view to avoiding their lapse into abeyance. These charters (*śāsana*) were conveyed by an officer called Dūtaka, which literally means 'messenger'.¹⁸ Regarding his duties, Fleet remarks that "the Dūtaka's office was to carry, not the actual charter itself, for delivery into the hands of the grantees, but the king's sanction and order to the local officials, whose duty it was then to have the charter drawn up and delivered".¹⁹

In connection with the village administration we learn of officials designated as Gāmagamika, Mahattara, and

14 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 2, 6.

15 *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 177f.

16 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 154-159. Maryādā may also mean a constitution or regulation-system, especially of corporate bodies; and so Maryādādhurya may denote a person responsible for its maintenance. Dhurodhikāra, on the other hand, means only an officer in control, and Dr. L. D. Barnett told me that it may not be a technical term.

17 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 16; cf. also Vyavaharāna in *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 145.

18 *Ibid.*, V, pp. 209, 213.

19 *CH.*, vol. III, p. 100, note 3.

Mahattama.²⁰ The first term probably stands for headmen of the villages who were responsible to the government for the maintenance of peace and order within their boundaries. The other two terms have evidently the same political significance, although the terms have comparative and superlative inflexions. *Mahattara* literally means 'one higher in rank'; *Mahattama*, 'one highest in rank'. It seems they were the two classes of elders of villages, who co-operated with the government officials in the management of rural affairs.

This list is further supplemented by the Gāhaḍavāla records, which it will be noticed, mix together court officials and strictly political functionaries, local or central:

(a) *Mantrin* or minister. He advised the king on matters of moment, but the inscriptions do not give any idea if there was a separate minister for each department.

(b) *Purohita*, or chaplain. He ministered to the spiritual needs of royalty, whom he assisted in the maintenance of the Dharma. He was also the recipient of the royal gifts. The plates often mention the term *Mahāpurohita*, which shows that there was a high-priest in the kingdom.²¹

(c) *Pratihāra*, or door-keeper. The office of the chamberlain has always been a prominent one in the states of ancient India. This official is also mentioned in the records of the Pratihāra kings,²² and in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kautiliya* he is called 'Dvārapāla' and 'Dauvārika' respectively.

(d) *Senādhipati*, or commander of troops.

(e) *Bhaṇḍāgārika*, or superintendent of stores. He had to see that all necessary articles were kept in readiness and that their distribution was in accordance with the king's orders.

(f) *Akṣapaṭalika*, or keeper of records. Considering the large number of Gāhaḍavāla grants, his office must have been a very important one. Some inscriptions mention the superior officer called *Mahākṣapaṭalika*.²³

20 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 263 (Rajor inscription).

21 See the *Arthaśāstra* (Transl.), p. 15f. for his duties and qualifications.

22 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 206.

23 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 94.

(g) B h i ṣ a k a, or the physician. He looked after the health of the king, and was perhaps the head of the public health department.

(h) N a i m i t t i k a, or astrologer. He was responsible for forecasting the effects of particular conjunctions of the stars, portents, etc.; it was probably after his reading of the omens that undertakings were embarked upon.

(i) A n ũ a ḥ p u r i k a, or superintendent of the seraglio. As kings not unoften used to have several wives, a special officer was appointed to look after the needs of the harem.

(j) D ũ t a s, or envoys. These formed a diplomatic corps responsible for maintaining proper relations with foreign powers.

(k) K ā r y ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers in charge of elephants. They were probably charged with the management of elephants, wild or domesticated.

(l) T u r a g ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers in charge of horses. These two sets of functionaries formed a very important part of the state machinery, as its defence and power largely depended upon the efficiency and organisation of the cavalry and elephant forces.

(m) P a t ṭ i n ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers in charge of towns. These may be compared to the 'Nāgarika' of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, being charged with the administration of cities. From the Siyadoni record it also appears that during Pratihāra times some sort of municipal government was not unknown. For it tells us that the town affairs were managed by an assembly of five called 'Pañcakula', and by a committee of two, appointed from time to time by the town.²⁴

(n) Ā k a r ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers in charge of mines. They must have been very important officials, as the mines were one of the chief sources of revenue.

(o) S ũ h ā n ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers of police-stations. They corresponded to modern *Thānādārs*, and were responsible for policing and maintaining law and order.

(p) G o k u l ā d h i k ā r a - p u r u ṣ a s, or officers of cattle-stations. As agriculture was the main industry, it was necessary to have a separate officer for cattle in order to rear good breeds etc.

(q) Kāyasīha or Karaṇika i.e. the scribe. He was apparently the writer of the records.

(r) Pattalika.²⁵ This term perhaps denotes the head of *pattala* or Tahsil.

Besides these officers, the Lucknow Museum plate of Kīrtipāla, found in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces,²⁶ mentions Dharmādhikaraṇika, Daivāgārika, Mahāsādhanaika, Aṣṭavargika, Mahārthasāsanaika, and Saṅkhaadhārin. It is, however, difficult to determine exactly the functions of these officials.

Territorial Divisions

For purposes of administration the kingdom was divided into numerous provinces. These provinces were usually called *bhukti*, as the Kānyakubjabhukti in the Barah copper-plate,²⁷ or *bhūmi* as the Gurjarātrā-bhūmi in the Daulatpura charter,²⁸ or *maṇḍala*, as the Saurāstra-maṇḍala in the Una grant.²⁸ According to the Barah copper-plate, however, *maṇḍala* was the next lower unit after *bhukti*, and was not a synonymous term. The provinces were further subdivided into *viṣayas* or districts. Among them we find mention of Udumbara³⁰ and Dindavanaka.³¹ The term *bhoga* also seems to have been used sometimes in the same sense, as we read of the Vaṃśapotakabhoga.³² The headquarters of a district were called *adhiṣṭhāna* or *pattana*.

The next unit in the descending scale was the *agrahāra*, or a modern tahsil. We thus read of the Valākāgrahara in the Barah copper-plate. In the Gāhaḍavāla records, however, the term '*pattala*' is used in the same sense.

Last came the *grāma* or village, which had been the most stable unit of administration in India from time immemorial. Furthermore

25 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 320

27 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 15.

29 *Ibid.*, III, p. 3.

31 *Ibid.*, V, p. 210.

26 *Ibid.*, VII, No. 10.

28 *Ibid.*, V, p. 210.

30 *Ibid.*, XIX, pp. 15, 17.

32 *Ibid.*, III, p. 263.

in some records the term *pāṭaka* appears;³³ this, according to the lexicographer Hemacandra, denoted one-half of a village.³⁴

Group-life

As some Pratihāra inscriptions show, persons following the same occupation normally formed themselves into corporations for regulating their business. For example, the Gwalior epigraph³⁵ refers to the guild of oil-millers and gardeners, who in their corporate capacity made gifts to a temple. Similarly, the Siyadoni³⁶ and Pehoa³⁷ records mention such traders as potters, distillers of spirituous liquors, sugar-boilers, betel-sellers, and horse-dealers, whose organisation into guilds is proved by their joint action, and by the fact that they had a foreman or *deśi*. We are told, for instance, that the distillers of liquors were required to give on every cask liquor worth half a *vigrahapālādramma* to the god Viṣṇu. Or, we may cite the joint agreement of the horse-dealers, whereby they imposed upon themselves and upon their customers certain taxes, the proceeds of which were distributed among the temples and the priests in specified proportions.

Such guilds must have been of benefit to the state, inasmuch as they certainly fostered a law-observing spirit in the interests of the community, and thus facilitated the task of government, besides rendering useful service in organising society and administering justice in internal affairs.³⁸

Fiscal conditions

We may now set forth the evidence regarding the principal sources of revenue, on which depended the stability and strength of the state. The Rajor inscription of the Pratihāra feudatory Mathanadeva mentions numerous dues from a village like the *bhoga* and *mayuta* income, with all customary and not customary, fixed and not fixed receipts; the

33 *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 135.

34 'Pāṭakastu tadardhe syāt' (see Boehtlingk's edition, p. 179).

35 *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 161.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

38 Cf. R. C. Majumdar's *Corporate Life in Ancient India*.

shares of all sorts of grain; the *khalabhikṣa* (cess on threshing floors);³⁹ *prasthaka*; *skandhaka*; and *margaṇaka*.⁴⁰ The meaning of these three terms, however, is not known. Fines for ten offences (*sadaśūparādhadaṇḍa*),⁴¹ likewise *aputrikādāna* and *naṣṭibharata* (*naṣṭabharata*?) were other sources of revenue. Besides these, the state laid claim to treasure-trove and mineral products. The record also mentions the following taxes: three *viṃśopakas* on every sack of agricultural produce brought for sale to the market (*haṭṭalāna*); two *palikas* on every *ghaṭaka-kūpaka* of clarified butter and oil; two *viṃśopakas* per mensem on every shop; fifty leaves on every *chollika* of leaves brought from outside towns.

In addition to these, the Gāhaḍavāla plates mention the following sources of revenue:

(a) *Bhāga*, or share: this possibly represents a stipulated share, exacted by the actual owner from the farmer who cultivated the land.

(b) *Bhoga*, or enjoyment: probably certain rights that the landlord enjoyed when the land was left fallow. Or, it might refer to the use of waste and taking of grass, etc. from the field, when the cultivator's crops had been removed. Or, is 'bhāga' partial and 'bhoga' complete proprietorship?

(c) *Kara*, or rent proper, payable in cash or kind.

(d) *Hiranya*, or gold: a money-tax, levied on profits of trade and manufacture. Or is it that 'Kara' represents dues in kind, and 'Hiranya' dues commuted into cash?

(e) *Pravaṇikara*: a tax on turnpikes, intended to preserve the peace of the village by discouraging the advent of large numbers of visitors. Sometimes it has also been interpreted as a tax for the upkeep of roads.

(f) *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*: a term difficult to explain. It has been variously interpreted as a tax on aromatic reeds,⁴² or tribute paid to Ghazni by the ruler of Kanauj,⁴³ or a tax imposed on the Hindus to ward

39 See *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 179, verse, 42. Khalaka appears as a revenue term in *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 114, l. 55.

40 See *Ibid.*, p. 83, l. 20. It may be equivalent to the Hindi 'maṅgana.'

41 On the 'daśaparādhah' see Jolly's *Hindu Law and Custom* (Eng. Transl., by B. K. Ghosh, 1928, pp. 168-270).

42 *JASB.*, LVI, pt. I, p. 113.

43 Vaidya, *HMHI.*, III, p. 211.

off the Moslems.⁴⁴ But, as pointed out by Sten Know,⁴⁵ it might also mean a tax levied on the Moslems, who, according to the *Kamil-ut-Tawarikh*, settled in the Kanauj kingdom in the time of Mahmud-bin-Sabuktigin, and were 'constant in prayer and good words'.⁴⁶ Thus it would be a sort of Hindu counterpart of the Moslem Jizya.

(g) *Jalakara*, or tax on water. This must have been a fruitful source of income as the prosperity of the village largely depended upon irrigation.

(h) *Gokara*: probably a tax on the breeding of cattle just as in the South there was a tax of 'the good bull'. Or, was it charge covering grazing rights?

(i) *Viṣayadāna*: this must have been some kind of district tax.

(j) *Yamalikambala*; *Nidhi-nikṣepa* (treasure-trove); *Kuṭaka*; unfortunately the signification of these terms is unknown.

We also learn from inscriptions that there were regular customs-houses, called *Mattadāra*, or *Maṇḍapikā*, where perhaps taxes on sales and manufactures were levied and collected.

Regarding land-settlement the details are meagre to the extreme. All the information that we get is that the village lands were measured by 'Hastas' or 'Nalukas', and they were well demarcated by boundaries.⁴⁷

We are also told in the Gāhaḍavāla plates of the rights possessed by owners of villagers, and granted to donees, viz., water (*jala*); waste-land (*sthala*); iron-mines and salt-mines (*lohalavanakara*); fisheries (*matsyakara*); ravines (*garta*); saline soil (*oṣara*); groves of madhuka (*mahua*) and mango (*madhukāmravanavatīkā*); grass and pasture land etc. (*trṇayutigocaraparyantāḥ*).

Coins

Lastly, we may enumerate the coins mentioned in the Pratihāra records in connection with donations: *Dramma*; *Pañcīyaka-dramma*;

44 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 400 footnote.

45 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 329.

46 Elliot's *History of India*, II, p. 251. See also *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 321.

47 *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 113.

Vigrahapālīya-dramma; Vigrahapāla-satka-dramma; Vigrahatuṅgiyā-dramma; Ādivarāha-dramma; Varāhakāya-viṃśopaka (?); Vighraha-dramma-visovaka; Kapardaka; Kākinī; and Varāṭaka.⁴⁸

Judging from this comprehensive system of coinage and taxation, it would appear that the fiscal administration was fairly developed, and the government knew how to realise money from the people.

RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHI

Indo-European “kh” in Sanskrit and Avestan

It is well-known that I.-E. *skh* is represented in Sanskrit by *ch* and in Avestan by *s*. According to some I.-E. *sk* and *sq*, *sqh*, *sqw*, *sqwh* before palatal sonants may also be changed to Skt. *ch*. Av. *s*. But the representation of I.-E. *kh* without the sibilant before it in Skt. and Av. has remained doubtful. I shall try to show here that

I.-E. *kh*, Ar. *śh*=Skt. *ch*, Av. *ś*, Germanic *h*, as opposed to
I.-E. *skh*, Ar. *śśh*=Skt. *ch*, Av. *s*, Germanic *sk*.

Skt. *śākhā*, Modern Pers. *śākh*, Arm. *cakh*, Lith. *śaka*, Old Sl. *sokha*, Goth. *hoha*. I agree with Brugmann that I.-E. form was **khāqwhā* and the Aryan form **śhākhā*. The primitive Indo-Aryan form would be **chākhā*. By Grassmann's Law it will be *śākhā* or *chākā*. Now the word *chākā* (in Bāhuvrīhi compounds as *chāka*) is actually found in one of the Bārhut inscriptions: *naḍadapāde dhenachako* (*Bārhut Inscriptions*, Cal. Uni. publication, page 87). *dhenachako* has been rightly explained by the learned editors as equivalent to Pāli *dhonosākho*, “trim-boughed”.

Ved. *achā*, Av. *aśū* show that the primitive Aryan form was **aśhā*.

Skt. *chāga*, Anglo-Sax. *hecen*, Umbrian *habina*, Old Slav. *koza* show that the I.-E. form was **khoga* with an alternative form **qhoga*.

Skt. *pucha*, Goth. *fauho*, I.-E. *pukho* (I.-E. **puskho* > Av. *pusa*).

This representation of I.-E. *kh* in Av. is similar to that of Ar. *kh* (I.-E. *qh*, *qwh* palatalized) as Av. *ś*; e.g. Av. *haśe* (for *haśye*) dative sing. masc.=Skt. *sakhye*; *haśa* instr. sing.=Skt. *sakhyā*; but *hakha* nom. sing.=Skt. *sakhā*. That in such cases Av. *ś* is not derived from older *s* by palatalization is clear from Av. *hisid'yāt*=Skt. *chidyāt*, where *ch*=I.-E. *skh* (cf. Gk. *skhizo*); Av. *spasyā*=Skt. *paśyāmi*, where *ś*=I.-E. *k* (cf. Lat. *specio*, OHG. *spehon*); Av. *masyo*=Skt. *matsya*.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

Did Tailapa II Defeat a Cedi King ?

In his *Early History of the Deccan* (3rd. ed., p. 139) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar says "Tailapa (the founder of the Later Calukya Dynasty) humbled the king of Cedi." Dr. Fleet also referred to this event¹ but was not inclined to accept it as historical, for he wrote "Some of the later records assert that in addition to subverting the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, he overcame the king of Cedi, the Utkalas or the people of Orissa and Nepal and had subjugated the whole of the Kuntala country. The alleged conquest of Nepal is of course an invention of poets; and probably the statements about Cedi, the Colas and Orissa are no more substantial, except in being perhaps based, in the first two cases, on some successful resistance of attempts at invasion". Rai Bahadur Hiralal, however, who has recently written on the history of the Kalacuris of Tripurī² has identified this Cedi king defeated by Tailapa with Yuvarājadeva II of Tripurī.³ This king was closely related to Tailapa for, Bonthādevī, the daughter of Lakṣmaṇarāja and the sister of Yuvarājadeva II was the mother of Tailapa. We must, therefore, suppose that Tailapa waged war on his own maternal uncle.

Neither Dr. Fleet nor Rai Bahadur Hiralal has cited any authority for his statement, but they are evidently relying on the Yewur grant of the reign of Vikramāditya VI to which Dr. Bhandarkar has referred in a footnote. This Yewur Grant is inscribed on a stone tablet "at a shrine of god Basavaṇṇa at the temple of the god Someśvara on the north

1 *The Dynasties of the Kanerese Districts*, 2nd ed. (1896) p. 431 (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. ii).

2 *ABORI.*, IX, p. 291. Prof. R. D. Banerji also has made a similar statement in his recently published book *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* p. 14.

side of the village Yewur in the Sorapur Ilakha which is on the eastern frontier of the Kaladgi district". It had not then been carefully edited with a facsimile,⁴ but from a transcription and handcopy supplied to him, Dr. Fleet gave his version in the *Indian Antiquary* (VIII pp. 10 ff.). The genealogical portion of the grant which is in Sanskrit was copied from some earlier copper-plate; so Dr. Fleet utilised, for his version of the grant, the Miraj grant of Jayasimha III dated Śaka 946 (A.D. 1024-5) of which a transcription and an abstract translation had already been published.

The foregoing account of Dr. Fleet's version of the Yewur inscription shows that he had no reliable materials before him when he published it in the *Indian Antiquary*.⁵ In that inscription there occurs the following verse about Tailapa:—

हूणप्राणहरप्रतापदहनो यात्रात्रसन्मारवः
चैद्यच्छेद्यखिलभ्रमाजयनयव्युत्पन्नवीरोत्कलः ।
येनात्यग्रणाप्रदर्शितबलप्राचुर्यशौर्योदयः
कारागारनिवेशितः कविवृषा यं वर्णयन् घूर्णते ॥

Dr. Fleet translated this verse as follows:—

(Tailapa) who destroyed the life-destroying power of the Hūṇas; who caused the inhabitants of the deserts to tremble at his journeying forth; who eradicated the Caidyas; who subjugated the brave Utkalas by all his patience and victory and administrative talent; by whom any one who possessed an abundance of strength and increase and courage, manifested in the exceedingly fierce van of battle, was cast into prison; and in describing whom (even) the best of poets is driven to his wit's end."⁶ Dr. Fleet thus took the verse as consisting of four compound expressions and two relative clauses, all descriptive of Tailapa. As he himself acknowledged, the translation was not altogether satisfactory. It was, however, this version and translation on which both he and Dr. Bhandarkar relied for their statements in the first editions of their works which were published subsequently.

In 1887 Dr. Fleet published the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya

4 Dr. L. D. Barnett has since then edited the inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 269 ff. He has not, however, discussed or translated the present passage.

V of Saka Samvat 930 with a facsimile.⁷ As he had better materials to work on at this time, he gave a correct version of the above stanza, reading अखिलभ्रमाजयनयव्युत्पन्नधीरुत्पलः in place of ०वीरोत्कलः and took it to mean—“(Tailapa) by whom Utpala who had destroyed the lives of the Hūṇas and caused the Māravas to tremble at his approach, and had cut off the Caidyas and had perfected his intellect by policy combined with conquest of the whole world was cast into prison.”⁸ This translation, as far as it goes, may be accepted with slight corrections viz. Hūṇa, Mārava and Caidya were kings and not the people of the particular countries. It was thus clear that the description of martial exploits given in this verse refers not to Tailapa but to some king named Utpala who was defeated by Tailapa and cast into prison. As no king of this name was known at the time, Dr. Fleet identified him with Pāṇḍala, a Western Ganga prince, whom, according to other inscriptions, Tailapa killed in battle. Apart from this identification it was quite clear that the Caidyas or rather the Caidya king was defeated by Utpala and not by Tailapa. No other inscription of Tailapa or his successors records his defeat of a Cedi king. Still the statement in the works of Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet has remained uncorrected till now.

In 1886 an important Sanskrit kāvya, the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of Padmagupta *alias* Parimala was discovered and two years later Prof. Bühler and Dr. Th. Zachariæ published a critical account of it in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Wien Imp. Akademie of Sciences.⁹ From the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* it was clear that Utpala was the name of the Paramāra king Muṇja of Dhārā (called also Vākpatirāja).¹⁰ The above stanza हूणप्राणहर- &c. which occurs in the Kauthem plates of Vikramāditya V, the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II and the Yewur inscription of Vikramāditya VI refers, therefore, to Tailapa's victory over and imprisonment of Muṇja. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, p. 15ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. XVI, p. 18.

⁹ An English translation of the article has appeared in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXVI, p. 149 (1907).

¹⁰ श्रीमदुत्पलराजोऽभूद्रजोऽस्याग्रणीः सताम् । सगरापत्यदत्ताब्धिपरिखायाः पतिर्भुवः ॥
Canto XI, verse 92.

Merutuṅga tells us that Muṅja defeated Tailapa six times. When he crossed the Godāvārī in his seventh expedition against the advice of his minister Rudrāditya, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Tailapa. When he tried to escape from imprisonment, he was made to beg from door to door and hanged on a tree. Bühler accepted the statement of Merutuṅga that Tailapa killed Muṅja for it is clearly referred to in two Cālukyan inscriptions but he was inclined to look with suspicion on the other details of the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga. He remarked "The narrative is adorned with so many touching scenes and so many verses which the imprisoned king is said to have composed under different circumstances, that its legendary character is unmistakable".¹¹ Merutuṅga's version is not, however, as suspicious as Bühler thought. We know from an inscription of Muṅja that he had a minister named Rudrāditya.¹² That Muṅja was a good poet is known from Padmagupta's description of him¹³ as well as from several verses in anthologies ascribed to Muṅja, Vākpatirāja or Utpalarāja. The verse in Kauthem and other inscriptions shows that he composed verses in his imprisonment to please Tailapa. The tradition recorded by Merutuṅga seems, therefore, to have had a foundation in fact.

Nor have we any reason to doubt the truth of the description of Muṅja's military exploits in that stanza. It is true that Bühler has not referred to them in the critical and fairly exhaustive account of Muṅja's conquests,¹⁴ but this was probably because his attention was not directed to it. We must note that the description occurs not in the panegyric of a court poet but in the records of his enemies. Besides we know from another inscription¹⁵ that Muṅja defeated Yuvarājadeva II the Cedi king, killed his generals and held his sword on high at Tri-

11 *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, p. 170.

12 *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 160.

13 सरस्वतीकल्पलतैककन्दं वन्दामहे वाक्पतिराजदेवम् । यस्य प्रसादाद्व्यमप्यनन्यकवीन्द्र-
चीर्णं पथि सञ्चरामः । *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, 1, 7. Also cf. *Ep. Ind.*, I, 1567 f.,
"The Udepur Praśasti of the Kings of Malwa."

14 *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, p. 169-70; *Ep. Ind.*, I, 230.

15 युवराजं विजित्याजौ हत्वा तद्वाहिनीपतीन् ।

खड्ग ऊर्ध्वीकृतो येन त्रिपुर्यां विजिगीषुणा ॥ *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 235.

purī, the capital of the enemy. His victory over a Hūṇa king also is likely to be a fact. Both his father Sīyaka¹⁶ who preceded and his brother Sindhurāja¹⁷ who succeeded him are known from other records to have waged war on a Hūṇa prince and Muñja also may have done the same. That there was a Hūṇa family reigning in the 10th and 11th centuries is known from other inscriptions. The plates of Avanivarman II Yoga, (Vikrama) Samvat 956 mention a Hūṇa king, Jajjapa, who was defeated by Avanivarman.¹⁸ From the Jubbulpur copper-plate of Yaśahkarnadeva¹⁹ we learn that Karṇa of Tripurī (circa 1040-1070 A.D.) married a Hūṇa princess Avalladevī. The Paramārs were constantly at war with Hūṇa and Cedi princes. The Cedis were on the east and the Hūṇas probably on the west of the kingdom of the Paramārs. Karṇa's marriage with a Hūṇa princess must have, therefore, been dictated by political considerations, as it united two royal families against a common foe. It is more difficult to identify the king of the Maru country who was defeated by Muñja; but he is likely to be Balirāja, the Cāhamāna prince of Naddula in Rajaputana. The Sundha Hill inscription of Cācigadeva²⁰ tells us that Balirāja defeated an army sent by Muñja. Afterwards Muñja may have advanced in person and defeated Balirāja, or his successor.

The foregoing discussion will make it clear that the verse हूणप्राणहरप्रतापदहनो &c. describes the Paramāra king Muñja who was imprisoned and afterwards beheaded by Tailapa. As said above, there is no other record which alludes to Tailapa's victory over a Cedi king. His close relation to Yuvarājadeva II would also make such an invasion improbable in the absence of a definite proof.

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16 अकङ्कणमकेयूरमनूपुरमखलम् । हूणावरोधवैद्यदीक्षादानं व्यधत्त यः ।

Navasāhasāṅkacarita XI, 90.

17 अपकर्तुमत्र समये तवात्तभीर्मनसापि हूणनृपतिनं वाञ्छति । इभकुम्भभित्तिदलनोद्यमे हरेर्न कपिः कदाचन सद्यं विकर्षति ॥

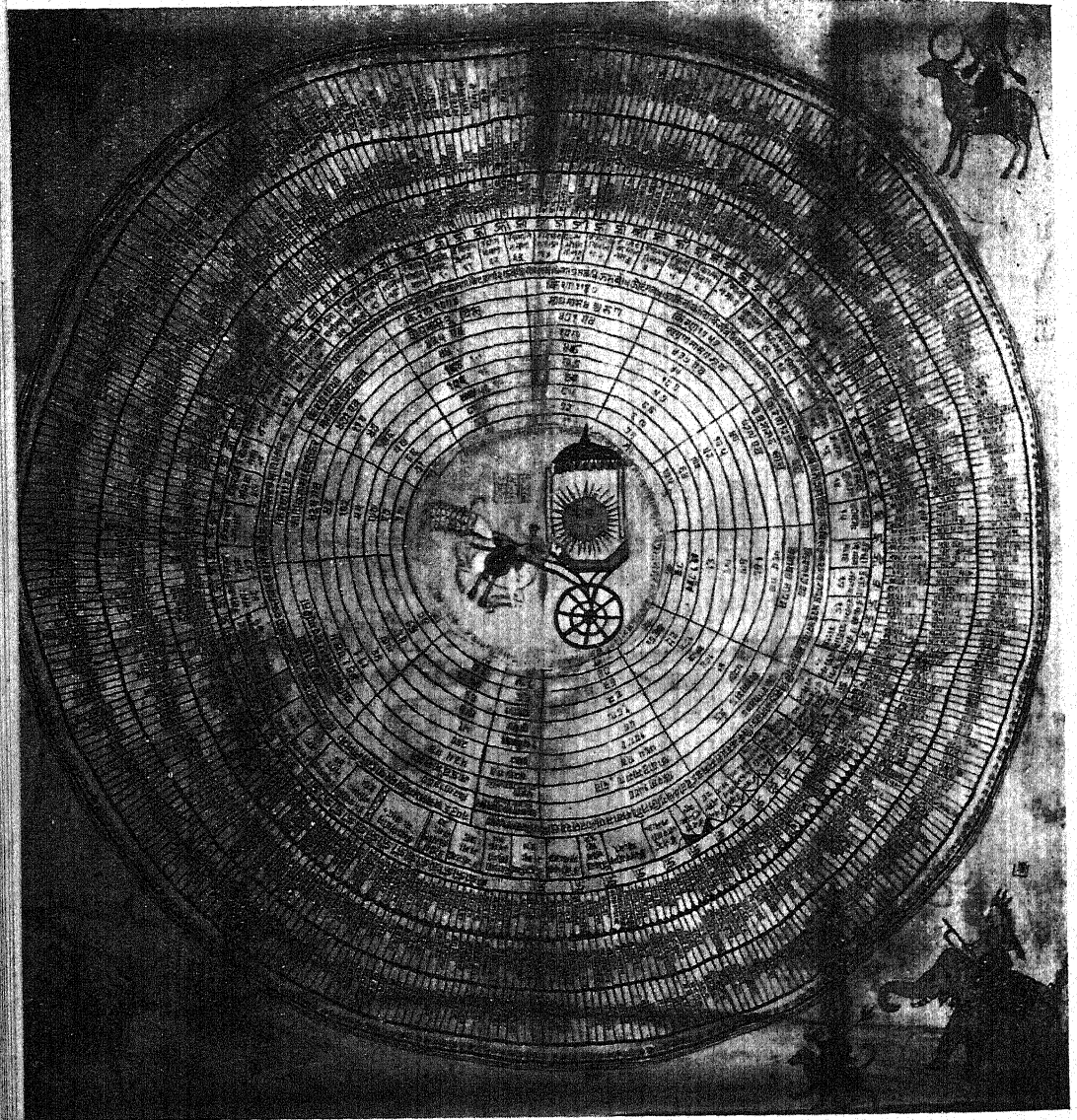
18 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 1.

19 *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 1.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 71.

तस्माद्विमाद्विभवनाथयशोनुहारी श्रीशोभितोऽजनि नृपोऽस्य तनूद्भवोऽथ । गाम्भीर्यैर्यस्य दनं बलिराजदेवो यो मुञ्जराजबलभङ्गमचीकरत्तम् ।

Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper



CHQ., March, 1933

*From a photograph
by Dr. Hirananda Sastri*

Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper

Akbar was probably more inclined towards Zoroastrianism than any other religion. It is said that he was taught the peculiar terms, ordinances, rites and ceremonies of this creed and that he was very reverential to the Sun-God. From the twenty-fifth year of his reign (March 1580), we are told, he began to prostrate himself in public before the Sun. The *Āīn* (III, p. 393) would show that for Akbar to light a candle meant to commemorate the rising of the Sun and that his maxim was that 'To whomsoever the Sun sets, what other remedy has he but this?' The worship of the Sun is rather more Brahmanical than Zoroastrian. The Hindu worship Him daily by his most sacred *mantra*, the *Gāyatrī*, praying Him for the *bhargas* and for the stimulation or sharpening of the intellect. The 'Sauras' among the Hindus worship this divinity particularly, just as the Saivas worship Siva and the Vaiṣṇavas, Viṣṇu. It is not impossible that Akbar learnt worshipping the Sun from Rājā Bīrbal who exercised very great influence on him and was himself a great adherent of the cult of the Sun. The evidence available would show that Akbar learnt the *Sūryasahasranāma* from a Jaina teacher of his—the influence which some of the Jaina *munis* exercised on Akbar has already been pointed out (V. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 164-5, 237; *Sarasvatī*, 1912, pp. 289 ff.) The list given by Abul Fazal names three Jaina *gurus* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The *Hīravijaya kāvyam* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hīravijaya-Sūrī on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-guru* or the Preceptor of the world. The Ādiśvara temple on the holy hill of Saṭruṅjaya near Palitana in Kathiawār has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Aśoka restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of

life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jaina teacher'. The following colophon of the commentary on the *Kādambarī* would show that Akbar read the *Sāryasahasranāma* with Bhānucandra whom Hīravijaya Sūrī had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Siddhicandra, the joint¹ author of the said commentary and a disciple of Bhānucandra, was another teacher of the Great Mughal.

इति श्रीपादशाहश्रीअकब्बरजलालदीनसूर्यसहस्रनामाध्यापकश्रीशत्रुंजयतीर्थकर-
मोचनायनेकसुकृतविधापकमहोपाध्यायश्रीभानुचन्द्रगणितच्छिष्याष्टोत्तरशतावधानसाधन-
प्रमुदितपादशाहश्रीअकब्बरप्रदत्तपुस्त्युहमापराभिधानमहोपाध्यायश्रीसिद्धिचन्द्रगणिविरचि-
तायां कादम्बरीटीकायामुत्तरखण्डटीका समाप्ता ।

This colophon is practically identical with that of the *Lekhalikhanapaddhati*, a manuscript copy of which, written in the Vikrama-Samvat 1711, I saw with the Jaina muni Śrī-Vicakṣaṇavijaya at Bangalore last year. The difference is that the latter was written in the reign of Jahangir and it attributes the giving of the title *Khush-faham* to the Jaina monk Siddhacandra to Jahangir and not to Akbar, and that it also mentions the conferment of the title 'the second Nādir-i-zamān' on the said monk. This reads as:—

इति महाराजाधिराजपादशाहश्रीअकब्बरजलालदीनसूर्यसहस्रनामाध्यापकश्रीशत्रुंजय-
तीर्थकरविमोचनगोवधनिवर्तनायनेकसुकृतविनिर्मापकमहोपाध्यायश्रीभानुचन्द्रगणिशिष्य-
युगपदष्टोत्तरशतावधानसाधनप्रमुदितपादशाहश्रीअकब्बरजलालदीनपादशाहश्रीजिहंगीर-
नूरुद्दीनप्रदत्तपुस्त्युहमनादिरजमां द्वितीयाभिधानमहोपाध्यायश्रीसिद्धिचन्द्रगणिविरचिता-
लेखलिखनपद्धतिः समाप्ता ।

लिखितोयं विद्यापुरे सं. १७११ वर्षे [११*]

It is interesting to observe here in passing that these references go a long way to prove that Akbar was not *unmi* or illiterate as is very often believed.²

1 The following verse given in the *pūrva-bhāga* of the *ṭikā* makes Bhānucandra the author:—

श्रीवाचकः संप्रति भानुचन्द्रो ह्यकब्बररुमापतिदत्तमानः ॥

श्रीशाहिचेतोऽब्जपदं धितुल्यः श्रीसिद्धिचन्द्रोऽस्ति मदीयशिष्यः । कादम्बरी वृत्तिरियं तदीय-
मनोमुदे तेन मया प्रतन्यते ॥

2 Vincent Smith, for instance, held this belief.

It is rather curious that though the Hindus as Sun-worshippers should have been the teachers of the said *Sahasranāma* yet Akbar selected a Jaina monk and read the eulogy of the Sun with him. Besides, the Jains do not worship the Sun. But it does not matter much. The fact is that Akbar read the *Sahasranāma* or the 1000 names to worship the Sun-God. One would be curious to know the *Sahasranāma* that Akbar the Great learnt. From a collection of ancient manuscripts muni Vicakṣanavijaya at Bangalore last year showed me some leaves which gives this eulogy or the *Sahasranāma* in question. He also showed me a diagram (see facsimile published herewith) which bears these one thousand names of the Sun written in circles. The diagram which I reproduce below was, I believe, worshipped by Akbar. I draw this inference from the following words written at the end of the *Sūrya sahasranāma*:—

अमुं श्रीसूर्यसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं प्रत्यहं प्रणमत्पृथ्वीपतिकोटीरकोटिसंघटितपदकमल-
त्रिखण्डाधिपतिदिल्लीपतिपातिसाहिश्रीअकबरसाहिजला[ल*]दीनः । प्रत्यहं शृणोति सोपि
प्रतापवान् भवतु ॥

This diagram is written in red colour which does not allow of a good photograph. It gives some pictures also which were apparently worked in by some unprofessional painter who wrote the thousand names and preferred to draw the figures himself and thus preserve the sanctity of the writing. I believe the word *amum* is here used for the *Sahasranāma* itself. The pronoun *adas* is, occasionally, employed to indicate the nearness and in the sense of 'this' or 'here', as in असौ शरभ्यः शरणागतानां (Raghu^s vi, 21) where *asau* means 'one who is to be seen in front' असाविति पुरोवर्त्तिनो निर्देशः according to Mallinātha. Possibly it is the very *stotra* of the Sun. Otherwise, it must be a copy of it. Both the *stotra*, I mean the *Sahasranāma*, and the diagram are with the said *muni*. The collection which contains both of them has got some interesting works, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, and is worth being acquired. The belief is that some of the manuscripts preserved in it belonged to the Jaina monks whom Akbar and Jahangir had patronised. Perhaps the good soul of the 'great scholar', the Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Haraprasād Sāstrī M.A., C.I.E., will help

in its acquisition and the pick of it will be brought to the notice of scholars ere long.

As the eminent Indian scholar to whose memory this volume is being inscribed was a great discoverer of good manuscripts I consider it quite opportune to announce the discovery of the stotra in this note as a tribute to his memory.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

Note on a Newly-Discovered Taxila Inscription

Kalawān is a site about three miles south-east of Sirkap, in Taxila. Here, under the foundations of a stūpa, the excavations of Sir John Marshall have brought to light a well-preserved Kharoṣṭhī inscription in five lines, incised on a copper-plate with punctured dots in the manner of the Taxila silver-scroll record. Prof. Sten Konow is engaged in editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*; and he has meanwhile given a preliminary account in *JRAS* (Oct. 1923, pp. 949-965) with a view to elicit a discussion on the various points arising out of the phraseology of its dating. How important the matter is will be evident from the fact that Prof. Konow has felt convinced that his own 'dating of all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the old series falls to pieces.'¹

The date is expressed thus:—

(Line 1) Samvatsaraye 1.100.20.10.4. ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase
treviśe 20.1.1.1. imeṇa kṣuṇeṇa.....

We may compare the date occurring in the allied silver-scroll record from Taxila:—

(Line 2) Sam 1.100.20.10.4.1.1. ayasa aṣaḍasa masasa divase 10.4.1.
iśa divase.....

There can be no doubt that the word *ajasa* in the copper-plate corresponds to the word *ayasa* in the silver-scroll. Nor can it be denied that the year 134 of the one refers to the same era as the year 136 of the other. We must accordingly assume that *ajasa* and *ayasa* are equivalent expressions; so that *aja* and *aya* have to be recognized as two variants of the same word. The question is, what that original word may have been.

Prof. Konow now thinks that *aja* and *aya* are two variants of the proper name 'Azes' known to have been borne by a ruler of this region whose coins have come down to us. His former view was that *ayasa* in

1 *JRAS.*, p. 952.

the silver-scroll corresponds to Skt. *ādyasya*, implying an intercalary month Āṣāḍha in the year 136. A parallel explanation applied to *ajasa* in the copper-plate would lead us to infer that there was an intercalary month Srāvaṇa in the year 134 of the same era. Astronomically, such a position is untenable, as the Professor has been informed by Dr. van Wijk who has made a special study of Hindu astronomy. That is the chief reason why Prof. Konow now abandons the old explanation. His other reason is that "it seems hardly likely that Sanskrit *ādya* can appear both as *aya* and as *aja* in two records, which are almost contemporary". But this is not a weighty consideration. In the silver-scroll, Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpita* appears as *pradistavita*, while in the copper-plate Skt. *pratiṣṭhāpayatī* appears as *pra-istaveti*, with the *t* completely elided. Again, the name Takṣaśilā appears in the silver-scroll as *Takṣaśie* (=Skt. *Takṣaśilāyām*), while the name Chaḍaśila, where 'the last component, *śilā*, is evidently the same as in Takṣaśilā',² appears with the *l* intact in the copper-plate (line 2).³ The irregularity of the dialect employed in these epigraphs is well-known; in the Kalawān copper-plate itself, we come across *grahavati* for Skt. *gr̥hapati*, side by side with *gahathuba* for Skt. *gṛhastūpa*. There is thus no insurmountable phonetic difficulty in tracing both *aja* and *aya* to Skt. *ādya*. On the other hand, although from the phonetic standpoint there can be no objection to the assumption that *aja* might represent the name Azes, the fact that the name is always rendered as *Aya*, never as *Aja*, on the coins of Azes raises a strong presumption against the existence of a side-form *Aja*. Moreover, it is hardly possible that the exceptional side-form, even if it existed, should be used here in preference to the form found on the coins of Azes which must have been current at the time the copper-plate was inscribed. That "the name Azes was familiar from the numerous Azes' coins in common use" is recognized by Professor Konow.⁴ If the object of the donor or engraver were to imply any reference to an era 'used by Azes and his successors', nothing could be calculated to

² *Ibid.*, p. 965.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 945 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 950.

impair that object more effectively than the choice of a form of the name Azes not occurring on the numerous Azes' coins in common use.

Under the circumstances, we are obliged to formulate an explanation for *ayasa* and *ajasa* as corresponding to some word qualifying *masasa* (=Skt. *māsasya* in *aśadāsa masasa* and in *śravaṇasa masasa*) coming immediately afterwards in the two records. The *māsa* is always in these epigraphs a lunar month. We know that the lunar month has two varieties, from a new moon to the next new moon, or from a full moon to the next full moon. Both varieties are known to early Hindu astronomy, the former being designated *amānta*, the latter *pūrṇimānta*. They are also sometimes called *mukhya* and *gaṇa*, respectively. Now, the term *mukhya* is synonymous with *ādya*, being derived from *mukha*, which has the same meaning as *ādi*. It is therefore quite reasonable to explain *ajasa masasa* or *ayasa masasa* as Skt. *ādyasya māsasya*, 'of the *ādya* month', in other words, 'of the *amānta* month',—*Śrāvāṇa* in one case, *Āśāḍha* in the other.

This interpretation is justified in another way. Prof. Konow and Dr. van Wijk have realized that, in several Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kushān period, the month employed is *pūrṇimānta*. Since the months in these records are not qualified by any term implying that they pertain to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, we may infer that, where no such term was applied, the people understood the months to be *pūrṇimānta*. If, therefore, the *amānta* month was required to be used, a differential expression would be necessary. And the term *ādya* applied to the month could well denote the difference.

The Kalawān inscription thus shows that the term *ayasa* occurring in the Taxila silver-scroll has no reference to intercalation or to Azes. It is a term indicating that the month employed was *amānta*.

It might be useful to append Prof. Konow's reading of this important record—

- (L. 1) Saṃvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase
treviṣe 20 1 1 1 imeṇa kṣuṇeṇa Caṃdrabhi uasia
- (L. 2) Dharmmasa grahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya Chadaśīlāe
śarira praistaveti gahathu—
- (L. 3) bami sadha bhraduna Namdivadhanena grahavatīna sadha
putrehi Sameṇa Saiteṇa ca dhituṇa ca

- (L. 4) Dhramae sadha sṇuṣaehi Rajae Idræ ya sadha Jivaṇaṃdina
 Śamaputrena ayariena ya sarvasti-
- (L. 5) vaṇa parigrahe raṭhanikamo puyāita sarvasvatvaṇa⁵ puyae
 nivaṇasa pratiae hotu.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

⁵ Read—*satvaṇa*.

A Note on the Girdharpur Brāhmī Inscription of the Year 28

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XVIII, pp. 4 ff., Mr. Jayaswal has published a Brāhmī inscription, found near the Girdharpur mound at Mathurā and dated in the year 28 of the Kanīṣka era, during the reign of the Devaputra Śāhi Huviṣka, and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 ff., Mr. Harit Krishna Deb has made some remarks on this record. The epigraph itself has been known to me for some time, but I have not felt at liberty to make any use of it before a paper which I have prepared for the *Epigraphia Indica* at the request of the Government epigraphist is published.

Since the inscription has now been made known, I should like to make some few remarks, in the hope that the criticism they may elicit can be utilised in my paper in the *Epigraphia*.

Mr. Jayaswal has justly remarked that the Girdharpur inscription reduces the interval between Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka to a few months. Vāsiṣka's latest date is found in a Mathurā inscription¹ of the third month of *hemanta* in the year 28, and the new Huviṣka inscription is dated on the 1st Gorpaias 28. As stated by Mr. De, the Macedonian Gorpaias corresponds to August-September. Dr. van Wijk has been good enough to calculate the date according to the system followed in my edition of Kharoṣṭhī inscription, and found that the corresponding Julian date is August 19th, A.D. 155. It is, however, possible, or rather probable, that the epoch of the Kanīṣka era is later than I have assumed in Dr. van Wijk's calculations.

Mr. De, who does not appear to ascribe the Mathurā inscription of the year 28 to Vāsiṣka, speaking of the Sāñci statue epigraph of the 5th day of the first *hemanta*-month of 28 as containing Vāsiṣka's last date, is of opinion that the Sāñci statue, with its date in October or November of Sam 28, is later than the Girdharpur inscription of August 28. That would be so if the Kanīṣka year began with Caitra, but everything speaks against that assumption, and we must evidently

1 No. 33 in Lueders' List.

reckon with a Kārttikādi year. There is not, therefore, any over-lapping in this case.

Nor can I accept Mr. De's statement that 'our record proves the use of Macedonian month-names in the Mathura region, at least, as early as the reign of Huvīṣka.' I shall return to this question below.

The inscription mentions a *puṇyaśālā* and a perpetual gift of 1100 *purāṇas*, and, according to Mr. Jayaswal, 'the officer signing and executing the gift was a nobleman, *Tīkana Prācī*, the son of *Rukamāna*.' *Tīkana* is said to be the Turki title *tigin*, and we should accordingly have to assume that this designation was known and used in India in the second century A.D., the *Tīkana* being, according to Mr. Jayaswal, evidently the governor of Mathurā.

I am unable to accept this ingenious explanation. It cannot be supported by a reference to a Nālandā inscription of the 6th century A.D., or to the use of the supposed Turki title *yavuga* at a still earlier date, it being very doubtful whether *yavuga* is originally a Turki word at all.

What is more important is, however, that the reading *tīkana* is a correction made by Mr. Jayaswal himself. What stands in his plate is *ayaṃ puṇyaśālā prācinī Kanasarukamāna-putreṇa Kharāśalerapatina Vakanapatinā akṣayanīvi dinnā*, and it seems necessary to connect the irregular form *prācinī* with *puṇyaśālā*, characterizing the hall as 'eastern', probably in order to distinguish it from another, 'western', hall.

The donor himself is accordingly characterized as *Kanasarukamāna-putra*, *Kharāśalera-pati*, and *Vakanapati*, apparently without mentioning his actual name.

I cannot analyse the first two of these terms. I cannot even decide whether we should translate the first one as 'son of Kanasarukamāna' or as 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas'. *Kharāśalerapati* must mean 'lord of Kharāśalera', but we do not know any district or tribe of that name. It can hardly have anything to do with *Khara*, the first station on Mahākātyāyana's northward flight from Roruka, before he reached the country of the *Lambākapālas*, i.e. Laghmān.²

2 Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 577 ff. and Lueders, *SBAW.*, 1930, pp. 39 ff.

From Lambāka Mahākātyāyana preceeded to Syāmāka, i.e. Chitrāl, and further to Vokkāna, i.e. Wakhān. The form Vokkāna is difficult, on account of its *kk* where we should expect a guttural fricative, but the identification of the name seems to be certain.

Now we know that Wakhān was one of the five principalities of the old Ta-hia country, and that the Kuṣānas continued to look on their old home in and near Badakshān as their real stronghold,³ and since we have before us a Kuṣāna inscription, it is tempting to see another form of the name rendered as Vokkāna in the *Divyāvadāna* in our *Vakana*. The two forms would bear the same relationship to each other as *Erān* and *airyana*. If I am right, Kharāsālera must also have been situated in the same neighbourhood.

As stated by Mr. Jayaswal *Vakana* is clearly the same name as *Bakana* in the Mathurā statue inscription published by Messrs. Vogel⁴ and Jayaswal⁵ Also there I would translate *Bakana-pati* as 'lord of Wakhān'. Mr. Jayaswal corrects *Bakana* to *Barkana* and explains *Barkanapatina Hum.* . . as 'by the king (*nṛpati*) of Varka, the *kṣa.* . of Huma, referring us to the Śaka tribe *Haumavarka* mentioned in an Old Persian inscription.⁶

That the donor was not settled in Mathurā but had come to the place from the North-West is, in my opinion, made probable by the use of the Macedonian month-name Gorpiaios. The Macedonian calendar has not formerly been traced in any inscription from India proper. We find Macedonian months mentioned in records from the North-West belonging to the Śaka and the Kaniska periods. But even in the border-land the Indian names were commonly used, and during the Parthian period no instance of the use of the Macedonian months is known from Indian inscriptions. It was the Sakas and their heirs

3 Cf. Chavannes, *Toung Pao*, II, viii, p. 1872.

4 *ASI.*, 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

5 *JBORS.*, VI, pp. 12 ff.

6 This sounds to me as if we were to say "King Rūpa, ruler of Kāma", instead of 'King of Kāmarūpa'. I shall not, in this place, enter into a discussion of the identity of the *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kuṣāṇa putra Shāhi Umatākṣasna*. The anusvāra in *Kuṣāṇa* seems to be quite distinct. If it is right, the form *Kuṣāṇa putra* is in favour of explaining *Kanasarukamāna* as a gen. pl.

the Kuṣāṇas who stuck to them, in and in the neighbourhood of their old strongholds.

When we now find a Macedonian month mentioned in a Mathurā inscription, it seems to be necessary to draw the inference that it was drafted by a person who came down from the North-West, from the Kuṣāṇa strongholds in the old Ta-hia country. And if I am right in my explanation of the designation *Vakanapati* as meaning 'lord of Wakhān', this conclusion becomes certain.

The Girdharpur record accordingly, seems to throw some light on the state of things in the Kuṣāṇa empire in the second century A.D. Nobles and chiefs from the old Kuṣāṇa country occasionally visited Mathurā and endowed various establishments. But it is probable that they also had another mission: to control the administration on behalf of their suzerains, who seem to have spent much of their time beyond the frontiers of India proper. In such circumstances it would not be unlikely that our information about the Kuṣāṇa nobles should be incomplete. We know nothing about Vamatakṣama. He may have been a successor of Wima Kadphises who never resided in India itself. And there may have been more than one 'unknown' ruler. The unexpected appearance of a suzerain with more high sounding titles than any other Kuṣāṇa, the emperor Kanīṣka in the Ara inscription, points in that direction.

Our record seems to be due to a chief of Wakhān, who owed allegiance to the Kuṣāṇa over-lord. The disruption of the Kuṣāṇa empire which led to the five hi-house setting up for themselves, and which was an established fact in the first half of the fifth century A.D.,⁷ had not begun at the time when Huviṣka began his rule. Though he is not distinguished by the full imperial title, he certainly held a position superior to that of the local ruler of Wakhān, who was probably a hi-hou.

STEN KONOW

⁷ Cf. J. Marguart, *Erānšāhe*, p. 242.

Notion of Time in Hindu Philosophy

“What is Time? A mystery, a figment but all powerful! It conditions the exterior world; it is motion married to and mingled with the existence of bodies in space, and with the motion of these. Would there then be no time if there were no motion? No motion if no time? Is Time a function of Space or Space of Time? Or are they identical?” Such must have been the train of thoughts that passed through the mind of early thinkers when they set upon pondering over the notion and function of Time.

Thus the earliest expression of human mind on the notion of Time is a vague pronouncement on the all-powerful character of Time. “Time drives as a horse with seven reins, thousand eyed, unaging, possessing much seed. His wheels are all beings. He brought the beings together and duly encompasses them. Being the father, he becomes the son of them all. Than his, verily, there is no other brilliance that is higher. Time generated yonder sky, Time also these earths. What is and what is to be stands out sent forth by Time. From Time came into being the waters. By Time the sun rises; in Time he goes to rest again. Time generated of old what is and what is to be.”¹ Such vague expressions did, no doubt, lead to more consistent and rational deliberations on the notion of Time. The later Hindu philosophers maintained *Kāla* (Time) as an independently existing Force and they gave the following reasoning:—

“All perceptible things are perceived as moving, changing, coming into existence and passing out of it. They are produced and destroyed. There must be some Force or Power which thus brings them into existence and moves them all. The things themselves cannot do it. There must, therefore, be something which makes this movement, organisation and destruction of things possible. It is this something, this Power or Force, which is *Kāla*. As it moves and changes things it gives rise to in the perceiver the notions, with regard to those things, of past, present and future, of old and new.² That is to say, it produces all

1 *Atharva-veda*, sūktas, XIX, 53-54.

2 *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, Upaskāra and Vivṛti, 11. ii, 6; *Nyāya-vārttika*, 11. i, 36.
Aparasmīn aparām yugapat ciraṁ kṣiprām iti kālalingāni.

those relations which are termed temporal and is in this sense only Time. It must be conceived as a Reality,³ because it cannot be shewn to be dependent for its existence upon anything, rather it is upon Kāla (Time) that all moving and discrete things depend, in so far as they have movements and change. It must be also a Reality which pervades the whole universe, that is to say, has relations with all things that are moving and changing. In fact, it is a Reality which relates things together in regard to their movements and changes, and thus enables a perceiver to speak of some things as old, and of others as young, with reference to one another. Thus Kāla (Time) is a Reality which holds together the sensible universe as it ever moves on in well-regulated and seasoned cycles, and yet maintains that positional order which, for ever, obtains between its various members."⁴

The Hindu philosophers further proceeded to argue that infinite Time is a non-entity objectively considered, being only a construction of the understanding (*buddhi-nirmāṇa*) based on the relation of antecedence and sequence, in which the members of the phenomenal series are intuited to stand to one another. These phenomenal changes as intuited by us in the empirical consciousness fall into a series, which the understanding conceives as order in Time. "The Time-series, then", says Sir B. N. Seal, "is a schema of the understanding for representing the course of evolution. The schema of the understanding supervenes on the phenomenal world as order in Time, and hence in the empirical consciousness the Time-series appears to have an objective reality and to form a continuum. As there is an ultimate and irreducible unit of extensive quantity (*parimāṇa*) in the Guṇas or infinitesimal Reals of Prakṛti, which are without constituent parts, so the moment may be conceived as the ultimate and irreducible unit of this Time-continuum as represented in the empirical consciousness." A moment, therefore, cannot be thought of as containing any parts standing in the relation of antecedence and sequence. If change is represented by the Time-series, a moment as the unit of Time may be supposed to represent the unit of change. Now all physical change may be reduced to the motion of atoms in space, and we may therefore define the moment as representing the ultimate unit of such change, viz., the (instantaneous) transit of an atom (or rather a *tanmātra*) from one point in space to the next succeeding point. Even an atom has constituent parts (the *tanmātras*),

3 *Vaiśeṣika-sūtra*, 11. ii, 7. *dravyatranītyatve vāyunā vyākhyāte*.

4 *Praśastapāda*, p. 22.

and hence an atom must take more than one moment to change its position. The motion of that which is absolutely simple and without parts from one point in space to the next must be instantaneous, and conceived as the absolute unit of change (and therefore of time or *kṣaṇa*). If this be held to be an irreducible absolute unit, it will follow that what we represent as the Time-continuum is really discrete. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy asserts the existence of Time (*Kāla*) as extending from the past through the present to the endless futurity before us. Had there been no time we could have no knowledge of it and there would be nothing to account for our time-notions associated with all changes. The Sāṃkhya school did not admit the existence of any real Time; by it the unit of *Kāla* is regarded as the time taken by an atom to traverse its unit of space. It has no existence apart from the atoms and their movements. The appearance of *Kāla* as a separate entity is a creation of our *buddhi* (*buddhi nirmāṇa*) as it represents the order or mode in which the *buddhi* records its perceptions. But *Kāla* in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy is regarded as a substance existing by itself. In accordance with the changes of things it reveals itself as past, present and future.⁵ The Sāṃkhya teachers regard Time as past, present and future inasmuch as they are the modes of the constitution of the thing in its different manifesting stages of evolution (*adhvan*). The Indian astronomers regarded Time as being due to the motion of the planets. These must all be contrasted with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika conception of *Kāla* which is regarded as an all-pervading partless substance which appears as many in association with the changes related to it.⁶ Time is of one dimension; two moments cannot co-exist; neither does any series of moments exist in reality. Order in Time is nothing but the relation of antecedence and sequence, between the moment that is and the moment that went just before. But only one moment, the present exists. The future and the past have no meaning apart from potential and sublatent phenomena. One kind of transformation to which a thing is subject is that it changes from the potential to the actual, and from the actual to the sublatent. This, the Hindu thinkers called the change of mark (*lakṣaṇaparīṇāma*) as

5 *Nyāyakāṇḍalī*, pp. 64-66.

6 *Nyāyamāñjarī*, pp. 136-139.

opposed to the change of quality (*dharmapariṇāma*) and the change due to duration or lapse of time (*avasthāpariṇāma*). The present is the mark of actuality, the future the mark of potentiality, and the past the mark of sub-latency, in a phenomenon. Only one single moment is actual and the whole universe evolves in that one single moment. The rest is but potential or sublatent.⁷ Vijñānabhikṣu points out that this does not amount to a denial of Time. It means that Time has no real (or objective) existence apart from the moment. But the latter is real, being identical with the unit of change in phenomena (*guṇapariṇāmasya kṣaṇatra vacanāt*). But even this is real only for our empirical (relative) consciousness (*vyutthita darśana*), which intuitively relates antecedence and consequence into the evolving Reals (*guṇas*), in the stage of 'empirical intuition' (*śavīcārā nirvikalpaprajñā*). The 'intellectual intuition' (*nirvīcārā nirvikalpaprajñā*), on the other hand, apprehends the Reals as they are, without the imported empirical relations of Space, Time and Causality.⁸

The Jaina philosophy also held the same view regarding finite and infinite Time, that is, Time measurable and immeasurable. It maintains that Time (*Kāla*) in reality consists of those innumerable particles which never mix with one another, but which help the happening of the modification or accession of new qualities and the change of qualities of the atoms. Time (*Kāla*) does not bring about the changes of qualities, in things, but just as *ākāśa* (ether) helps interpretation and *dharma* (nature) motion, so also *Kāla* (Time) helps the action of the transformation of new qualities in things. Time perceived as moments, hours, days etc. is called *saṃaya*. This is the appearance of the unchangeable *Kāla* (Time) in so many forms. *Kāla* (Time) thus not only aids the modification of other things, but also allows its own modifications as moments, hours etc. It is thus a *dravya* (substance), and the moments, hours etc. are its *parivartanas* (modifications). The unit of *saṃaya* is the Time required by an atom to traverse a unit of space by a slow movement.⁹

7. Vide *Pātañjalasūtra*, pāda 111, 52.

8. Sir B. N. Seal, *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*.

9. *Dravyasaṃgrahavṛtti*, 19-20.

In Buddhism Time is regarded as a subjective element. Time is the concept (*Kālapaññatti*), by which first and foremost mental states are distinguished in internal intuition. It is the *sine qua non* of the succession of mental states.¹⁰ The Buddhist philosophers looked upon Time as only a concept derived from this or that phenomenon, such as (a) states expressed in such phrases as, 'temporal (aspect of) mind', 'temporal aspects of matter'; (b) the phenomenal occurrence expressed by such phrases as 'the past' and 'the future', (c) the phenomenal succession in an organism expressed by 'the time of seed generation' and 'the time of sprouting'; (d) the characteristic marks of phenomena expressed by 'the time of genesis' and 'the time of decay'; (e) the functions of phenomena expressed by 'the time of feeling' and 'the time of cognizing'; (f) functions of being expressed by 'the time of bathing' and 'the time of drinking'; (g) the modes of posture expressed by 'the time of going' and 'the time of stopping'; (h) the revolution of the moon, sun etc. expressed by morning, evening, day and night; or (i) the grouping of days and nights etc. into periods expressed by 'half-month', 'month' etc.¹¹ The Buddhists held that it should be understood that abstract time is a mere concept because it is not existing by its own nature. This is, in short, the notion of Time in ancient Hindu philosophy which held that temporal characteristics are among the most fundamental in the objects of our experience and therefore cannot be defined properly.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

¹⁰ Vide *Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*.

¹¹ *The Expositor (Atthasālinī)*, part II, Analysis of Terms, pp. 57-60.

The Nāṭi of Pāṭaliputra

“Not the epic song, but the dance”, says Wundt,¹ “accompanied by a monotonous and often meaningless song, constitutes everywhere the most primitive, and, in spite of the primitiveness, the most highly developed art. Whether as a ritual dance, or as a pure emotional expression of the joy in rhythmic bodily movement, it rules the life of primitive men to such a degree that all other forms of art are subordinate to it.” For primitive man there is no such thing as religion apart from life, for religion covers everything. The dance was, in the beginning, the expression of the whole man, for the whole man was religious. Not a single ancient mystery in which there is no dancing; in fact most people say of the devotees of the Mysteries that ‘they dance them out’. Dancing forms part of the worship. The other intimate association of dancing is with love.² As such, it is older than man. Among insects and among birds dancing is often an essential part of love. Thus dancing was born with religion and love. As Dr. Louis Robinson has pointed out, “the spasmodic jerking of the chimpanzee’s feeble legs is the crude motion out of which the heavenly alchemy of evolution has created the divine movements of Pavlova”. And it has often ended in a series of “immodest and dissolute movements by which the cupidity of the flesh is aroused”.

In earliest Indian literature, Nṛtū is the female dancer typifying both these aspects of ritual and love. Dancing is often referred to in the Ṛgveda (I, 10, 1; 92, 4, etc.) and later (Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 42).³ Ṛgveda I, 92, 4 makes it clear that the dancer Nṛtū was a Hetaira.⁴

The Nṛtū survives in the Devadāsī in the post-Vedic literature. From the vital function of dancing in love, and its sacred function in religion, the Devadāsī dancing evolved as an art, a profession, an

1 Wundt, *Volkerpsychologie*, 3d. ed. 1911. Bd. i. Teil i, p. 277.

2 Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, vol. I, ch. xiii, p. 470.

3 Weber, *Indian Literature*, pp. 196ff.

4 Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 48.



The Naṭī of Pāṭaliputra, 300 B.C.

IHQ., March, 1933

amusement. Dancing, like priesthood, became a profession, and dancers, like priests, formed a caste. The Devadāsī is both a religious and professional dancer. Married to the gods, taught dancing by the Brahmins, they figure in religious ceremonies, their dances representing the life of the god they are married to as well as the emotions of love they experience for him.⁵ Nṛtū's dance, and of the pre-Ārya Siva, and the reverent dance of the Devadāsī are in India a great symbol, "the clearest image of the *activity* of God, which any art or religion can boast of".⁶

The archæological remains at Mohenjo-Daro have brought to light many a female dancer of 3,000 B.C. The accompanying dancer belongs to 3,00 B.C. It was discovered by Mr. Jackson, late Principal of Patna College, and myself, at the Mauryan level near Patna College, during excavations for the sewers of the University area. It is now exhibited in the Buxar and Pataliputra room in the Patna Museum.

This terra cotta image is about 13 inches in height, 2 inches across the waist and 4 inches across the skirt. For the technique of the face moulding, compare the 'Pataliputra laughing girl' excavated from the Mauryan level at Bulandibagh (Patna) by Dr. Spooner in 1912. For the bare breasts and ballet skirt, the Ṛgveda description of Nṛtū recurs through the ages:

"*Adhi peśāṃsi vapate Nṛtūr ivāporṇute vakṣa usreva barjaham*"
Ṛgveda, I, 92, 4.

Sāyaṇa comments:

"*Nṛtūr iva nṛtyantī yoṣid iva peśāṃsi rūpanāmaitat sarvair-darśanīyāni rūpāṇi Uṣā adhivapate svātmāny adhikaṃ dhārayati vakṣaḥ savkīyam uraḥpradeśaṃ aporṇute anācchāditaṃ karoti.*"

"Like Nṛtū, a dancing girl, carefully putting on her person vestments to attract the eyes of all, bares her breast."

"A good education", Plato declared in the 'Laws', his most mature work, "consists in knowing how to sing and dance well". According to an ancient Chinese maxim—"One may judge of a king by the state of dancing during his reign". The loveliest of Vedic creations,

⁵ Rothfeld, *Women of India*, ch. vii, "The Dancing Girl," 1922.

⁶ Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Siva*, 1918.

Uṣas, the Goddess of Dawn, has been compared to Nṛtū, a dancing girl, meeting, us, not only as love, as religion, as art, but as morals. And Nṛtū's successor weaving the maze of the dance in the accompanying terra cotta carries on the glorious tradition from the 3rd millennium to the 3rd century B.C. The Lippsian doctrine of *Einfühlung* or "empathy" places the dancers and the spectators in the self-same cultural plane and even in technical elaboration, old India hardly yields to more modern attainments.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

The Monetary System of the Moghul Times

The starting point of the modern Indian monetary system is the silver rupee, weighing one *tola*, or 178 grains. It was first coined by Sher Shah during his short rule of the Delhi empire, 1540-45. He also introduced a copper coinage based on the *dām*, a piece weighing about 330 grains, this being the first *systematic* use of that metal for coinage in India.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* contains a very elaborate account of Akbar's coins which were closely modelled after Sher Shah's. The *dām* as described in that place, weighed 5 *taṅkas*, which comes to 306.22 grains. It mentions that the *dām* was formerly called *pysah* and also *behooly*. It also gives the divisions of the *dām*:

ādhelāh	...	...	...	1/2 dām
powlāh (pā olā)	...	...	...	1/4 ..
dāmree	...	...	...	1/8 ..

Dām seems to be an Indian word, perhaps in some way connected with *tāmra* copper.¹ The word occurs frequently in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The revenue of the whole empire, curiously, is not given in rupees, but always in *dāms*. In other places, where accounts are inserted, they are mostly in *dāms*, if smaller amounts. In a few instances the figures given are in three columns, *rupees*, *dāms*, and *chiteels* (1/25 of a *dām*).

The word *pysah* or *paisa* was originally the name of a weight, which, as it seems, had come with the Moghuls from Central Asia. According to Schuyler, Tashkent has the following weights: The *batman* (about 374 lb. avoirdupois) is divided into 64 *tchariks*, of about 5¾ lb., subdivided into 80 *paisas* each, of a little more than one ounce each. The *mishkal* is again one quarter of a *paisa*.

In the early Moghul monetary system there were 40 *dāms* to a rupee. The copper value of the 40 minted *dāms* was about 26 *dāms*,

¹ Prof. M. Collins, formerly of Santiniketan, pointed out to me that *dām* is *damma*, finally derived from the ancient Greek *drachma*.

about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the face value. 40 minted *dāms* would weigh 2 lb. 728 gr. Troy (40×306.22 gr. = 12248.8 gr.). The face value of this amount of copper pieces was one rupee, or one silver *tola*, equal to 179.66 grains of minted silver.

The modern pice pieces of India, the lineal descendant of the quarter *dām* of Akbar's time, weigh 78 grains, making a total of 312 grains for an imaginary or theoretical modern *dām*. But as the modern currency has only 64 of these copper pieces to the rupee (they are really bronze) of course their total weight will equal only the weight of 16 of the old copper *dāms*, making their metal value (if they were pure copper), only as 2: 5 to the value of the rupee. The constancy of these Indian copper weights with the exception of Jehangir's temporary increased weights, these $3\frac{1}{2}$ centuries, is a remarkable phenomenon in the history of coinage, only equalled by the constant weight of the silver rupee itself during this long period of time. The change in the relative value of the silver rupee to its copper coins is another important fact.

It would seem that in the two systems, the ancient 1:40 system of Akbar's (really the ratio is 1: 160, viz. 1 rupee to 160 quarter *dāms*) time, and the modern ratio of 1: 64 of modern pice, we have two diverging streams of numeration, of which the seemingly more modern type is really the older. Or, it may also be possible, that the 1: 64 system is borrowed, while the other type may date back to an ancient monetary system based on *Kauris* as sole currency.

The old Bengali system of designating fractional values of the rupee seems a mixture and compromise of both systems.

The modern pice in Bengali numeration is expressed in the following way, 5 times four *kaḍās*, or five *gaṇḍās*. A *gaṇḍā* is usually considered as an old group figure, a sort of primitive dozen, consisting of four units. This is correct, but it is not the whole story. *Kaḍā*, whatever the origin of the word may be, in the above cited case means a group of four, for a modern pice is the equivalent of 80 kauris, 5 times four *kaḍās*, $5 \times 4 \times 4$.

Gaṇḍā clearly in this case cannot mean a simple *gaṇḍā* of four, but must mean a large *gaṇḍā* of $4 \times 4 = 16$. The above instance is taken from an original Bengali manuscript, dated 1209 B.E. or 1802 A.D. (Mitra, *Types of Early Bengali Prose*, Calcutta, 1922).

Two instances are found on the same page, where *cāri kaḍā* is used as the exact equivalent of *gaṇḍā*, and vice versa. If *cāri kaḍā* means 16, then *gaṇḍā* must also mean 16.

This opens up rather interesting vistas into the general monetary systems of older India. First of all the question arises, what unit is meant by the old designation of the figures 1-19 in Bengali accounts, in the pice column? 20 of that unit are equal to an anna, but annas are a rather late innovation, both in accounts, and as an actually existing coin.

Clearly, the present anna in Bengali account stands for the older *dām*, which was the original unit of which the pice, or the *old pai* or, the powlah of Akbar's time is the quarter. I am not saying that the anna is the numerical equivalent of the *dām*, because we have seen that there were 40 *dāms*, or 160 quarter *dām* to the rupee, while now the rupee contains only 64 quarter *dāms* or pice. In other words, the present pice has to do the service and be the fictional or nominal equivalent of $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the previous quarter *dāms*. But nevertheless, the modern pice is treated as a fraction of the anna, while at the same time, the way it is written in Bengali accounts, clearly indicates the pice as the highest surviving aggregate of the ancient Kauri system, naming the pice as $5 \times 4 \times 4$ Kauris, a total of 80 Kauris. Thus also the system of weights by which the *dām* of Akbar's time weighed five *taṅkas*, has had its place in the further development of the system. Somehow the factor five enters in the make-up of both modern weights and also in some of the other older monetary systems. 16 tarr or viss=80 cash make one fanam or galtee, while 5 fanams make one rupee, according to one of the South Indian monetary systems, now obsolete.

A maund is 40 seers. A seer is 80 tolas, while a seer contains four paos, or quarters and each pao splits again into four chataks, or 16 chataks to the seer. Thus also here the five enters in a factor in the one system, but not in the other. A seer is $5 \times 4 \times 4$ tolas, but a seer is also 4×4 chatāks.

In buying straw we find that Kuḍi Gaṇḍā (twenty fours) is one Pan, is 80 bundles. 16 Pans is one Kāhaṇ (Kahāpana=Kārsāpana).

The latter is an ancient unit, for even in Kauris their number

equivalent to one Siki, or four annas, is exactly the same number as the total bundles of straw in a Kāhaṇ, namely 1280.

According to Cunningham quoted by E. H. Walch, in his *Coinage of Nepal*, the ancient standard of weights for Copper coins in India was a weight also called Paṇ (the old Kārśāpaṇa) of approximately 144 grains, which makes the 178, or 180 grains of the later silver rupee equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ Paṇ in weight.

How pice was considered in the 17th century we learn from Tavernier. They were worth anywhere from 46 to 56 pice to the rupee, according to the greater or smaller distance from copper mines. An interesting reason for unwillingness or inability of governments to use copper as a monetary standard was its comparative great weight, unhandy in transportation.

A counterpart to this observation of the shrewd French jeweller, is what he tells us about Kauris. Near the seacoast the ordinary standard of eighty to the pice prevailed. Farther inland one could get much less per pice, at Agra only 50, or 55. He also mentions that Kauris were imported to America, 'to serve instead of money'. It would be interesting to know where in America, and how long Kauris were used as small currency? Most likely in the portions of South America near the Caribbian. Prof. A. K. Sarkar in the *IHQ.*, Dec., 1931, has an excellent article on the *Coins and Weights of Ancient India*. He admits the impossibility of accounting for the discrepancies of the various ancient standards given.

It is the opinion of this writer that the only safe starting point is afforded by the coinage of Muhammadan times, working backward in our investigations from the known and actually existent, to those standards of pre-Muslim times of which in most cases only the lists remain.

G. L. SCHANZLIN

Identification of some Brāhmanical Sculptures

It is admitted on all hands that in ancient times the Indian sculptors executed their work in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Śāstras. A thorough knowledge of these canons enables one to determine the real identity of a particular image. The discovery of a large number of sculptures is reported annually in the publications of the Archæological Department but many of them have not yet been properly identified. I have selected a few of them for study in the following pages. Dr. Spooner reports the discovery of a peculiar stone image in a mound close to Shabkadar, on the Momand frontier, North Western Frontier Provinces. He remarks that¹ "the sculpture represents a goddess with four arms which fact at once invests it with unusual interest, for figures with more than two arms are almost unknown in Gandhāra art. Unfortunately the upper pair of arms are lost, but the lower ones hold a spear and a well defined wheel respectively, while the peculiarly Greek nature of the drapery is a further point of interest."

Mr. V. A. Smith has brought this sculpture in the lime light by illustrating it in his well known *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (first ed. fig. 78). He reiterates in it the remarks of Dr. Spooner, and adds that² "a striking and at present unique illustration of the progressive Indianization of the foreign types is afforded by the recent discovery, near Shabkadar, on the Momand frontier, of a standing headless female figure with four arms, executed more or less in Gandhāra style, with drapery described by Dr. Spooner as being specially Greek in character. The upper arms have been lost; the two lower ones hold respectively a spear and a wheel. The drapery seems to me to be treated in an extremely formal manner, and I think the work is of late date."

I find three out of the four arms of the goddess in perfect condi-

1 ARASI., Frontier Circle, 1903-09, p. 4.

2 Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 124.

tion and only the upper left arm is broken. The object held by the goddess in her lower left hand is not a spear but a *gadā* (club). Similar object is held by a Viṣṇu image at Kanarak, which is evidently a *gadā*.³ As against Dr. Spooner's remark that the four-armed goddess in Gandhāra sculpture is almost unknown, it may be pointed out that the four-armed god was not unknown to the people of that locality in that age. A large number of Kaniṣka's coins, discovered in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces, bear effigy of the four armed Siva.⁴

The image under review holds *cakra* (discus) in the right lower hand and a *padma* (lotus) in the right upper. The lotus is much damaged. Its stem still remains in perfect condition. She carries *gadā* in her left lower hand. The object in the left upper hand cannot be determined as the hand itself has disappeared. It may be suggested that it carried *śaṅkha* (conch-shell). The goddess stands facing front on a lotus capital. Her face and head are badly damaged. She wears a beaded necklace, armlets, and bracelets. The armlets and bracelets are identical with those worn by the female figures of the Andhra and Kushan period. She wears a thick garment which hangs from the waist down to the feet. The upper part of the body is covered with a thin piece of cloth. The lower garment has the conventional drapery like that in the early Gandhāra sculpture. The goddess has the pose and gait of a purely Hellenic sculpture. The image is evidently the work of Gandhāra School and may be assigned to the early part of the 2nd century A.D.

I am inclined to identify the goddess with Vaiṣṇavī, the consort of Viṣṇu. Mr. Gopinath Rao states that Vaiṣṇavī has four arms. She carries *śaṅkha* in her right lower hand, *cakra* in the right upper, *gadā* in the left upper, and *padma* in the left lower hand.⁵ There is a sculpture of Vaiṣṇavī in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benares, holding *padma* in the right lower, *gadā* in the right upper, *cakra* in the left upper, and *śaṅkha* in the left lower hand. The image under discussion carries in its hands *cakra*, *padma*, *śaṅkha* (?), and *gadā*. Vaiṣṇavī

3 Smith, *op. cit.*, Fig. 142.

4 *Indo-Scythian Coins*, by Cunningham, Pl. XVIII, Nos. 4 and 5.

5 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, part 11, p. 385.

carries the attributes of Viṣṇu. Our image holds the attributes in the order that is found in the Puruṣottama variety of Viṣṇu.⁶ The goddess holds the *cakra* by the rim. Though it is unusual, it is not uncommon. The Lakṣmaṇakāthi Viṣṇu image also holds the *cakra* by the rim though in a different fashion.⁷

This image of Vaiṣṇavi is the earliest known specimen of its class. It is invested with special interest as it suggests that the cult of Viṣṇu like the cult of Śiva was prevalent in the North Western Frontier of India as early as the 2nd century A.D.

During the year 1905-6 Dr. Bloch discovered a number of stucco figures at the base of the Mainyār maṭha, a little temple at Rājgir, in Bihar.⁸ All of them are interesting both from iconographical and artistic point of view. One of them is a male figure standing to front. He has four arms the fore part of the front two hands being broken. The right lower hand is placed on the shoulder of a male figure and the left lower on the shoulder of a female figure. He wears a *mukuta* (crown), *karnakundala* (ear-ring), *keyūra* (armlet), *valaya* (bracelets), and a garland made of flowers, which hangs up to the knee. He also wears a tight fitting transparent loin-cloth. A piece of cloth tucked up goes across the middle of his thighs and is tied in a knot to his left. The attending male figure to the left has a *cakra* behind his head. His long hairs are tied in a knot on his head. He wears an ear-ornament, necklace, bracelet and a loin cloth. He has two arms. The right hand holds an uncertain object, and the left one is placed on his thigh. The female figure to the right has also long hairs tied in a knot on the head. She has ornaments like those of the male attendants, and has the additional ornaments of armlet and anklet. Her transparent wearing garment hangs up to her ankles. She has two arms. Her right hand holds an indistinct object. She stands in a *tribhaṅga* pose.

Dr. Bloch identifies the principal image with Bāṇāsura, and remarks that "Kṛṣṇa once had a fight with this demon, because he had refused the hand of his daughter to the divine hero, and it was in this

⁶ *Agni Purāṇa*, chapt. XLVIII, v. 9.

⁷ *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Pl. XXXII.

⁸ *ARASI.*, 1905-06, p. 104.

fight that Bāṇāsura lost two of his hands''.⁹ In the recently published volume of the Archaeological Survey of India,¹⁰ Maulavi M. H. Kuraishi supports Mr. Bloch's view. But at the same time he makes an alternative suggestion and remarks that the image probably represents Śiva.

The identification of the image with Bāṇāsura or Śiva is untenable. Bāṇa had thousand arms, all of which were severed by Kṛṣṇa in battle.¹¹ But the image under discussion has four arms and only the front two are broken, which Dr. Bloch regards as severed.

I am inclined to identify the principal figure as Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva has variety of forms. He is generally represented with four arms carrying *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma*. But sometimes these attributes are represented in human form in order to signify that they have life and force behind them. *Himādri Vratakhanda* narrates that Vāsudeva may hold *padma* in his right upper hand, and the right lower hand may be placed on the head of Gadādevī, a female figure representing *gadā*. The left upper hand holds *śaṅkha*, and the left lower hand is placed on the head of a *cakrapuruṣa*, a male representing *cakra*. *Cakrapuruṣa* holds a *cāmara*. He has a big belly. Gadādevī holds too a *cāmara*. Between the legs of Vāsudeva may be seated the goddess Earth touching his feet with her hands. Vāsudeva should be adorned with *kuṇḍala* (ear-ring), *aṅgada* (bracelet and armlet), *kaustubha* (necklace), loin-cloth, and garland of flowers hanging up to the navel. *Viṣṇumūrti-paricaya*¹² illustrates an image answering to the above description.

The image under discussion has almost all the characteristics described above though there are differences in detail. The central figure wears a crown, ear-ring, bracelet, armlet, necklace, loin-cloth, garland of flowers hanging up to the knee. The attending figure to the right of the God is evidently Cakradeva who has a *cakra* behind his head. The attending figure to his left is Gadādevī, who holds an uncertain object

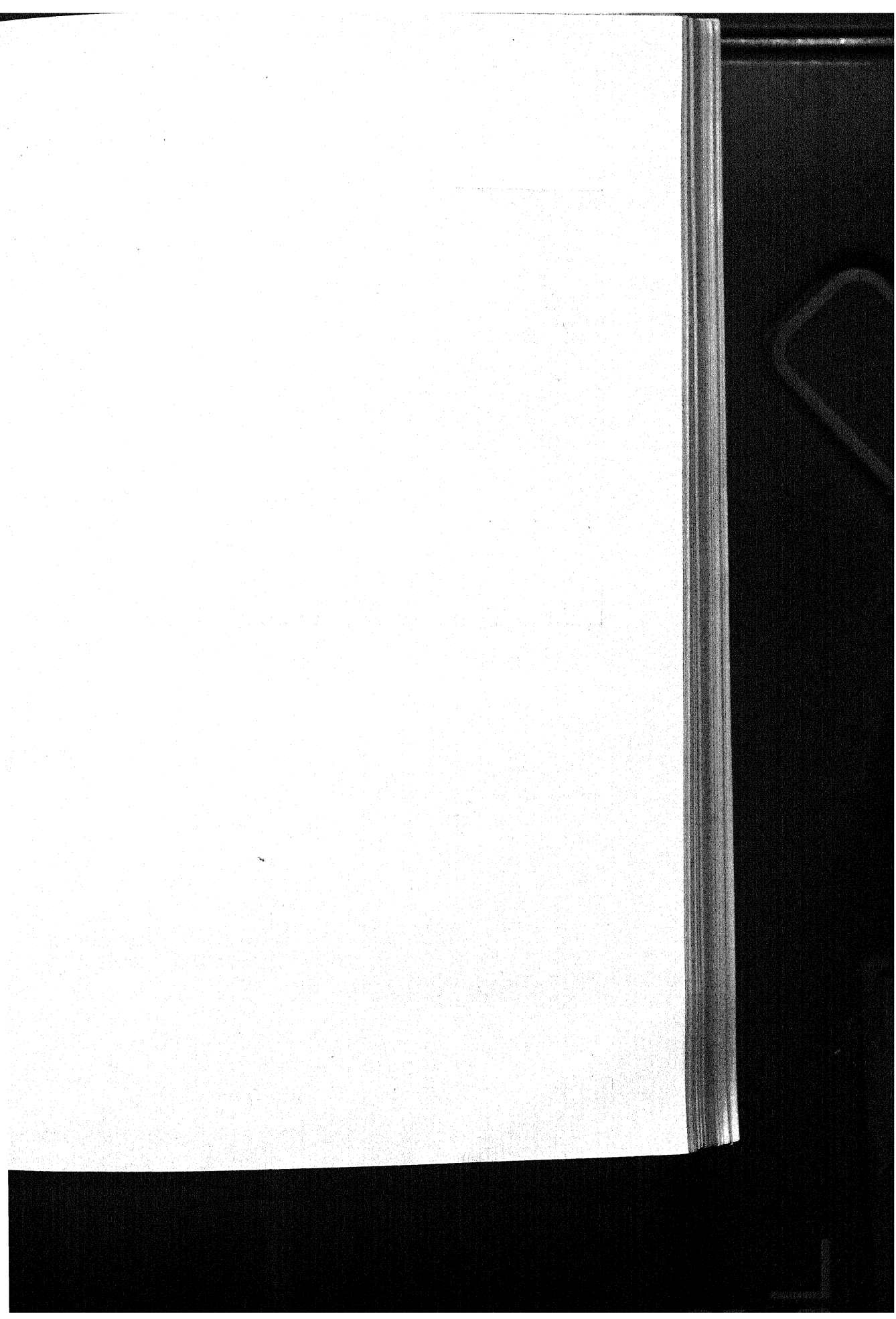
9 *ARASI.*, 1905-06, p. 104 & Pl. XL. Fig. 2.

10 Vol. LI, p. 132, Fig. 88.

11 *Yatra yuddham abhūd ghoram Hari-Saṃkarayor mahān/
Chinnaṃ sahasraṃ bāhunām yatra Bāṇasya cakrīṇā//*

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, ch. XXXII, v. 8, p. 385.

12 *Viṣṇumūrti-paricaya* by B. B. Kavyatirtha Vidyavinoda.

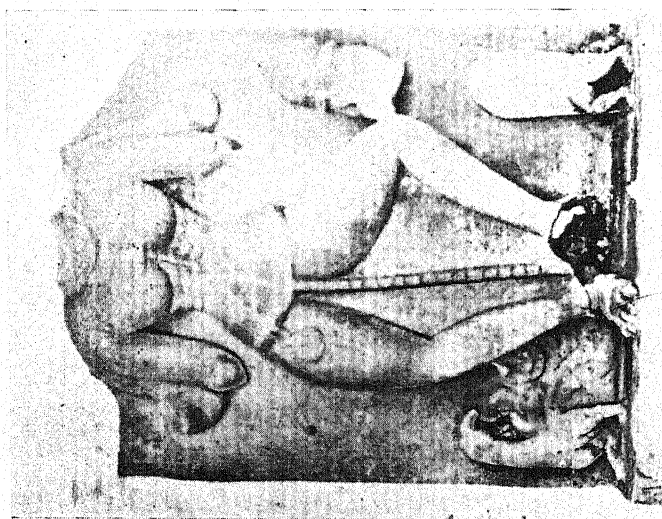




1 Vaiṣṇavī



2 Vāsudeva



3 Kumārī

*(Reproduced from the Archaeological Survey
Reports, Government of India)*

in her right hand like the Gadādevī illustrated in the *Viṣṇumūrti-paricaya*. But the position of the attending figures does not answer to the rules laid down in the *Uratākhaṇḍa*. According to this authority, as it has been referred to above, Gadādevī should stand to the right of Vāsudeva and the Cakradeva to his left. But this rule regarding the position of these attending figures is not meticulously followed. The Viṣṇu image at Lakṣmaṇakathi, in the Dacca District, has Gadādevī and Cakrapuruṣa to his left and right respectively.¹³ Hence there can hardly be any doubt that our image is anything else than Vāsudeva.

The image of this type is very rare. It belongs to the early Gupta period. It has high artistic merit. The God is sunk in deep meditation. A transcendental beauty mingled with child-like simplicity is emanating from his face. The artist has finished the modelling with singular felicity.

In the recently published volume of the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey*,¹⁴ Mr. R. D. Banerji has made observations on the Brāhmaṇical sculpture, lying in the Chauṣaṭ Yoginī temple at Bheraghat, near Jubbulpore, Central Provinces. Mr. Cunningham¹⁵ and Dr. Bloch¹⁶ also noticed them before him. A large number of those images have not yet been satisfactorily identified.

(i) One of them is a four-armed goddess which Mr. Banerji designates as a dancing goddess.¹⁷ Though the head and the fore-part of the arms of the deity are missing, it is not altogether divested of interest. Devī is in a dancing mood. She wears a transparent garment which hangs down up to the ankle. There are a *kukkūṭa* (cock) to her right, carved in the back slab, a little above the pedestal, and a human figure, badly worn out, to her left.

Kukkūṭa is known as an attendant of Kumāra (Kārttikeya) and his consort Kumārī. *Matsyapurāṇa*¹⁸ narrates that Kumārī should have

¹³ *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Pl. XXXII.

¹⁴ No. 23, 1931.

¹⁵ *ASI.*, vol. IX, pp. 63 ff.

¹⁶ *ARASI.*, Eastern Circle, 1907-08, pp. 16 ff.

¹⁷ *Memoirs of the ASI.*, No. 23, Pl. XXIX, a.

¹⁸ Chapter CCLXI, vs. 27, 28, 5; *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Pt. II, p. 387.

attributes, like those of Kumāra. Her vehicle is *Mayūra* (peacock). She wears necklace, armlets and red-cloth. She carries in her hands *śūla* and *kukkuṭa*. Mr. G. N. Rao quotes that Kumārī may have four arms; she carries *śakti* and *kukkuṭa* in two, the other two being in *abhaya* and *varada* pose. Her vehicle is a peacock. The image under review does not show a peacock as her vehicle, but her association with a *kukkuṭa* leads me to identify her with Kumārī.

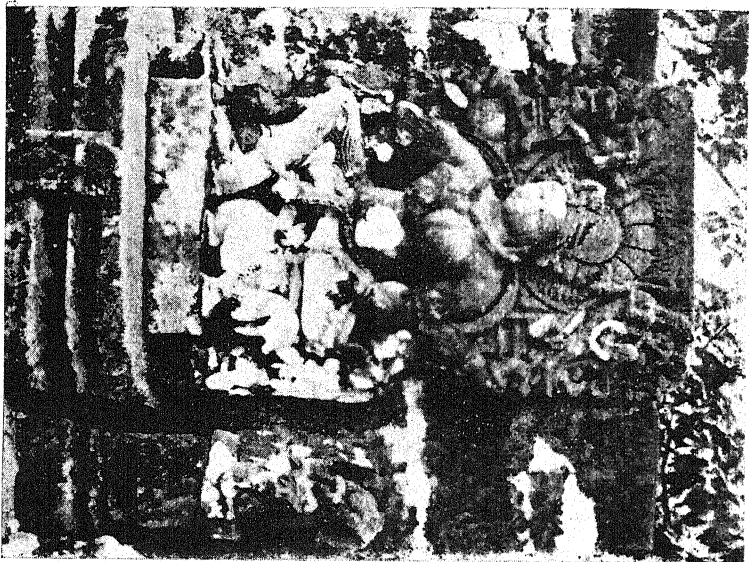
Mr. R. D. Banerji assigns this sculpture to the Kushan period. But the transparent garment and the unexaggerated hip of the goddess suggest that it is a work of the Gupta period.

(ii) A slab represents a four-armed goddess. All the hands of the goddess are mutilated except the left lower, which carries an indistinct object. The goddess is seated in a *sukhāsana* pose. Her right leg is pendant and is placed on a lotus. Her left leg is drawn in front of her. The goddess wears a crown ear-ornament, necklace, armlets, bracelets, and anklets. There is a swan in front of her, looking to right.

Swan is the vehicle of both Brāhmī and Sarasvatī, the consorts of Brahmā. *Devī*, *Matsya*, and *Agni Purāṇas*¹⁹ narrate that Brāhmī has four faces, four hands, and a swan as her vehicle. *Śāradātīlaka-tantra* lays down that Sarasvatī carries *vinā*, rosary, pitcher of nectar, and a book in her hands, and she has a swan as her vehicle. Manasā has swan as her vehicle but she must always be associated with snakes. I am inclined to identify the goddess as Sarasvatī. She cannot be Brāhmī as she has only one face. Brāhmī is always described as one having four faces.

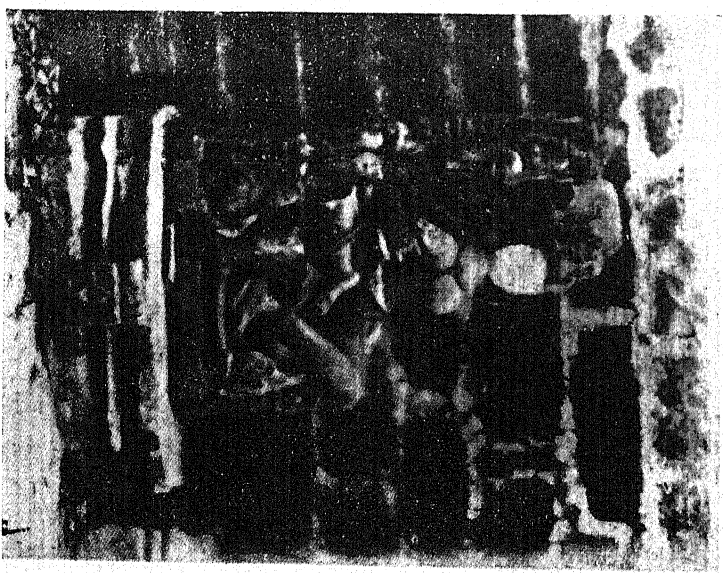
(iii) A slab representing a four-armed goddess bears the inscription Virendrī. Three out of her four arms are missing. The right upper hand, which is in perfect condition, holds a *khadga* (sword), the butt of which only now remains. The goddess assumes a fierce look. She wears a head-dress made of skull, *nāgahāra*, (necklace of serpents), armlets, bracelets, and anklets. She is seated in a *sukhāsana* pose. Her left foot is placed on a dead man lying down, and her right leg rests on the back of a lion. There is an emaciated figure seated to her left.

¹⁹ *Devī P.*, chap. L, vs. 1 and 2, p. 191; *Matsya P.*, Ch. CCLXI, vs. 24 and 25, p. 904; *Agni P.*, Ch. LI, vs. 18 and 19, p. 102.



5 Virendrī Ugra Tārā

*(Reproduced from the Archaeological Survey
Reports, Government of India)*



4 Sarasvatī

IIIQ, March, 1933

The *Kālikā Purāṇa*²⁰ narrates that Ugra-Tārā has four arms and is swarthy in complexion. She is adorned with garland of skulls in her head and neck. She carries *khaḍga* in her right upper hand, *cāmara* in the right lower, *kartrī* (dagger) in the left upper, and *kharpara* (bowl or skull) in the left lower. She wears a *jaṭā* (matted hair) in her head, and her breast is graced with a *nāga-hāra*. Her hip is covered with a tiger's skin. She is fearful in appearance and is engaged in licking a corpse. Her left leg is placed on the chest of a dead human body and her right one rests on the back of a lion.

*Devī Purāṇa*²¹ relates that Bahurūpa is seated on a man. She has two arms, carrying *khaḍga* and *sūla*. According to the same authority, Vimalā is also seated on a man, carrying in her hands pearl, *akṣasūtra* (rosary) and *kamaṇḍalu* (small water vessel).²²

The image under review has a general agreement with Ugra Tārā as described by the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. Hence I am inclined to identify her as such.

(iv) To the left of the above-mentioned image is a slab representing a four-armed goddess. An inscription on the pedestal designates her as Thakini. The goddess has four arms all of which except the left front are missing. She wears a crown and is seated on a camel.

*Devī Purāṇa*²³ narrates that Vikaṭā has long arms carrying *pāśa* and *daṇḍa*. She has a dreadful appearance and is seated on a camel.

As there is no sign of dreadfulness in the face of this image and as no other goddess is known to have camel as her vehicle, I am inclined to identify the image with Vikaṭā.²⁴

20 *Kālikā P.*, Ch. LXI, 64-68.

21 *Devī Purāṇa*, Ch. I, vs. 7 and 8.

22 *Ibid.*, vs. 41 and 42.

23 *Ibid.*, vs. 24-31.

24 The inscriptions on the images in the Chausaṭ Yoginī temple are engraved in a careless manner. Some of the images only are inscribed. This suggests that originally it was not the intention of the sculptors to inscribe them. In later times somebody with imperfect knowledge of the Brahmanical iconography seems to have put these labels on them. That the images were erected in pursuance of the rules of iconography, already known to us, admits of no doubt. But some of the names assigned to the goddesses are not found in any Sanskrit literature. They are peculiar and are not, after all, Sanskrit. But the identity of the images, bearing these peculiar inscriptions, can be known with the help

(v) A slab to the right of Ugra Tārā is inscribed as Phaṇendrī. The principal image is a four armed goddess. All the hands of the goddess are broken. The goddess wears a crown, ear-ring, armlets, necklace, waist band, anklets, and garland of flowers. She is seated in a *sukhāsana* pose. Her pendant right leg is placed on a demon lying below and her left leg is drawn in front of her. Over her head is a many-hooded snake. On the pedestal are seated one male and one female figures to the right of the goddess, and a male only to her left, all worshipping her.

I do not find any *dhyāna* answering to the above description. *Kālikā Purāṇa* (ch. LXXVI) states that *Mahāmāyā* came out bursting through the Śivaliṅga. As soon as the Devī sprang up, the split-up Liṅga was converted into three figures Bhairava, Bhairavī, and Heruka. The Devī is very beautiful. Her breasts are well-developed. Her hands are in *varada* and *abhaya* pose. She is seated on a demon.

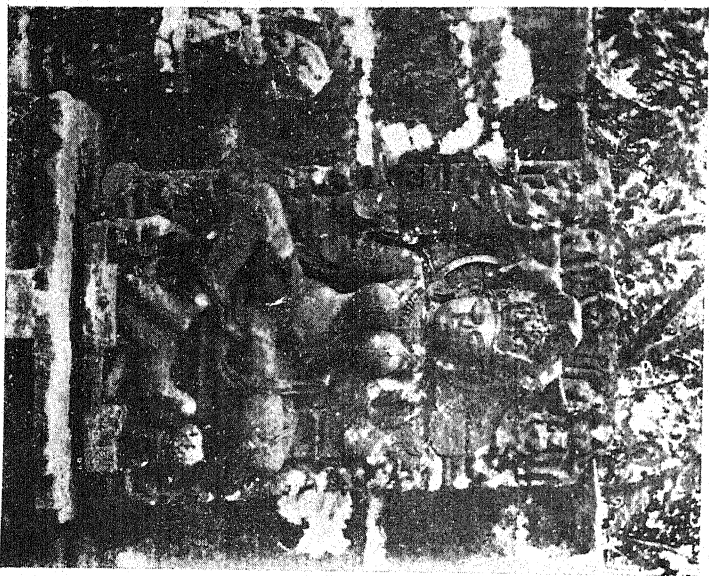
Mahāmāyā and Īśvarī are the consorts of Śiva. *Devī Purāṇa* lays down that *jaṭā*, *mukuta*, *candra*, and *sarpa* are the ornaments of Īśvarī. *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*²⁵ tells us that Maheśvarī, who is seated on a bull, has bracelets of serpents. Śiva has serpents as the ornaments of his head. It is a general maxim of the Hindu Śāstras that the female counterpart of every god has the same attributes as the latter.

The image, referred to above, should be identified with Mahāmāyā. Though *Kālikā Purāṇa* does not mention the snake as the ornament of the Devī, its association with her is not in any way unusual, she being a consort of Śiva.

The only other goddess which has serpent as her ornaments is Manasā. But Manasā is never known to have been seated on a demon.

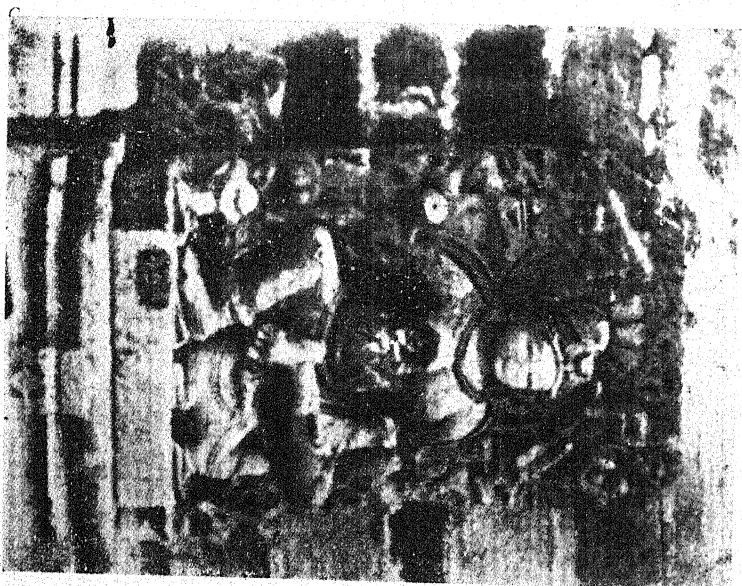
of the rules of iconography. I have identified above some of them. A female counterpart of Gaṇeśa is labelled as Śrī-Aiṅginī. Mr. R. D. Banerjee rightly suggests that the image ought to have been described as "Gaṇeśānī." (*Memoirs; Arch. S.*, I, No. 23, p. 85). An image of Mahiṣamaridini is inscribed as Terambā (*ibid.*, p. 87). A female counterpart of Narasiṃha and that of Agni are labelled respectively as Siṃha Siṃha (*ibid.*, p. 90), and Ehani (*Ann. Rep. Arch. S. I.*, E. Circle, 1907-9, p. 18). They ought to have been described as Lakṣmī, and Svāhā. The etymology of the words Ekadi of Ejari, Thakini and Thakini are not known.

25 *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*, Devī Māhātmya, Chapter LXXXVIII, v. 15.



7 Phagendri Mahāmāyā

*(Reproduced from the Archaeological Survey
Reports, Government of India)*



6 Thakini Vikatā

IHQ, March, 1933

(vi) A slab represents a seated boar-headed female figure. She has four arms, the forepart of all of which are broken. Her pendant right leg is placed on an animal lying down. Mr. Bloch suggests that the head of the goddess is that of a boar, but the animal is an antelope.²⁶ Mr. R. D. Banerji expresses his doubt about the identification of the animal as an antelope.²⁷ According to Mr. Cunningham the goddess has a cow's head, and the animal on the pedestal is a cow.²⁸ There can be little doubt that the head of the goddess is that of a boar. The animal on the pedestal appears to be a buffalo. The slab contains an inscription which Mr. Bloch reads as 'ekadī, Mr. Cunningham as 'Erurī' or 'Ejarī'²⁹ and Mr. R. D. Banerji as 'Erudī'.³⁰ None of these words is found in the Sanskrit Dictionary. But it is not very difficult to determine the plausible identity of the goddess. *Matsya Purāṇa* narrates that Vārāhī, the consort of Varāha incarnation, should be seated on a buffalo. She should carry *gadā* and *cakra*. *Devī Purāṇa*³² states that Vaivasvatī, the daughter of Sūrya, has a face like that of a boar. She is seated on a buffalo. She should be drinking from a skull. She holds a *daṇḍa* in her hand. There is another female sculpture in the Chausaṭ Yoginī temple which has a boar's head, and which is inscribed as 'Varāhī'. We can therefore reasonably identify the image under discussion with Vaivasvatī.

The inscriptions on the pedestal of the images in the Chausaṭ Yoginī temple, are of the character of those of the 11th century A.D. The images themselves must have been erected previous to that.

To all the images described above are attached great importance specially from the standpoint of iconography. Some are rare and some are the only specimens of their classes. A few of them have high artistic merits.*

DHIRENDRA CHANDRA GANGULI

26 *ARASI*, E. Circle, 1907-8, p. 17, No. 8.

27 *Mem. Arch. S. I.*, No. 23, p. 89 (No. 74); cf. Pl. XXXII, a.

28 *ASI*, vol. IX, p. 68, No. 52.

29 *ARASI*, E. Circle, 1907-8, No. 8, p. 17.

30 *ASI*, vol. IX, No. 52, p. 68.

31 *Mem. Arch. S. I.*, No. 23, No. 74, p. 89.

32 Ch. vs. 30-31.

33 Ch. CCLXI.

* I am indebted to Mr. N. K. Battasali, M.A., for helping me with some valuable suggestions, when writing this paper.

A Study of the Twenty Aspects of Sūnyatā

(Based on Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā* and the
Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra)

The present article has for its aim the elucidation of the term *sūnyatā*, as interpreted by the Mādhyamika school of the Buddhists. It forms a part of my Analysis of the 8 principal subjects and the 70 topics of the of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* of Maitreya-Asaṅga.* The subject dealt with at present refers to the first chapter of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*Sarva-ākāra-jñātā-adhikāra*), to its 9th topic,—the action of Accumulation (of the factors for the attainment of Enlightenment by the Bodhisattva; *saṃbhāra-pratipatti*), and more particularly to the Bodhisattva's Accumulation of Wisdom (*jñāna-saṃbhāra*; *Abhisam. Kārikā* I 47a contains only the word *jñānam*). This Accumulation of Wisdom represents the cognition of the principle of *sūnyatā*=Non-substantiality or Relativity—in its various aspects by the Bodhisattva on his Path. The subject, which is only pointed to in the *Kārikā*, by a single word is discussed in detail in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā* of Haribhadra. We quote the corresponding passages of the said work (according to the MS. of Prof. F. Minaev, now in possession of the Public Library at Leningrad), along with its Tibetan translation (Tangyur, MDO. VI, Peking Edition).

The classification into 20 Aspects has been made by Haribhadra (as well as by his predecessors) in accordance with the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. The passages of the latter are quoted and translated in the foot-notes, in order to show the full concordance between the texts. For other works as for instance in the *Mādhyānta-vibhāṅga* of Maitreya-Asaṅga, in *Dīnāga's* *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha* etc. we have 16 or 18 aspects

* This Analysis has been undertaken for publication in the Calcutta Oriental Series.

of *śūnyatā* as the number usually admitted (cf. Mahāvvyutpatti § 37). The last four forms which appear in the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā are evidently later additions.

As regards the translation of the term *śūnyatā* by 'Relativity', it has been first adopted by Prof. Th. Stecherbatsky in his *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*. Objections have been raised against this rendering. It is however in any case correct if we take the term from the standpoint of the Mādhyamika school (as in the Abhis. ālokā, Haribhadra is a Mādhyamika, since he belongs to the Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-svāntantrikas). In the Tibetan Commentaries it is especially pointed to the fact that the term *śūnyatā* has the same meaning as *pratītya-samutpāda* which latter term in the Mādhyamika interpretation has the meaning of Relativity. This is most eloquently confirmed by the *śloka* of Nāgārjuna's Lokāṭīta-stava:—

यः प्रतोयसमुत्पादः शून्यता खैव ते मता ।

भावः स्वतन्त्रो नास्तीति सिंहनादस्तवानुलः ॥

"*śūnyatā* means for thee (O Buddha) the principle of Dependent Origination (i.e. Functional Interdependence or Relativity). There are no independent (non-relative) entities.—Such is the unequalled lion's roar!"

The 20 aspects of Relativity are as follows:—

I. *The Subjective Relativity*. We have this aspect in consideration of the dialectical nature¹ of the faculty of vision and the remaining internal faculties.—

[Abhis. ālokā, MS. 70 b. 6-8.]

तत्रेयं विंशतिविधा शून्यता । यदुत । आध्यात्मिकानां चक्षुरादीनामकूटस्थाविनाशितां प्रकृतिमुपादायाध्यात्मशून्यता । १ ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 1-2] *de-la ston-pa-ñid rnam-pa-ñi-su-ni hdi yin te. hdi-lta-ste. nañ-gi dños-po² mig-la-sogs-pa-rnams-kyi rañ-bžin ther-zug-tu-gnas-pa dañ hji-g-pa-ma-yin-paḥi-phgir nañ-ston-pa-ñid-do.*³

1 Lit. The nature (of the internal elements) which is that of being neither eternal nor evanescent (in the ultimate sense). Cf. Pañc. quoted in note 3.

2 = *ādhyātmikānām bhāvānām* or *vastūnām*.

3 Pañc., I. 213 b. 5-6.—*de-la nañ-ston-pa-ñid gañ že-na. nañ-gi chos žes-bya-ba-ni mig dañ. rna-ba dañ. sna dañ. lee dañ. bus dañ. yid-de. (caksuḥ śrotam*

II. *The Objective Relativity.* We have this aspect, considering just the same nature of the external elements, as visible matter, and the rest.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 70b. 8-9]

बाह्यानां रूपादीनां तथाप्रकृतिमुपादाय बहिर्धाशून्यता । २ ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 2.] *phyiñi gzugs-la-sogs-pa-rnams-kyi ran-bzin delta-bu-yin-pañi-phyir phyi-ston-pa-ñid-do.*⁴

III. *The Relativity of both the Subjective and Objective.* We have this aspect, considering just the same nature of the external and internal bases of cognition.—Here the internal bases are constituted by the elements which have the character of sense-faculties. The external are constituted by the elements which have the character of the objects (that correspond to the sense-faculties). (As regards the physical foundations of the sense-faculties),⁵ they are internal elements, inasmuch as they are dominated by consciousness, and external, inasmuch as they are not included in the category of the sense-faculties as such.—(The cognition of) these first 3 aspects of Relativity is associated with the Stage of Action in Faith.⁶)

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 70b. 10-15.]

आध्यात्मिकबाह्यानामायतनानां तथाप्रकृतिमुपादायाध्यात्मबहिर्धाशून्यता । ३ ।
तत्राध्यात्मिकमायतनं यदिन्द्रियरूपसंगृहीतम् । बाह्यं यद्विषयरूपसंगृहीतम् ।

ghrāṇam jihvā kāyo manaś ca). de-la mī-rtag mi-hjiñ-pañi-phyir (anitya-avināśitvāt) mig mig-gis ston-ño.....de ciñi-phyir ze-na. deñi ran-bzin de-yin-pañi-phyir te. ñdi-ni nañ-ston-pa-ñid-do.—Of what kind is the Internal (Subjective) Relativity?—The elements which we call 'internal' are (the faculties of) vision, audition, the olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and that of the intellect. Now, as it is neither eternal, nor evanescent, the faculty of vision is relative (devoid of a real essence of its own), etc. (Similar indications with regard to the other sense-faculties).—Why that? *Because this is their essential nature.*—This is the Internal (Subjective) Relativity.

4 Ibid., 213 b. 6-7.—(The same repeated in regard to the External Relativity—*rūpādīnām*).

5 Sic acc. to Gser. I, 307 a. 2.—*phyi-nañ gñis dbaṅ-poñi rten-gyis bsdu-pañi yul ña.*

6 Sic acc. to Haribhadra. In the Gser. and the Rnam-bśad we have the indication that the first 3 varieties also refer to *sambhāra-mārga*,

आध्यात्मिकबाह्यं तु यदिन्द्रियाश्रयेण संगृहीतम्⁷ तद्वशाध्यात्मिकं चित्तेनोपात्तत्वाद्बाह्यं
चानिन्द्रियसंगृहीतवान् । तच्च शून्यतात्रयमधिमुक्तिचर्याभूमौ ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 2-5] *phyi dan nañ-gi bdag-ñid-can-gyi skye-mched-rnams-kyi rañ-bzin de-lta-bu yin-paḥi-phyir phyi-nañ-ston-pa-ñid-do. de-la nañ-gi skye-mched-rnams-ni dbaṅ-poḥi rañ-bzin-gyis bsdus-pa gañ-yin-paḥo. phyi-ni yul-gyi rañ-bzin-gyis bsdus-pa gañ-yin-paḥo. phyi-nañ-ni dbaṅ-poḥi rten-gyis bsdus-pa gañ yin-paḥo.⁸ de-ni sems-kyis zin-pa-ñid-kyis-na nañ yin-la dbaṅ-pos ma-bsdus-pa-ñid-kyis phyi ḥaṅ yin-no. ston-pa-ñid ḥdi gsum-ni mos-pas-spyod-paḥi sa-la yin-no.*

IV. The Relativity of (the Transcendental Wisdom cognizing) Relativity.

The essence of the Relativity of all the elements of existence is the Transcendental Wisdom which has for its object the Relativity of the internal elements etc. As this Wisdom is itself relative, we speak of "the Relativity of Relativity." Indeed, "the Relativity of all the elements of existence" is to be understood merely as "the knowledge about the Relativity of all the elements." In such a sense Relativity is itself relative.⁹—The cognition of this aspect takes place on the Path of

7 This passage is omitted in the MS. The text is restored acc. to the Tib. version and the Gser. q. v.

8 Pañc. I. 213b. 8 — 214a. 2.—*de-la phyi-nañ ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na-nañ-gi skye-mched drug dan. phyiḥi skye-mched drug dan. ḥdi-dag-ni phyi-nañ-gi zes-bya-ste. de-la mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir nañ-gi chos-rnams phyiḥi chos-rnams kyis ston-ño. de ciḥi-phyir ze-na. deḥi rañ-bzin de yin-paḥi-phyir-re phyiḥi chos-rnams nañ-gi chos-rnams-kyis ston-ño. de ciḥi-phyir ze-na. deḥi rañ-bzin de yin-paḥi-phyir-te. ḥdi-ni phyi-nañ-ston-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of both the Subjective and the Objective? We have the 6 internal and 6 external bases of cognition. So we speak of them (together) as "the external and the internal." Now, being neither eternal nor evanescent, the internal elements are relative with respect to the external. Why that? *Because this is their essential nature.* The external elements are relative in regard to the internal. Why that? *Because such is their essential nature.* This is what we call "the Relativity of both the subjective and the objective elements".

9 This interpretation is adopted in the Madhyānta-vibhaṅga (Aga Ed. 3a — *de yañ gañ-gis ji-ltar mthoñ*), in Dīnāga's Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha (Tg. MDO. XIV. 333b. 5.), in Triratnādāsa's commentary on the latter, by Ārya

Training (i.e. the Degree of Highest Mundane Virtues¹⁰) since it is characterized by the removal of the (gross form) of subjective imputation.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 70b. 15-71a.3.]

सर्वधर्मशून्यताया अध्यात्मादिशून्यतालम्बनज्ञानस्वभावाया अपि शून्यत्वेन शून्यता-
शून्यता । ४ । सर्वधर्मशून्यताज्ञानमात्रं सर्वधर्मशून्यता । तेन च शून्यता शून्या । तस्या
ग्राहकविकल्पप्रहाणात् । इयं प्रयोगमार्गे ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 5-7.] *chos-thams-cad-stoñ-pa-ñid-kyis nan-
stoñ-pa-ñid-la-sogs-pa-la dmigs-paḥi śes-paḥi rañ-bžin-gyi stoñ-pa-ñid
kyañ stoñ-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir stoñ-pa-ñid-stoñ-pa-ñid-do. chos thams-
cad stoñ-pa-ñid-du śes-pa-tsam-ñid-ni chos-thams-cad. stoñ-pa-ñid yin-
la. des kyañ stoñ-pa-ñid stoñ-pa-yin te. der ḥdzin-paḥi rnam-par-rtog-pa
spon-baḥi-phyir-ro. ḥdi-ni sbyor-baḥi-lam-laḥo.*¹¹

V. *The Great Relativity.* The 10 parts of the horizon are relative, since each of them is taken in its relation to the others. (Their Relativity is called the "Great") owing to the all-embracing character (of the horizon). The cognition of this aspect is associated with the first Stage of the Bodhisattva. On this Stage we have (the cognition

Vimuktasena, and by Haribhadra. Another interpretation is to be found in the Mādhyamika-avatāra where the understructure or the foundation of Relativity is considered to be the principle of Relativity itself. The cognition of it has for its aim the removal of imputed views as to its being an absolute principle. (Gser. I, 307 a. 6, b. 4). Cf. *Conc. of Buddh. Nirvāṇa*, p. 49. "Is Relativity itself relative?"

10 *Sic* acc. to Gser. and Rnam-bśad. Cf. above.

11 Pañc. I, 214a. 2-3—*de-la stoñ-pa-ñid-stoñ-pa-ñid gañ že-na. mi-rtag mi-
hḥig-paḥi-phyir. chos-rnams-kyi stoñ-pa-ñid gañ-yin-paḥi stoñ-pa-ñid des
stoñ-pa-ñid stoñ-ño. de ciḥi-phyir že-na. deḥi rañ-bžin de yin-paḥi-phyir-te.
ḥdi-ni stoñ-pa-ñid-stoñ-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of
Relativity? As it is neither eternal nor evanescent, the Relativity of the
elements is devoid of the essence of Relativity (as of something absolute). Why
that? Because such is its essential nature. This is the Relativity of Relativity.
In the Pañc. in all the remaining aspects of *śūnyatā* the fact of being neither
eternal nor non-eternal (*akūṭastha-avināśitā*) is indicated as the essential
nature of Relativity. Cf. the following paragraphs.

of the Absolute as being) all-pervading.¹² (Every kind of limitation as 'eastern', 'western', and the like is consequently inadmissible from the standpoint of the Ultimate Reality).—

[Adhis.sloka, MS. 71a. 3-5.] दशानां दिशां दिग्भिः शून्यत्वेन महाशून्यता । ५ ।
तासां महासंनिवेशत्वात् । इयं सर्वत्रगतार्थेन प्रथमायां भूमौ ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 7.] *phyogs bcu-po-ni phyogs-kyis ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir chen-po-ston-pa-ñid-de. de-rnams-ni dbyibs che-ba yin-paḥi-phyir-ro ḥdi-ni kun-tu-ḥgro-baḥi don-gyis sa dan-po-laḥo.*¹³

VI. *The Relativity of the Ultimate Reality.* The latter, that is Nirvāṇa, is devoid of the essence of Nirvāṇa (as of a separate entity),¹⁴ inasmuch as it represents the mere separation (from the phenomenal elements).¹⁵ The cognition of this aspect is associated with the second stage. In the latter we have the cognition of the Absolute as being (Nirvāṇa) "the highest aim"¹⁶ that is to be attained. (This highest aim is cognized as having itself a relative character.¹⁷)

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71a. 5-7]

परमार्थस्य निर्वाणस्य निर्वाणार्थरूपशून्यत्वेन परमार्थशून्यता । ६ । तस्य
विसंयोगमात्रत्वात् । इयमग्राथेन द्वितीयायाम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 69b. 7-70a. 1.] *don-dam-pa mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pa-ni mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-paḥi don-gyi ran-bḥzin-gyis ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-*

12 Madhyānta-vibhaṅga, Aga Ed. 4a. 3, Mahāyāna-saṃgraha, Tg. MDO., LVI. 34b. 4, "Doctrine of Pr.-pār." p. 53.

13 Pañc., I, 214a. 3-5.—*de-la chen-po-ston-pa-ñid gan ḥe-na. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir sar-phyogs-kyis ston.....de ciḥi-phyir ḥe-na. deḥi ran-bḥzin de yin-paḥi-phyir-te. ḥdi-ni chen-po-ston-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—Of what kind is the Great Relativity? Being neither eternal, nor evanescent, the eastern quarter is devoid of a real essence of its own, etc. (Similar indications in regard to all the other points of the horizon). Why that? etc.

14 Cf. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 27.

15 Abhidharmakośa, I. 6.

16 *parama-artha.* Cf. Abh. kośa-bhāṣya on I. 2.—Madh. vibh. 4 a. 3. Mah. saṃgr. 34 b. 4, "Doctrine of Pr. pār." p. 54

17 Gser. I. 299 b. 6.—*mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pa mchog kyan ston-par rtogs-pas-so.*—Although Nirvāṇa is the highest (aim), it is cognized as being relative.

*phyir don-dam-pa-stoñ-pa-ñid-de. de-ni hbral-ba-tsam yin-paḥi-phyir ro. ḥdi-ni mchog-gi don-ñid-kyis-na sa gñis-pa-laḥo.*¹⁸

VII. *The Relativity of conditioned existence.* The 3 Spheres of Existence which are a product of causes and conditions (are relative, inasmuch as the World of Carnal Desire (or of Gross Bodies) etc. are devoid of a separate essence of their own. And, as they have no absolute existence, they are correlative and are possible antidotes of one another. The cognition of this aspect is associated with the third Stage. In the latter we have the cognition of the Absolute as being the homogeneous cause (of Phenomenal Existence). (The latter, as the natural outflow of the Absolute is cognized as being relative.¹⁹).

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71a. 7-10.]

संस्कृतस्य त्रैधातुकस्य कामादिधातुशून्यत्वेन संस्कृतशून्यता । ७ । तस्यापरिनिष्पन्न-
स्वभावत्वेन शक्यप्रतिपक्षत्वात् । इयं निष्यन्दार्थाग्रत्वेन तृतीयायाम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70a. 1-2] *ḥdus-byas-pa kham s gsum-pa-ni ḥdod-paḥi kham s-la-sogs-pa stoñ-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir ḥdus-byas-stoñ-pa-ñid-de. de-ni yon s-su-ma-grub-paḥi rañ-bžin-ñid-kyis gñen-poḥi phyogs-ñid-du nus-pa-ñid-kyi-phyir-ro.*²⁰

18 Pañc. I, 214 a. 51-6.—*de-la don-dam-pa-ni mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pa ste. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pa de-gaṇ mya-ñan-las-ḥdas-pas stoñ-ño. d cili-phyir že-na. deḥi rañ-bžin de yin-paḥi-phyir te. ḥdi-ni don-dam-pa-stoñ-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—The Absolute Reality (or the highest aim) is Nirvāṇa. Being neither eternal nor evanescent (Cf. the Salutation in the Mūla-mādharma-mika—*anucchedam aśāśvatam...prapañcopaśamaṃ śivam*), this Nirvāṇa is devoid of a real essence of its own. Why that? Because such is its essential nature. This is what we call the Relativity of the ultimate Reality (or of the highest aim).

19 Pañc. I. 214 a. 2.—*deḥi rañ-bžin-can ḥdus-byas ḥkhor-ba...stoñ-par rtoys-pas-so.*

20 Pañc. I. 214 a. 6-8.—*de-la ḥdus-byas stoñ-pa-ñid gaṇ že-na ḥdus-byas žes-bya-ba-ni ḥdod-paḥi kham s dañ. gzugs-kyi kham s dañ. gzugs-med-paḥi kham s te de-la mi-rtag-mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir ḥdod-paḥi kham s ḥdod-paḥi kham s-kyis stoñ-ño...de cili-phyir že-na. deḥi rañ-bžin de yin-paḥi-phyir-te. ḥdi-ni ḥdus-byas-stoñ-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of conditioned existence? Conditioned existence is (included in) *the World of Carnal Desire, the World of Pure Matter, and the Immaterial Sphere*. Being neither eternal, nor evanescent, the World of Carnal Desire is devoid of a real essence of its own, etc. (the same in regard to the Sphere of Pure Matter and Immaterial). Why that? Because

VIII. *The Relativity of the unconditioned.* The unconditioned is that which is beginningless, endless and not liable to change. It is relative, inasmuch as origination etc. (which are denied in) the beginningless and so on, do not exist, being the contradictorily opposed parts, the mere foundation of a name.²¹ The cognition of this aspect is associated with the fourth Stage, in which the Absolute is cognized as the Unique Principle in regard to which there can be no attachment.²²

²³ असंस्कृतस्यानुत्पादस्यानिरोधस्य स्थितेरनन्यथात्वस्य च तेनैव शून्यत्वादसंस्कृत-
शून्यता । ८ । अनुत्पादादीनां प्रज्ञप्तिनिमित्तस्य विरुद्धप्रतियोगिन उत्पादादेरभावात् ।
इयं निष्परिग्रहार्थेन चतुर्थ्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. 7a. 2-4] *ḥdus-ma-byas skye-ba-med-pa dan ḥgag-pa-med-pa dan gnas-pa-las gžan-du-ḥgyur-ba-med-pa-ni de-ñid-kyis ston-pa yin-paḥi-phyirḥdus-ma-byas-ston-pa-ste. skye-ba-med-pa-la-sogs-pa-rnams-kyi btags-paḥi rgyu-mtshan mi-mthun-paḥi zla skye-ba-la-sogs-pa med-paḥi phyir-ro. ḥdi- ni yoḥs-su-ḥdzin-pa-med-paḥi don-gyis-na bži-pa-laḥo.*²⁴

IX. *The Absolute Relativity.* As every limit or end is devoid of a real essence of its own, (we have this aspect of Relativity) as transgressing all limitation. A limit (or end) means a part. Now, between the limits of Eternity and of the Nought there exists absolutely nothing which could draw a boundary between them and thus make them appear

such is their essential nature. This is what we call the Relativity of conditioned existence.

21 Gser. I. 308 a. 2.—*zlog-phyogs skye-ba-sogs-kyis dben-pa-ni tha-sñad-kyi rgyu-mtshan-no.*

22 Ibid., 300 a. 2.—*yoḥs-su-ḥdzin-pa-med-paḥi ḥdus-ma-byas kyañ ston-par rtogs-pas-so.*—Because the unconditioned which cannot be the object of interest is cognized as being relative.—M. vibh. 4 a. 3., Mah. samgr. Tg. MDO., LVI, 34 b. 415.

23 This passage is omitted in the MS. Text restored acc. to Tib. q. v.—

24 Pañc. I. 214 a. 8—b. 2.—*de-la ḥdus-ma-byas-ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na. ḥdus-ma-byas zes-bya-ba-ni gañ-la skye-ba-med-pa dan ḥgag-pa-med-pa dan. gnas-pa-las gžan-du-ḥgyur-pa-med-pa ḥdi-ni ḥdus-ma-byas zes-bya-ste. mi-rtag-mi-ḥjig-paḥi phyir ḥdus-ma-byas de-ni ḥdus-ma-byas-kyis ston-ño.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of the unconditioned? The unconditioned is that which neither becomes originated, nor disappears, and does not change its state. As it is neither eternal etc.

as having each its own separate essence. The cognition of this aspect is associated with the fifth Stage, where the Absolute is cognized as including the collective personality,²⁵ (since from the standpoint of Ultimate Reality there can be no limitations whatever).—

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71a. 10-14]

अन्तस्यान्तेन शून्यत्वादतीतान्तत्वेनात्यन्तशून्यता । ६ । अन्तो भागस्तत्रोच्छेद-
शाश्वतान्तयोर्मध्ये न तदस्ति किञ्चिद्येन तयोर्भागव्यवच्छेदमात्रत्वेन स्वभावो व्यवस्थाप्यते
इयं संतानामेदार्थेन पञ्चम्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70a. 4-6.] *mthaḥ ni mthas stoṅ-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-
phyir mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pa-ñid-kyis-na mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pa-stoṅ-pa-ñid-do.
mthaḥ ni cha ste de-la chaḍ-pa dañ rtag-paḥi mthaḥ gñis-kyi dbus-na
de-dag-gi cha rnam-par-gcod-paḥi rgyu-mtshan gañ-gis deḥi ran-bžin-
du rnam-par-ḥjog-pa de-ni ci-yañ-med-do.ḥdi-ni rgyud-tha-dad-pa-med-
paḥi don-gyis-na lña-pa-laḥo.*²⁶

X. *The Relativity of Degree.*²⁷ 'The beginning,' 'the middle,' and 'the end' are ideas that are correlative and have consequently no real essence of their own. They, the beginning etc., are knitted together in the Absolute Essence, and consequently no limitation can be drawn between them. The cognition of this aspect is associated with the sixth Stage where the separate unreality of the defiling and the purifying elements is cognized.²⁸ (There is consequently no differentiation of good and bad, high and low etc.).

25 In such a sense we have to understand *santāna-abhedo*, the non-differentiation of the separate personalities. M. vibh. 4 a. 3-4, M. samgr. 34 b. 5, "Doctrine of Pr-pār." p. 55.

26 Pañc. I. 214 b. 2-3.—*de-la mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pa-stoṅ-pa-ñid gañ ze-na. gañ-la mthaḥ mi-dmigs-pa de-ni mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pa ste mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi phyir. mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pa mthaḥ-las-ḥdas-pas stoṅ-ño. de ciḥi phyir ze-na. deḥi ran-bžin de yin-paḥi-phyir te ḥdi-ni mthaḥ-las-stoṅ-pa-ñid ces-byaḥo.*—Of what kind is the Absolute (or unlimited) Relativity? That with which no limit can be perceived is called "the Absolute (or unlimited)." Being neither eternal nor evanescent, this "unlimited" is devoid of a real essence of its own, etc.

27 Lit. "Relativity as the negation of the high and low (beginning and end, good and bad, etc.)." Otherwise: the Relativity of that which has neither beginning nor end. (Sic acc. to Pañc.).

28 I.e. that the Absolute, as the unique undifferentiated principle, can be

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71a. 14-16.]

आदिमध्यपर्यवसानानां शून्यत्वेनानवराप्रशून्यता । १० । आद्यादीनां धर्मतानुस्यूत-
त्वेनात्यन्तिकत्वात् । इयं निःकुशविशुद्धयर्थेन षष्ठ्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70a. 6-7.] *thog-ma dañ dbus dañ tha-ma-rnams-
ni de-rnams-kyis stoñ-pa-ñid yin-pas thog-ma dañ tha-ma-med-pa-stoñ-
pa-ñid de. thog-ma-la-sogs-pa-ni chos-ñid-kyi rjes-su-skyes-pa-ñid-kyis*²⁹
*mthañ-ñid śin-tu-med-paḥi-phyir-ro.ḥdi-ni kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa dañ
rnam-par-dag-pa-ma-yin-paḥi don-gyis-na*³⁰ *drug-pa-laḥo*.³¹

XI. *The Relativity of the points that are not to be rejected.*³² The points that are not to be rejected are to be regarded as relative, since they can be taken only in their relation to rejection which is the same as removing or casting away. Now, rejection etc. which has the character of action is connected with an enunciation of non-rejection.³³ The cognition of this aspect is associated with the seventh Stage in which the undifferentiated character of the Absolute is cognized.³⁴

neither defiling nor purifying. M. vibh. 4 a. 4, M. samgr. 34 b. 5, "Doctrine of Pr.-pār." p. 55.

29 The Tangyur text is corrupt: *thog-ma dañ tha-ma-med-pa-stoñ-pa-ñid-la-
sogs-paḥi chos-ñid-kyi rjes-su-skyes-pa-ñid-kyis...*

30 Corr. acc. to Mah. samgr.—The Tib. version of the Abhis. ālokā has:
ḥdi-ni kun-nas-ñon-moñs-pa-med-pas rnam-par-dag-paḥi don-gyis-na...

31 Pañc. I. 214 b. 3-5.—*de-la thog-ma-dañ-tha-ma-med-pa-stoñ-pa-ñid gañ
že-na. gañ-la thog-ma mi-dmigs śin tha-ma yañ mi-dmigs-pa de-la ḥgro-ba mi-
dmigs. ḥoñ-ba yañ mi-dmigs-te. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir etc.*—Of what kind is
the Relativity of the beginningless and endless? That, with which a beginning
cannot be perceived, and an end likewise does not exist, cannot have a motion
hither and thither. (Cf. Salutation to the Mūla-mādh.—*anāgamam anirgamam*
and Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 69). Being neither eternal, nor evanes-
cent, etc.

32 Acc. to Ratnākaraśānti's *Suddhimatī* (Tg. MDO. IX.) this is the
Mahāyānistic Path; acc. to the Commentaries on the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the 3
Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtras (of Daṃṣṭrāsena, Tib. Gnod-ḥjoms gñis, Tg. MDO., XIII
and XIV) it is the Final Nirvāṇa without residue (*anupadhi-śeṣa-nirvāṇa* = *thag-
med myañ-ḥdas*; Gser. I. 308 a. 5).

33 Gser. I. 308 a. 4-5.—*dor-ba dañ spans-pa dañ btañ-ba-las bzlog-pa-ni-tha-
ñad-kyi rgyu-mtshan-no.*—The foundation for its name is the fact of being the
counterpart of rejecting, removing, or casting away.

34 M. vibh. 4 a. 4, M. samgr. 34 b. 5, "Doctrine of Pr.-pār." pp. 55 and 56.

This unique principle (which is Nirvāṇa, a point that is not to be rejected is thus cognized as being relative.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71b. 1-4.]

अवकिरणोत्सर्गलक्षणस्यावकारस्य विषय्येणानवकारस्तस्य तेन शून्यत्वादनवकार-
शून्यता । ११ । अवकिरणादेः क्रियारूपत्वेनानुत्सर्गप्रज्ञनिमित्तत्वयोगान् । इयमना-
नात्वार्थेन सप्तम्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70a. 7-b. 1.] *bral zin spañ-la yons-su-btañ-baḥi mtshan-ñid-can-gyi dor-ba-las bzlog-pa-ñid-kyis-na dor-ba-med-pa ste de-ni des ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir.dor-ba-med-pa-ston-pa-ñid-de dor-ba-la-sogs-pa-ni bya-baḥi ño-bo-ma-yin-pa-ñid-kyis-na spañs-par btags paḥi rgyu-mtshan-du mi-ḥthad-paḥi-phyir-ro.*³⁵ *ḥdi-ni tha-dad-pa-med-paḥi don-gyis-na bdun-pa-laḥo.*³⁶

XII. *The Relativity of the Ultimate Essence.* This Essence is not something produced by the agency of all the different Saints. It is devoid of a real essence of its own (and consequently relative), since it is impossible for the conditioned and the unconditioned to be changed or unchanged anew into something either eternal or non-eternal.³⁷

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71b. 4-6.]

सर्वार्थैरकृता प्रकृतिस्तस्यास्तया शून्यत्वात्प्रकृतिशून्यता । १२ । तस्याः संस्कृता-
संस्कृतविकाराविकारानापत्तेः ।

³⁵ Acc. to the Tib. version: *kriyā-arūpatvena anutsarga-prajñapti-nimittatva-ayogāt.*

³⁶ Pañc. I. 214 b. 5-6.—*de-la dor-ba-med-pa-ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na. gañ-la gañ-yañ dor-ba med-pa-ste. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir dor-ba-med-pa dor-ba-med-pas ston-ño. de ciḥi-phyir ze-na. deḥi rañ-bzin de yin-paḥi-phyir etc.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of the points that are not to be rejected? (The points that are not to be rejected) are those in regard to which absolutely nothing is to be removed. Being neither eternal nor evanescent, these points that are not to be rejected are devoid of a real essence of their own. Why that? Because such is their essential nature.

³⁷ Gser. I. 308 a. 6-b. 1.—*de-ni ye-nas ston pas de ston-par ḥphags-pa gañ-gis kyañ ma-byas-pas ḥdus-byas ḥgyur-ba dañ ḥdus-ma-byas mi-ḥgyur-bas gnod-par mi-nus-pa.*—Being relative (void) from the outset, it cannot be rendered void by the Saints. Therefore we have here no opposition of the conditioned that becomes changed and the unconditioned which is unalterable.

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 1-2.] *hphags-pa thams-cad-kyis ma-mdzad-pa-ni rañ-bzin te. de-ni des stoñ-paḥi-phyir rañ-bzin-stoñ-pa-ñid-do. de-la ni ḥdus-byas dañ ḥdus-ma-byas-kyi rnam-par-ḥgyur-ba dañ rnam-par-mi-ḥgyur-baḥi gnod med-paḥi phyir-ro.*³⁸

XIII. *The Relativity of all the Elements of Existence.* Every separate element is devoid of a real essence of its own. Indeed, all the elements, those belonging to the categories of the conditioned as well as the unconditioned, are mutually dependent and have consequently no ultimate existence.³⁹

The cognition of these 2 aspects (XII and XIII) is associated with the eighth Stage. In this Stage we have the cognition of the Absolute as (the unique principle) from which nothing can be removed and to which nothing can be added.)⁴⁰ Moreover, in this Stage (the Bodhisattva cognizes the Absolute as being) the foundation for the 2 kinds of controlling power, viz. that of direct cognition, and that of purifying the Sphere (of future Buddhahood).⁴¹ This Stage is thus characterized by both action and result. (As regards the cognition of the said two aspects of Relativity, they refer to) that appliance⁴² (of the eighth Stage) which represents the full penetration (into the Essence of the Absolute).

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71b. 7-11.]

धर्मस्य धर्मेण शून्यत्वात्सर्वधर्मशून्यता । १३ । सर्वधर्माणां संस्कृतासंस्कृतराशेरि-

38 Pañc. I. 214 b. 6-8.—*de-la rañ-bzin-stoñ-pa-ñid gañ ze-na. ḥdus-byas-sam. ḥdus-ma-byas kyañ-run-ste chos-thams-cad-kyi rañ-bzin gañ-yin-pa de-ni ñan-thos-rnams-kyis ma-byas rañ-saṅs-rgyas-kyis ma-byas. byañ-chen-rnams-kyis ma-byas. de-bzin-gśegs-pa dgra-bcom-pa yañ-dag-par-rdzogs-paḥi saṅs-rgyas-rnams-kyis ma-byas-te. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir etc.*—Of what kind is the Relativity of the Ultimate Essence? The Essence of all the elements, the conditioned and the unconditioned (Cf. Uttaratantra, Transl. p. 230 and 231), is not produced by the Srāvakas, the Pratyekabuddhas, the Bodhisattvas, and the Tathāgatas, the Arhats, the Perfect Supreme Buddhas. As it is neither eternal nor evanescent, etc.

39 This passage very pregnantly shows the real meaning of *sūnyatā*.

40 This refers to *prakṛti-sūnyatā*. M. vibh. 4 a. 4., M. saṃgr. 34 b. 6. Cf. Abhisam. Kār. V. 21.—*nā'pāneyam atah kimcit prakṣeptavyam na kim ca na.* ...

41 On *buddha-kṣetra-pariśuddhi* see Chapter IV. M. saṃgr. 34 b. 6, "Doctr. of Pr.-pār.," p. 56.

42 *parikarman* = *yoñs-su-sbyoñ-ba*. On these appliances cf. below under "the Accumulation of the 10 Stages" (*daśa-bhūmi-sambhāra*).

तरेतरापेक्षत्वेन स्वभावापरिनिष्पन्नत्वात् । एतच्च शून्यताद्वयमहीनानाधिकार्येन निर्विकल्पक्षेत्रपरिशुद्धिवशिताद्वयाश्रयत्वेन चर्याफलभूमित्वात्प्रतिवेधपरिकर्मणाष्टम्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 2-4.] *chos-rnams-ni chos-rnams-kyis ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir chos-thams-cad-ston-pa-ñid-de.ḥdus-byas dañ ḥdus-ma-byas-kyi chos-kyi tshogs thams-cad-ni phan-tshun bltos-pa-can yin-pas-na rañ-bzin yoñs-su-grub-pa-med-paḥi-phyir-ro.ston-pa-ñid ḥdi gñis-ni ḥgrib-pa dañ ḥphel-ba-med-paḥi don dañ rnam-par-mi-rtog-pa dañ zin yoñs-su-dag-pa-la dbaḥ-ba gñis-kyi rten-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir ḥbras-buḥi sa-ñid yin-pas⁴³ so-sor-rtog-pa yoñs-su-sbyon-baḥi dbye-bas sa brgyad-pa-laḥo.⁴⁴*

XIV. *The Relativity of Essence.* Matter and the other (groups of elements) the essences of which are impenetrability etc. are devoid of these essences (as of something that is real in itself). Indeed, the general and the special characteristics (which are put forth as the essences of things) are merely nominal.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71b. 12-14.]

रूपादिदलक्षणस्य रूपादेस्तलक्षणशून्यत्वालक्षणशून्यता । १४ । लक्षणव्यवस्थानस्य सामान्यविशेषप्रज्ञप्तिमात्रत्वात् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 4-5] *gzugs-la-sogs-pa-ni deḥi mtshan-ñid gzugs-su-ruñ-ba-la-sogs-pa ston-pa yin-paḥi-phyir rañ-gi-mtshan-ñid-ston-pa-ñid-de⁴⁵ mtshan-ñid-du rnam-par-bzāg-paḥi spyi dañ khyad-par-ni btags-pa-tsam yin-paḥi-phyir-ro.⁴⁶*

XV. *The Relativity of the present, past, and future which cannot be perceived* (all of them at once). If we take the elements relating

43 Sic. acc. to the Tg. Correct: *spyod-pa dañ ḥbras-buḥi sa-ñid yin-pas.*

44 Pañc. I. 214 b. 8—215 a. 5.—*de-la chos-thams-cad-ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na, chos thams-cad ces-bya-ba-ni gzugs dañ. tshor-ba dañ...*(an enumeration of all the *skandhas*, *āyatana*s etc.) —*ḥdus-byas-kyi chos dañ. ḥdus-ma-byas-kyi chos te...de-la mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir etc.*

45 = स्वलक्षणशून्यता ।

46 Pañc. I. 215 a. 6-8—*de-la rañ-gi-mtshan-ñid-ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na, gzugs-ni ḥjig-paḥi mtshan-ñid.* (= *vināśa-lakṣaṇaṃ rūpaṃ*; Cf. *rūpyate, luhyate, badhyate etc.*)...*tshor-ba-ni myon-baḥi mtshan-ñid* (= *anubhava-lakṣaṇa vedanā*) etc. (Follow the essences of *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra* and *viññāna*). *mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi phyir etc.*

to the past etc. separately, it is impossible to perceive (within each of these categories)⁴⁷ other elements which are dialectically opposed.⁴⁸ Indeed, (time is a property) which can be only nominally attributed to a thing.

The cognition of these 2 aspects of Relativity (XIV and XV) is associated with the ninth Stage, in which (the Bodhisattva cognizes the Absolute) as being the basis of the Power of Transcendental Wisdom.⁴⁹

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 71b. 14-72a. 1.]

अतीतादीनां धर्माणामतीतादिध्वध्वस्वितरेतरविपर्ययानुपलम्भत्वेनानुपलम्भशून्यता ।

१५ । अध्वनां भावप्रज्ञप्तिमात्रत्वात् । एतच्च शून्यताद्वयं ज्ञानवशिताश्रयत्वेन तथैव नवस्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 5-7.] *h̄das-pa-la-sogs-paḥi chos-rnams ni h̄das-pa-la-sogs-paḥi dus-rnams-la phan-tshun bzlog-na dmigs-su-med-pa-ñid-kyis-na mi-dmigs-pa-stoṅ-pa-ñid-de. dus-rnams-ni dños-po-la btags-pa-tsam-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir-ro.*⁵⁰

XVI. *The Relativity of the (combined elements which have) the essence of a Non-ens.* Such entities do not represent realities by themselves, since they are functionally interdependent. Indeed it is said:—What is an entity beyond its causes?—

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 72a. 2-4.]

नास्ति सांयोगिकस्य धर्मस्य भावः प्रतीत्यसमुत्पन्नत्वादिति संयोगस्य तेन शून्यत्वाद-
भावस्वभावशून्यता । १६ । सामग्रीमात्रं भाव इति कृत्वा ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 7-8.] *sbyor-ba-las-byuñ-baḥi chos-rnams ni no-bo-ñid med-pa-yin-te. rten-ciñ-ḥbrel-par-ḥbyuñ-baḥi-phyir-ro. zes-bya*

47 I.e. the elements of the past, the present, and the future, each taken separately.

48 I.e. if we take for instance the elements of the past, we have only the past, if we have those of the present then only the present; it is impossible to perceive past and present together.

49 Madh.vibh. 4 a. 4., M. samgr. 34 b. 6, "Doctr. of Pr.-pār.," p. 56.

50 Pañc. I. 215 a. 8-b. 1.—*de-la mi-dmigs-pa-stoṅ-pa-ñid gañ ze-na. gañ-la h̄das-pa mi-dmigs-pa dan. ma-ḥoṅs-pa mi-dmigs-pa dan. de-ltar-byuñ-baḥi gnas mi-dmigs-pa ste. mi-rtag mi-ḥjig-paḥi-phyir* etc.—Of what kind is the Relativity of the non-perceptible?—That, in regard to which *neither past, nor future, nor present existence can be perceived*, is neither eternal, nor evanescent, etc.

bas tshogs-pa-ni des ston-pa-ñid-yin-paḥi-phyir dños-po-med-paḥi-
ño-bo-ñid-ston-pa-ñid-dé. dños-po-rnams-ni tshogs-pa-tsam-yin-paḥi
phyir-ro.⁵¹

XVII. *The Relativity of Mundane Existence.* The five groups of elements constituting a mundane individual existence are devoid of a real essence of their own. Indeed "a group of elements" has the meaning of "an assemblage."⁵² But an assemblage cannot be an entity by itself. Therefore it can by no means be the foundation for an existence which bears the essence of the *causa materialis*⁵³ (of Phenomenal Life). The cognition of these two varieties (XVI and XVII) is associated with the tenth Stage, the former being (with the preceding Stage). In the tenth Stage we have the cognition of the Absolute as being the substratum of the controlling power over the Biotic Force.⁵⁴ The latter as exercising its influence over the individual is relative.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 72a. 4-8.]

भावस्योपादानस्कन्धलक्षणस्य तेन शून्यत्वाद्भावशून्यता । १७ । राश्यर्थो हि
स्कन्धार्थः । राशिश्चापदार्थत्वाद्भावादानलक्षणस्य भावस्य निमित्तं भवितुमर्हतीति कृत्वा ।
एतच्च शून्यताद्वयं कर्मविशिताश्रयत्वेन पूर्ववद्दशम्याम् ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 70b. 8-71a. 2.] dños-po ñe-bar-len-paḥi phuñ-poḥi
mtshan-ñid-ni des ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir dños-po-ston-pa-ñid-
de.spuñs-paḥi don-ni phuñ-poḥi don yin-la.spuñs-pa yañ don-med-pa
yin-paḥi-phyir ñe-bar-len-paḥi mtshan-ñid-can-gyi dños-poḥi rgyu-
mtshan-du hgyur-bar ḥos-pa-ma-yin-paḥi-phyir-ro. ston-pa-ñid gñis-
po ḥdi-dag-ni las-la-dbañ-baḥi rten-du gyur-pa-ñid-kyis-na sñā-ma-
bzin-du sa bcu-pa-laḥo.⁵⁵

51 Ibid., 215 b. 1-3.—*de-la dños-po-med-pa-ño-bo-ñid-ston-pa-ñid gañ ze-na.*
chos thams-cad rten-ciñ-ḥbrel-par-ḥbyuñ-baḥi-phyir. ḥdus-paḥi ño-bo-ñid med-de
mi-rtay mi-ḥjig-paḥi phyir. ḥdus-pa ḥdus-pas ston-ño.—Of what kind is the
Relativity of that which has the essence of a Non-ens? As all the elements are
functionally interdependent, a combined existence has no real essence of its own.
Being neither eternal nor evanescent, a combined existence has no real essence, it
is unreal in itself, etc.

52 *rāśi*=*spuñs-pa*. Cf. Abh. kośa I. 20.

53 *upādāna-kāraṇa*=*ñer-len-gyi rgyu*.

54 M. samgr. 34 b. 6-7. "Doctrine of Pr.-pār.," p. 57.

55 Pañc. I. 215 b. 4-5.—*de-la dños-po gañ ze-na. phuñ-po lña ste, phuñ-po de-*

XVIII. *The Relativity of Non-ens.* That which represents a Non-ens⁵⁶ as Space etc.⁵⁷ which is uncaused and unconditioned is devoid of an essence of its own. Indeed it is merely nominal, being the negation of a (phenomenal) reality, as something obstructing and the like.

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 72a. 8-10.]

अभावस्यासंस्कृतस्याकाशदेस्तेन शून्यत्वादभावशून्यता । १८ । वस्तुधर्मावरणादिना तत्प्रज्ञप्तेः ।

[Tg. MDO. VI. 71a. 2-4.] *dños-po-med cin hdus-ma-byas-pa nam-mkhañ-la-sogs-pa-ni des-ston-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir dños-po-med-pa-ston-pa-ñid-de dños-poḥi chos sgrib-par-byed-pa-la-sogs-pa med-pa-las de brtags-pa yin-paḥi-phyir-ro.*⁵⁸

XIX. *The Relativity of the true Monistic Essence of Existence.*⁵⁹ It is that which (exists from the outset) and is not produced by the Transcendental Wisdom or the intuition of the Saints. Indeed, Transcendental Wisdom and direct intuition make clear the Ultimate Reality. (The latter must therefore be viewed in its relation to the said wisdom and intuition).

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 72a. 10-12.]

स्वभावस्य शून्यताख्यस्यार्याणां ज्ञानेन दर्शनेन वाकृतत्वात्स्वभावशून्यता । १९ ।
ज्ञानदर्शनस्य यथाभूतार्थज्ञोक्तत्वात् ।

day kyañ phuñ-po-rnams-kyis ston-bas, de-ltar-na dños-po dños-pos ston-no.—Now, what is mundane existence? It is (constituted by) the 5 groups of elements. But these groups are devoid of a real essence of their own. Therefore mundane existence is relative (devoid of an essence of its own).

56 *abhāva* = *dños-po-med-pa* (not simply: *med-pa*) has here the sense of "the absence of the conditioned, phenomenal, separate reality" (*bhāva* = *vastu* = *dños-po*). The synonyms of the latter are: *saṃskṛta* = *hdus-ma-byas*, *paratantra* = *gžan-dbañ*, etc. It is opposed to *nitya* and *asāṃskṛta* which are the understructure of Relativity in this case.

57 (*ākāśa*) and the two kinds of Extinction (*nirodha*).

58 Pañc. I. 215 b. 5-6.—*ji-ltar-na dños-po-med-pa dños-po-med-pas-ston ze-na. dños-po-med-pa zes-bya-ba-ni hdus-ma-byas-te, hdus-ma-byas de yañ hdus-ma-byas-kyis ston-pas, de-ltar-na dños-po-med-pa dños-po-med-pas ston-no.*—How is the Non-ens devoid of a real essence of its own? The Non-ens is the unconditioned. But the unconditioned is devoid of a real essence of its own, etc.

59 *sūnyatā* in the sense of the negation of all separate reality.

[Tg. MDO. VI. 71a 4-5.] *rañ-bžin stoñ-pa-ñid-du grags ni hphags-pa-rnams-kyi śes-pa dañ mthoñ-bas ma-byas-pa-ñid yin-paḥi phyir rañ-gi-ño-bo-stoñ-pa-ñid-de.śes-pa dañ mthoñ-ba-ni yañ-dag-paḥi don ji-ltar-ba-bžin-du gsal-bar-byed-pa-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir-ro.*⁶⁰

XX. *The Relativity of a foreign origin.*⁶¹ The Ultimate Absolute Essence of the elements is everlasting and exists independently from the appearance or the non-appearance of the Buddhas. It is relative being viewed in its (negative) relation to an agent from without. Indeed, it is said:—Human effort that is directed upon the Ultimate Monistic Essence will have for its result only a useless toil.

The cognition of these three aspects (XVIII, XIX and XX) is associated with the last Stage i.e. the Stage of the Buddha. In it the Absolute is cognized as the foundation, and thereby are removed the Obscuration of Moral Defilement with its residues and the Obscuration of Ignorance with its residues, and then happens the manifestation of the true nature of the Buddha.⁶²

[Abhis.ālokā, MS. 72a. 13-b3.]

उत्पादाद्वा तथागतानामनुत्पादाद्वा स्थितैवैषा धर्माणां धर्मता । इति परेण कर्त्रा
शून्यत्वात्परभावशून्यता । २० । शून्यताधिष्ठानो हि पुरुषव्यापारो केवलं विघातायेति
कृत्वा । एतच्च शून्यतात्रयं यथाक्रमं सवासनकुशावरणब्रह्मणाश्रयत्वेन सवासनज्ञे यावरण-
प्रहाणाश्रयत्वेन स्वयंभूतार्थेन च बुद्धभूमौ वेदितव्यम् ॥

[Tg. MDO. VI. 71a. 5-8.] *de-bžin-gśegs-pa-rnams hbyuñ yañ-ruñ ma-byuñ yañ-ruñ ste chos-rnams-kyi chos-ñid hdi-ni ye-gnas-paḥo śes-bya-bas byed-pa-po gžan-gyis stoñ-pa yin-paḥi-phyir gžan-gyi ño-bo-stoñ-*

60 Pañc. I. 215 b. 6.—*rañ-bžin śes-bya-ba-ni ño-bo-ñid ma-nor-ba-ste, de-la stoñ-pa-ñid gañ-yin-pa de-ni śes-pas ma-byas, mthoñ-bas ma-byas-te, hdi-ni rañ-bžin-stoñ-pa-ñid-do.*—The Ultimate Essence is the true essence. It is the ultimate principle of Non-substantiality which is not produced by knowledge and is not produced by intuition. This is the Relativity of the Ultimate Monistic Essence. Acc. to Gser. I. 309 b. 6-310 a. 1.—This is not a repetition of *prakṛti-sūnyatā*, being a more detailed form.

61 Or: of the Transcendental Essence.

62 The 4 last aspects of *sūnyatā* are regarded as additions to *abhāva-svabhāva-sūnyatā*. Indeed, the fundamental aspects of Relativity (in the *sūtras*) are 16 in number.

*pa-ñid-de stoṅ-pa-ñid-la brten-paḥi skyes-buḥi bya-ba-ni dub-pa ḥbah-
zig-tu ḥgyur-baḥi-phyir-ro. stoṅ-pa-ñid gsum-po ḥdi-dag-ni go-rim-
bzin-du ñon-moṅs-paḥi sgrib-pa bag-chags daṅ-bcas-pa spaṅs-paḥi rten-
ñid yin-paḥi-phyir daṅ. śes-byaḥi sgrib-pabag-chags daṅ-bcas-pa spaṅs-
paḥi rten-ñid yin-paḥi-phyir daṅ raṅ-byuñ-ñid yin-paḥi don-gyis-na
saṅs-rgyas-kyi sa-la yin-par śes-par-byaḥo.*

E. OBERMILLER

Śrīkṛṣṇa and the Source of the Bhagavadgītā

The common belief that Śrīkṛṣṇa was the founder of a *bhakti* cult and of the Bhāgavata sect requires examination. That the Bhagavadgītā is the earliest work of the Bhāgavata sect, known to us, might be easily conceded, but that Śrīkṛṣṇa himself was the founder of a *bhakti* cult which teaches that liberation, or the highest good, is attainable by devotion and self-surrender to Bhagavat, incarnated as man, is quite another matter. Such a theory presupposes not only that the doctrine of *avatāra* was as old as the time of Śrīkṛṣṇa, but that Śrīkṛṣṇa actually preached that he was the Supreme Being incarnate as he is made to preach in the Bhagavadgītā (henceforth abbreviated as *Bhg.*).

Let us travel back to the age in which Śrīkṛṣṇa lived and taught. Very probably he lived in the age of the Kurukṣetra battle. The Jain tradition¹ supports the *Mahābhārata* on this point. It makes Śrīkṛṣṇa a cousin and contemporary of Neminātha, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara before Pārśvanātha of the 8th century B.C. It should be borne in mind that the succession of Tīrthaṅkaras was not an unbroken one, and, modern research tends to place the Kurukṣetra battle near about the 12th century B.C. In any case, Śrīkṛṣṇa lived two or three generations before the great sage Yājñavalkya, the compiler of the White Yajurveda, and the outstanding figure in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad. The Hymns of the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda might have all, or most of them, been composed before Śrīkṛṣṇa's time, and those of the Black Yajurveda were perhaps compiled a little later by Vaiśampāyana, the disciple of Kṛṣṇa Dvāpāyana. Examining the literature which had preceded and immediately followed Śrīkṛṣṇa, one does not find therein any trace of the fully developed *bhakti* or the *avatāra* doctrines, as found in the *Bhg.* The rudimentary *bhakti* of the Vedic hymns to Nature-Gods, and the *bhakti* of the *Gītā* are as poles asunder. The same remark

1 As recorded in the Jain *Harivaṃśa*. The Buddhist tradition, too, as recorded in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka* makes him the slayer of Kāṃsa. Radhakrishnan says that Ariṣṭanemi (=Neminātha) is mentioned in the Yajurveda.—*History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, p. 287.

holds true of the Brāhmaṇa doctrine of Prajāpati taking the shapes of the tortoise and the boar for special purposes, and the Gītā doctrine of the Supreme Being incarnating Himself from time to time with a view to protect the faithful and destroy the evil-doers. There is no evidence that Viṣṇu, the Solar God, had attained the position of the Supreme Being in Śrīkṛṣṇa's time and no authority for holding that Śrīkṛṣṇa was the founder of the *avatāra* doctrine or that he preached himself as one. As to his having even founded a *bhakti* cult, *minus* the doctrine of *avatāra*, there is no evidence either. It might be argued that, since the Bhāgavatas or followers of Śrīkṛṣṇa appear originally to have been outside the pale of Brahmanism, it is possible that Śrīkṛṣṇa adopted the doctrine of *bhakti* from the popular religion prevailing in his days. Such a supposition is negatived by the fact that Śrīkṛṣṇa himself does not appear to have been an out-and-out non-Brāhmanical teacher. Then, again, much philosophy that grew outside sacrificialism was incorporated in the Upaniṣads, but we find no trace of the *bhakti* doctrine in Upaniṣadic works earlier than the *Svetāśvatara*, where *bhakti* is still rudimentary. The *Svetāśvatara* was probably compiled near about the time of the Buddha, and the *Bhg.* with its more developed *bhakti* doctrine was undoubtedly a much later work.² The theory that Śrīkṛṣṇa propounded the *avatāra* doctrine is, therefore, purely imaginary. Whether theism itself can be traced to him is not also free from doubt.

Indian scholars with the exception of H. C. Raychoudhuri,³ and one or two others, are unwilling to concede that Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra,⁴ mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upa.* as a pupil of Ghora Āṅgīrasa, is identical with the Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata*, the Gītā and the Purāṇas. The reasons they urge are mainly two: First, the Purāṇas mention Sāṇḍīpani, and sometimes Garga, but not Ghora, as Śrīkṛṣṇa's teacher, and secondly Ghora did not teach his pupil the cardinal

2 To me the *Gītā* appears to have been composed as early as 40 B.C., unless the *Gītā* verses quoted in the *Bodhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* and *Pitṛmedha Sūtras* be interpolations.

3 *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 30-37.

4 It should be noted that this Kṛṣṇa overcame 'aśanāyā' and 'pipāsā,' that is, attained Brahma-knowledge.

doctrines of the *Bhg.*, viz., *bhakti*, and *avatāra*-hood. It should be remembered, however, that the *Chāndogya Upa.* was compiled much nearer Śrīkṛṣṇa's time than the *Purāṇas*, which, as we find them, are all post-Christ works, and one should not be surprised if such late authorities, which attributed all sorts of solar and vegetation myths to Śrīkṛṣṇa, invented mythical *gurus* for him, or omitted the name of one of his teachers. As pointed out by Raychudhuri, some of the things which Ghorā taught Śrīkṛṣṇa are also emphasised in the *Gītā*. The stress on these teachings is equally present in the *Anugītā*.⁵ When one takes into account the great distance of time which separated the date of the composition of the *Gītā* from Śrīkṛṣṇa, the doctrinal differences are easily explained. In the domain of religion and philosophy, the rearing of a stately edifice upon rather slender foundations is no uncommon happening.

Everybody has noticed that, of all the *Upaniṣads*, the *Kaṭha* and the *Svetāśvatara* influenced the author of the *Bhg.* most. The *Svetāśvatara* appears to have been an instance of a *Yoga Upaniṣad* crowned, in course of time, with theism, the leaning being towards *Saivism*. It is equally likely that the *Bhg.* too, was originally a *Yoga Upa.*,—which, indeed, it professes to be,—*Vaiṣṇavised* in course of time. Unlike the *Svetāśvatara*, the *Gītā* probably lost its claim to be reckoned as an *Upaniṣad* owing to the intrusion into it of doctrines alien to the teachings of the *Upaniṣads*, viz., the doctrines of *avatāra* and of *bhakti* being the easiest way to liberation.⁶

A hypothesis is put forward here as to the gradual growth of the *Bhg.* into its present shape, which appears to the present writer to be more satisfactory than any other hitherto suggested. That Kṛṣṇa was both a great Kṣatriya warrior and a great religious teacher cannot be doubted. The *Yadu* clan, to which he belonged, is said to have originally been regarded as a *Sūdra* one; it obtained recognition as a

⁵ The *Anugītā* is more appropriately the *Pūrvagītā* for reasons to be stated later on.

⁶ It is possibly for this reason that the *Bhāgavatas* came for a time, to be regarded as outside the pale of Brahmanism. But they appear to have been readmitted into its pale, when the excellence of the *Bhagavadgītā* gained for it the position of one of the three 'prasthānas' of the *Vedānta*.

Kṣatriya clan later on. It might be that the very greatness of Kṛṣṇa led to this advance in status. Before his time, Brahmanism had contented itself with sacrificialism, though the better minds among the Aryans had already taken to philosophical speculations which resulted in the formulations of the Upaniṣadic *brahmacāra*. But the Vedic Aryans had conquered a people even more civilised than themselves, as the Mohenjodaro and Harappa finds would show. It may be presumed that this people had its religion and its philosophy too. When the writings in the seals found in the two places are deciphered, and the images found more thoroughly studied, the debt of modern Hinduism to this people will be thoroughly appraised. That image-worship is a legacy left by these Pre-Aryans⁷ is certain. It might be that the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga Systems of philosophy grew among them. R. P. Chanda thinks⁸ that the Yoga was evolved by them. The inter-connection between the two has long been recognised. Whether we accept the common view that Yoga was evolved as the discipline for the realisation of the *tattvas* of the Sāṃkhya, or the opposite view, mentioned in the Maitrī Upaniṣad, that Sāṃkhya metaphysics grew by way of explaining the validity of the Yoga processes,⁹ it appears likely that both the systems had the same provenance.

Some epoch-making achievement in the sphere of religion and philosophy must have given Śrīkṛṣṇa the supreme position he holds in the Indian mind. In the *Bhg.* (IV. 1-3), he is made to say that he revived the Yogic tradition. In the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰ (henceforth abbreviated as *Mbh.*), he is called the 'Yogācārya' i.e. the teacher of Yoga. In the same work, and also in the *Gītā* and the Purāṇas, the epithets, 'Yogeśvara', 'Mahāyogin', and others of like import, are found frequently applied to him. In the 'Kṛṣṇ-stavarāja' by Bhīṣma,¹¹ three of the ways in which Kṛṣṇa is saluted are:—

'Sāṃkhyātmane namaḥ', 'Yogātmane namaḥ', and 'Vedātmane namaḥ'.

7 Even if they were Aryans, they must have been a Non-Vedic branch of the race.

8 See his article in the *Pravāsi*, No. 3 of 1339.

9 See Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. I, pp. 227-8.

10 Maṇḍalaparvan, ch. 3, verse 26, Bāṅgavāsi Edn.

11 *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparvan, ch. 47.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X. 70) tells us that Śrīkṛṣṇa would sit up early every morning, and merge his soul into the universal soul. The *Mbh.*,¹² similarly tells us that he would sit up in the small hours of the morning and meditate upon Brahman. The tradition, therefore, was that Śrīkṛṣṇa's *yoga* was mixed up with the *brahmacāda* of the Vedānta. Considering all this, the present writer thinks that Śrīkṛṣṇa was the first to harmonise the Sāṃkhya-Yoga with the *brahmacāda* of the Upaniṣads,¹³ a process which we find well worked out in the Kaṭha and the Maitrī Upaniṣads, and which was further developed with the addition of theism in the Śvetāśvatara. The same synthesis is found in the *Bhg.* Considering the fact that Kṛṣṇa lived long before the compilation of the Kaṭha Upa. it is just possible that his Yoga-vedānta synthesis was cruder still.

Such a cruder synthesis is really to be found in a work which we find in sheer disguise in the *Mbh.* It is the first of the three Anugītā books to be found in the Aśvamedhaparvan of the *Mbh.* This book, i.e., the Anugītā proper, exists in a fragmentary form, but its Yoga-vedānta synthesis is undoubtedly older than that of the Kaṭha. The two following books of the Anugītā represent the gradual development of the teaching of the Anugītā proper. Even these appear to contain teaching older than that of the Śvetāśvatara Upa., because theism is not taught therein. In the second book, there is just a mention of the god Nārāyaṇa, to whom animal sacrifices used to be offered in the past, as the universal soul, while in the third, we find Viṣṇu just bidding for the position of the Supreme Being, he is called 'brahmanaya'. It might be noted that in the Kaṭha Upa. Viṣṇu is identified with Brahman.¹⁴

It appears strange to the present writer that the Anugītā books

12 Śāntiparvan, ch. 53, verses 2-3. I am indebted to S. N. Tadpatrikar's 'Kṛṣṇa Problem' for this and the preceding Bhāgavata reference.

13 This synthesis might have an element of pan-theism in it as the verse 'Sarvataḥ pāṇi-pādan tat sarvato 'kṣi-śiromukham,' apparently based upon the Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Rgveda*, occurs at least twice in the *Anugītā* and once in the *Bhagavadgītā*. One cannot be sure, however, that the verse was not interpolated into the *Anugītā* books when they were paraphrased. 'Tad viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam,' *Kaṭha Up.* I, 3-9.

should ever have been considered later works than the *Bhg.* Even Telang, who translated them, could not escape the common error and readily accepted the tradition that the *Anugītā* was a sort of uninspired replica of the *Bhg.* The reasons he urges would not stand scrutiny. The cardinal teachings of the *Bhg.* are not to be found in the *Anugītā*. The *Bhg.* describes two *niṣṭhās*, the *jñāna-niṣṭhā* and the *karma-niṣṭhā*, and while admitting that both led to the attainment of the *summum bonum*, holds that the *karma-niṣṭhā*, which includes the doctrines of desireless action, *bhakti* and *avatāra*, is the better way. The *Anugītā* knows only the *jñāna-niṣṭhā*, but nothing about the *karma-niṣṭhā*. If Kṛṣṇa were merely repeating in the *Anugītā* the substance of the teachings of the *Bhg.*, how could he be so forgetful as to omit all his cardinal teachings? The silly introduction¹⁵ added to the *Anugītā*, which was a part of the *Aśvamedha-parvan*, when the *Bhg.* was interpolated into the *Bhīṣma-parvan*, the misleading name given to the work (i.e. *Anugītā*), and a few consequential additions and alterations in the body of the work have served their purpose admirably. That purpose was to pass the new work as embodying Kṛṣṇa's true teachings and to relegate the older works of the Kṛṣṇa Sect to an inferior place. The three books of the *Anugītā*, as found now, are evidently a paraphrase. The linguistic peculiarities are the same as in the *Gītā*, but the philosophy is much older. It is possible that the writer who paraphrased the works, introduced certain anachronisms, but any unbiassed reader will not fail to observe that to say that the *Anugītā* is an uninspired repetition of the *Gītā* teaching is to upset deliberately their real order in time.

To sum up. Kṛṣṇa was the great religious teacher who brought about a Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta synthesis. The earliest literary records of this synthesis are the *Kaṭha*, the *Maitrī*, and the *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣads* and the three books of the *Anugītā*. The first book which exists in a fragmentary paraphrase was undoubtedly older than the *Kaṭha Upa.*, and might be a remnant of the *Āraṇyaka* of the *Śāttvatas*, spoken of in the *Nārāyaṇīya* account in the *Mbh.*¹⁶ In course of time

15 It attributes to Arjuna a weak intellect, and to Kṛṣṇa a faulty memory.

16 *Sāntiparvan*, ch. 348, verse 31.

an abstract philosophy and an abstract deity ceased to give satisfaction to the common people, and there was a thought-movement among them, as a result of which the great teachers of men, who had taught men to lead better lives, and had, even in their own days, been possibly looked upon as supermen, came to be worshipped as incarnations. This thought-movement was possibly a post-Buddha one, and Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha were very likely deified by their respective followers near about the same time. Then, again, Buddhism, and before it, a number of Upaniṣads, had condemned 'karma', and the result was a social revolution in which the flowers of the youth of the country took to sannyāsa. This meant utter emasculation of the race. It was with a view to check this process that the Gītā emphasised the doctrine of desireless action,¹⁷ a doctrine the bare rudiments of which are found in the Iśa Upa. When the doctrines of *bhakti*, *avatāra*, and desireless action were adopted by Kṛṣṇa's followers, they came to be known as the Bhāgavatas (i.e. worshippers of Bhagavat incarnated as man), and the superb structure of the *Bhṛg.*, with its architectural incongruities, perhaps more apparent than real, reared its head upon the foundations of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta synthesis, as developed by his followers. The greatest of such followers was Arjuna, and it is a matter for gratification that the true relation between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna is pointed out in the Gītā. It was not because the two won the Kurukṣetra battle, as much by recourse to deceit and chincanery¹⁸ as by bravery, that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna came to be regarded as the worshipful. They were undoubtedly great warriors, but they were great religious teachers too. Nor could a man, who has been worshipped as the Supreme Being, have been a voluptuary as the Purāṇas depict him. The true meaning of the Purāṇic legends is obscure, and those who take them in their literal and ostensible sense only desecrate the memory of the greatest of India's religious teachers. Nor was

17 This doctrine appears to have considerably influenced Mahāyāna Buddhism.

18 Such deceit could never have been practised by the disciple of Ghorā Aṅgīrasa, and the great originator of the Yoga-Vedānta synthesis. It was allowed by the ethical code of the Brāhmanical writer of the *Mbh.*, who was at one with modern diplomats in this respect.

Śrīkṛṣṇa a servile adherent of the Brāhmaṇical social scheme as the *Mbh.* depicts him, for we find him declaring that liberation was within the reach of all, not simply through the path of *bhakti*, as a reluctant priesthood would grudgingly concede, but through the path of knowledge and contemplation, Sāṃkhya-Yoga :

Idaṃ dharmam samāsthāya ye'pi syuḥ pāpayonayaḥ/

Strīyo vaiśyās tathā sūdrās te'pi yānti parām gatim//¹⁹

The Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta synthesis of the *Bhg.* has puzzled western scholars. Garbe thought that the Vedāntic passages were subsequently interpolated into what was originally a Sāṃkhya-Yoga work. Belvalkar retorts that to prove such a hypothesis it must be shown that the Kaṭha and the Śvetāśvatara upaniṣds had previously suffered from similar interpolations²⁰

This Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta synthesis finds favour in all Vaiṣṇava literature including the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, though their theism was possibly of a later date. Saṅkara and his early followers fought shy of the Sāṃkhya, but many of Saṅkara's latterday followers have sought the help of the Sāṃkhya in explaining phenomena. This great synthesis, this harmonising of non-Brāhmaṇical and Bāhmaṇical philosophies could never have been the work of a mean intellect. Considering its universal acceptance by Vaiṣṇavism, old and new, it would be no wild surmise to hold that this synthesis²¹ was the abiding work of the towering intellectual and spiritual genius of Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. We know of no one else to whom this synthesis might justifiably be traced.

It is hoped that the present thesis will induce a fresh study of the

19 *Anugītā*, ch. IV, verse 61. See also *Bhg.*, IV, 32.

20 See Belvalkar's 'The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad and the Bhagavadgītā and also the chapter on the Bhagavadgītā in his *Basu Mallik Lectures*, Pt. I. The same remarks hold good of the *Maitrī Upa.*, all the three being Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Upaniṣads.

21 I have not spoken of a Sāṃkhya-Yoga-Vedānta-Mīmāṃsā synthesis for the simple reason that in its early stages, as for instance, in Śrīkṛṣṇa's time, Vedānta had not yet washed its hands entirely clean of *Karma* or Sacrificialism.

Anugītā books, and stimulate investigation into the nature of Srīkrṣṇa's teachings.

[This paper is my tribute of respect to the memory of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprāsad Śāstrī who, possessing, as he did, the gift of scientific imagination in an eminent degree, was able to light up many a dark corner in the past history of this country.]

AMARNATH RAY

Who was the Gupta contemporary of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman?

A verse in the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman¹ speaks of the matrimonial alliances that this Kadamba king contracted with the Gupta and other royal families. It runs as follows:—

Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni
sneh-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kesarāṇi
śrīmanty-aneka-nṛpa-ṣaṭpada-sevitāni
yo = bodhayad = duhitṛ dīdhitibhir = nṛp ārkkaḥ ।

It has been translated thus:—

“This sun of a king by means of his rays—his daughters—caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups, the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence (*for him*) and which were cherished by many bees—the kings *who served them*”. Or, in plain words, this king’s daughters were married to the members of the Gupta and other royal households.

In order to ascertain as to who was the Gupta that was the son-in-law of this Kadamba king, it is necessary to determine, first, the date of Kākusthavarman. Several genuine Western Gaṅga grants² tell us that Mādhava, the father of Avinīta (or Mādhava III, as I shall call him hereafter) had taken to wife the sister of a Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman. There were two kings of this name in the Kadamba family. We have to find out which of them was the brother-in-law of the Gaṅga king Mādhava III. As Mr. K. N. Dikshit has pointed out³ the identity of this “Kṛṣṇavarman can be established from the fact that he is said in all the records which refer to him to have performed the celebrated Aśvamedha sacrifice”. The Kadamba grants attribute

1 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 24 ff.

2 Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta (*Mys. A.R.*, 1916), Gummiraḍḍipura plates of Durvinīta, (*Ibid.*, 1912), Keregoḍi-Raṅgāpura plates of Rājamalla II (*Ibid.*, 1919) and Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha (*Ibid.*, 1921).

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 166, f.n. 2.

the performance of this sacrifice only to Kṛṣṇavarman I, the second son of Kākusthavarman.⁴ No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the brother-in-law of Mādhava III. What was the date of Mādhava III? Palaeography and the date Śaka 380 supplied by the Jaina work *Lokavibhāga* as the 22nd year of the Pallava king Simhavarman II who anointed on the Gaṅga throne Āyyavarman, the father of Mādhava of the Penukoṇḍa Plates (or Mādhava II as he will be called in the sequel) have enabled Dr. Fleet to fix A.D. 475 as the probable date of Mādhava II.⁵ This Mādhava was not the father of Avinīta and consequently not the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇavarman I; for the Gaṅga charters state clearly that Avinīta's father was Viṣṇugopa, son of Harivarman who was the son of Mādhava I. Mādhava II was the son of Āyyavarman, who was also the son of Mādhava I; and it is not unlikely that Harivarman and Āyyavarman were identical, for, as Rice has pointed out, 'Āyya or Āryya may be intended for an improvement on Ari' the Dravidian form of Hari which is the first part of the name Harivarman.⁶ If this identification is correct, Mādhava II would be a brother of Viṣṇugopa, the grandfather of Avinīta. Otherwise, Harivarman and Āyyavarman will have to be regarded, as has been done by Prof. Dubreuil,⁷ as two different sons of Mādhava I and consequently brothers. In this case Mādhava II would be a cousin of Viṣṇugopa. Thus, Mādhava III would be either a brother's son or a cousin's son of Mādhava II. In either case he would be removed only by one generation from Mādhava II of the Penukoṇḍa Plates. The latter's date being A.D. 475, the period of Mādhava III would be about A.D. 475-500. His brother-in-law and contemporary Kṛṣṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty would also have to be relegated to the same time, viz., A.D. 475-500 or thereabout. We arrive at the same result if we

4 Prof. Jouveau- Dubreuil's identification of the Kṛṣṇavarman, the brother-in-law of Mādhava III, with Kṛṣṇavarman II is not tenable as the latter is not known to have performed any horse sacrifice.

5 *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 471 ff.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 332. Harivarman is actually called Arivarman in the Tanjore Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 212).

7 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 107.

work backwards from the initial year of the reign of the Kadamba king Harivarman which Mr. K. N. Dikshit has shown to be A.D. 538.⁸ This is a landmark in the Kadamba chronology. Here it is necessary to bear in mind that the verse quoted above states in unmistakable terms that it was Kākusthavarman, not his father Bhagīrathavarman as supposed by Rev. Heras⁹, who gave his daughters in marriage to Gupta and other families and that the marriages were celebrated by him when he was a king and not a prince. Moreover, the Tālagunda inscription which describes the achievements of all the predecessors of Kākustha does not say a word about any family alliance between the Kadambas and the Guptas during the reign of Bhagīrathavarman. It has been shown above that Mādhava III, one of the sons-in-law of Kākusthavarman flourished between *cir.* A.D. 475 and 500. Kākusthavarman must have, therefore, lived till A.D. 475. The marriage of Mādhava III might have taken place in that very year or one or two years later. The marriage of another daughter of Kākusthavarman with the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena took place in about A.D. 445¹⁰ for the marriage of his grandfather Rudrasena has been shown by Dr. V. A. Smith to have been celebrated in about A.D. 395.¹¹ Since, as stated above, it was in the capacity of a king that Kākusthavarman performed the marriage of his daughters, he must have been on the throne in A.D. 445. Allowing some time for Kākusthavarman to have a daughter of the marriageable age in 445, his accession may be placed in about 435. We may, therefore, conclude that his date was *cir.* A.D. 435 to 475. And the Tālagunda inscription of this king has been assigned by Prof. Rapson to the 5th century A.D.¹²

So the Gupta sovereign that was ruling at this period was Kumāragupta I whose reign lasted from A.D. 414 to 455. He was thus an elder contemporary of Kākusthavarman. But since his father Candragupta II had a fairly long reign of about 35 years, Kumāragupta must have come to the throne at an advanced age. Consequently, he must have been an old man when Kākusthavarman was anointed ruler

8 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 166.

9 *JBORS.*, XII, p. 460.

10 Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 75.

11 *JRAS.*, 1914, p. 326.

12 *Andhra Coins*, Introduction, p. iv.

of the Kadamba dominions. Hence it is not probable that his wife was a daughter of Kākusthavarman. It is therefore quite reasonable to think that either Skandagupīa or Puragupta was the son-in-law of the Kadamba monarch. Whether this marriage was celebrated during the life time of Kumāragupta or afterwards, it is not possible to say at present.

But Rev. Heras is of opinion that Kākusthavarman's daughter was the wife of Kumāragupta, that it was Bhagīrathavarman who gave his grand-daughter in marriage to the Gupta king while his son Kākusthavarman was yet a prince and that the marriage was celebrated in about 391-392 during the reign of Candragupta.¹³ He bases his conclusions on the tradition recorded in a verse in the *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* of Bhoja that Vikramāditya (i.e. Candragupta II) sent his poet Kālidāsa on an embassy to the court of a Kuntala king. This embassy, he says, finds support in a verse in the *Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra (wrongly attributed by Rev. Heras to Hemacandra). This Kuntala king he takes to be the Kadamba king Bhagīrathavarman. It may be that the Kadambas were the rulers of Kuntala or a part of it. But there are reasons to think that the Vākātakas were also known as the 'lords of Kuntala' in the period with which we are concerned. The work entitled *Bharatacarita* states clearly that the author of the well known Prākṛt poem *Setubandha* was a Kuntaleśa.¹⁴ Bāṇa tells us in his *Harṣacarita* that this poem was composed by Pravarasena.¹⁵ This Pravarasena has been rightly identified with the Vākātika king Pravarasena II. It thus becomes clear that Pravarasena II was also called Kuntaleśa. And we know that some of the Vākātika kings lay claim to the conquest of Kuntala.¹⁶ It is therefore possible that Kālidāsa might have been sent to the Vākātika court. And as later tradition attributes this work to Kālidāsa, we may suppose that he wrote it for Pravarasena when he was in the Vākātika court as an ambassador. Thus, since the Vākātakas were also known as 'lords of Kuntala', granting that the title was a mere boast, as Rev. Heras would have it, it cannot be asserted that it was to a Kadamba king that Kālidāsa was

13 *JBOKS.*, XII, pp. 458 ff.

14 *ABOL.*, V, p. 46.

15 *Harṣacarita*, I, verse 14.

16 Ajanta Inscription, *Arch. Sur. of W. India*, IV, pp. 124 ff.

sent by Candragupta II. Moreover the date of Kālidāsa is still an open question. It is not certain whether he was a protégé of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that Kālidāsa's patron was Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription (A.D. 532).¹⁷ In view of these facts, the embassy of Kālidāsa to the court of a Kuntala king cannot help us in drawing any conclusions about the family relations of the Guptas and the Kadambas. As has been pointed out above, the marriage of the Kadamba princess was performed by Kākusthavarman himself during his reign which commenced about A.D. 435, that is to say, long after the death of Candragupta II and Bhagīrathavarman. It is not therefore possible to accept the views of Rev. Heras. Nor can we agree with Mr. Moraes who, while rejecting the supposition that the Gupta son-in-law of Kākustha was Kumāragupta, follows Rev. Heras in holding that "it was Candragupta II who made overtures to Bhagīratha to form a marriage alliance" and thinks that the marriage was celebrated during the latter's reign in 410-11 A.D.¹⁸

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO

17 *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, pp. 75 ff.

18 *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 27.

Two Saura Images from the District of 24-Parganas

(The low lying wild tracts, on the south of the present district of 24-Parganas, have yielded,) after reclamation, numerous antiquarian remains of considerable archæological and artistic merit (vide my Monographs published by the Varendra Research Society). In the present paper I propose to describe, in detail, two stone sculptures, discovered from this area. One of them (Fig. 1) is a Sūrya image, while the other (Fig. 2) is a Navagraha slab.) The Sūrya image was found by a villager about ten years ago, together with a Sivalinga of black shale, in the course of the excavation of a tank at Kashipore, a village under the Jaynagore P.S. of the Alipore sub-division. When I collected it, the image was broken into two parts from the lower portion of its body. Now it is bound together by wire. The upper part of its right hand as also the side figures are missing.

This sculpture is 2' 5½" high and made of bluish basalt stone. In it the Sun-god is depicted almost in the round with a plain circular halo round the head. He wears a cap-like head-dress, from underneath which curls of hair descend on each shoulder, a short necklace, apparently of beads with a rectangular bar in the centre, plain bracelets, and a long tunic, similar to that of the Sūrya image found in the niche of the Gupta temple of Bhumara.¹ This kind of dress is also seen in the Kushan images² and is evidently the Udīcya (northern) dress, which Varāhamihira assigns to the Sun-god in his *Brhat Saṃhitā*. In each of his two hands there is a lotus stalk, rising just above the shoulders and terminating in a bunch of lotuses, unlike a single lotus as depicted in the later images. The waist is tied round by a belt, with two hanging tassels from the stud in the centre. Along the left side there is a sword, kept in position by means of a strap.

In front of the image is the figure of Aruna, the charioteer of the Sun-god. Only the upper part of his body is visible. He holds a goad

1 Vide plate XIV, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 16.

2 Vide plate XII, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi*.

in his right hand and the reins of the Sun-god's horses in his left. Beneath this figure, on the pedestal, is carved the body of the chariot with its wheel as well as seven horses. Below these carvings on either side of the bottom of the pedestal is a human figure in semi-prostrate posture.

Besides the circular halo and the curly hairs, this image of the Sun-god has thick lips, a round face, and long drawn eyes. His body is visible up to the knees, and the posture in which he stands apparently shows that his legs are inside the hollow of the car. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* and other Sanskrit books enjoin that the Sun-god is to be represented up to the knees, and it may be the probable reason why his figure is shown in that way. This peculiarity also occurs in the other early Sūrya images.³ On the chariot also, just above the horses, there are three decorative designs with a pointed semi-circular projection on the top and two leaf-like projections on the two sides, resembling the Caitya window of the Gupta period.⁴

So far as I know, only one Sūrya image of this type has hitherto been discovered in Bengal, and assigned, on the grounds of style, to the late Gupta period. It is now in the V.R.S. Museum at Rajshahi, and comes from the Bogra district.⁵ In essential features this image is almost similar to the one described above, but differs in dress. The upper half of its body is bare like the later images and the lower half only is clad in a short, tied round the waist.

The next sculpture, I wish to describe here, is (a Navagraha slab) referred to above. About 25 years ago it (was unearthed by a cultivator from the ruins of Kaṅkandighi, in lot no. 26, under the Mathurapore P.S. of the Diamond Harbour sub-division.) It is (in a very good state of preservation and is made of black clay chlorite stone, the height and length being 1' 7" and 3' 3" respectively. In it the images of the nine planets, as prescribed by the Hindu astrology, with that of Gaṇeśa, are carved in relief. They are standing in a line on a single full blown

3 Vide figure 54, Sarkar's *Mandirer Kathā*, Konārak, Rao's *Iconography*, plate lxxxviii, fig. 2; Cunningham's A. S. vol. V.

4 Vide plates III, XII, XIV, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 16.

5 Vide figure 1, V.R.S. Annual Report for 1926-27.

lotus, extending from the foremost figure of Gaṇeśa to that Ketu, the ninth planet, instead of a separate small lotus for every individual figure, as found in the other Navagraha images. Each of the figures has over the head an oval halo with lotus border and a snake-head-like design between them, and wears a sacred thread and a short skirt tied round the waist by a girdle. Their other peculiarities from the left are noted below.

1. Gaṇeśa. Stands in Abhaṅga pose, wears a Jaṭā-mukūṭa, a pair of bracelets of beads, and holds in his right hand a rosary and in his left a battle axe.)

2. Rāvi (Sun). Stands in Samabhaṅga attitude, wears a Kirīṭa Mukūṭa, a necklace, a pair of bracelets and a Banamālā hanging up to the knees, and holds, as usual, in his either hand a lotus stalk terminating in two lotuses, just above the shoulders.

3. Soma (Moon). Stands in Abhaṅga attitude, wears a Kirīṭa Mukūṭa, a necklace, a pair of bracelets, a pair of armlets and holds a rosary in the right hand and a Kamaṇḍalu in the left.

4. Maṅgala (Mars). Stands in the same pose as the above image, wears a Kirīṭa Mukūṭa and other ornaments like the image of the moon and holds a rosary in the right hand and a spear in the left.

5. Budha (Mercury). Stands in Tribhaṅga attitude with his left leg half bent. Wears a peculiar head-dress and other ornaments as in the above two images and holds with his two hands an arrow. Along the left side is a big bow, placed on his shoulder, extending upto his feet.

6. Br̥haspati (Jupiter). A pot-bellied figure with long beard. Stands in Abhaṅga pose, wears a Jaṭā Mukūṭa and other ornaments like Budha, and holds a rosary in the right hand and a Kamaṇḍalu in the left.

7. Sukra (Venus). Stands in Abhaṅga attitude, wears a Kirīṭa Mukūṭa and other ornaments as in the above images, and holds in his right hand a rosary and in the left a Kamaṇḍalu.

8. Śani (Saturn). Stands in a peculiar attitude, owing to his paralytic affection caused by a curse, wears a Kirīṭa Mukūṭa and other

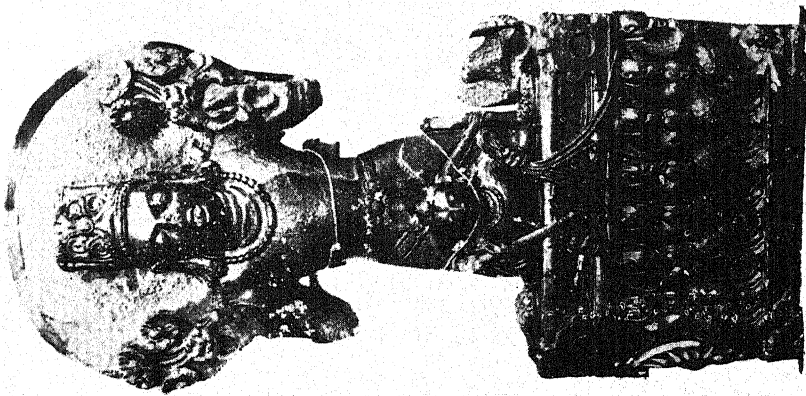


Fig. 1—Sūrya

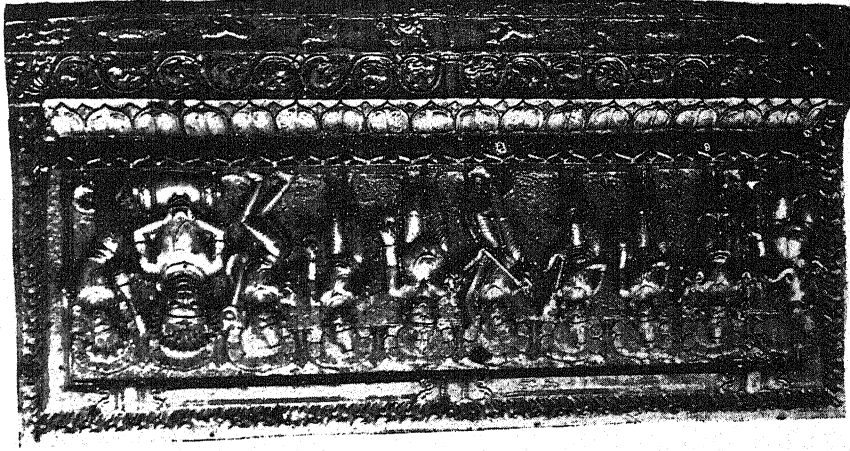


Fig. 2—Navagraha

IHQ., March, 1933

ornaments like Śukra, and holds a rosary in his right hand and a staff in his left.

9. Rāhu (Ascending Node). A big mouthed figure having only the upper part of a human body. He is seated on a chariot, and wears a head-dress like modern tiara and other ornaments as in the above images, has a pair of big moustaches, and holds with his two hands an unfolded book. He has a small eye on the forehead and a hood of snakes over the Mukuṭa.

10. Ketu (Descending Node). It is a human figure, in Abhaṅga attitude with the lower part like a serpent tail. Wears a Mukuṭa-like tiara and other ornaments as in the body of Rāhu, has a hood of snake heads over the Mukuṭa, and holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left.

Below the lotus, on which the above images of the planets stand, are carved in low relief, the stems and leaves of the lotus plant in scrolls, with the main stem in the centre and the Vāhanas (carriers) of the planets within and below them. Among the Vāhanas, the following are from the left, within the stems and leaves of the lotus plant:

A lion, swan, boar, deer, elēphant, jackal, buffalo, fish, vulture, and the following are beneath them: a mouse, horse, ram, peacock, dog, swan, frog, ass, chariot.

Over the halos of the images of the planets there is a border in relief with three decorative designs, one in the centre and two on the two sides, like Makara heads, placed back to back. Upon that on the upper and on a portion of the side edges of the slab are depicted flames of fire.

In most of the Navagraha slabs hitherto discovered, all the images of the planets are found standing side by side, as in this sculpture, though there are a few where they are depicted in seated postures.⁶ Their separate and detached figures are very rare with the exception of the Sungod. The reason may be attributed to the fact that they were not independently worshipped, as even now the Hindus do not worship

6 Vide figure 30, *Mandirer Kathā, Konārak*, p. 56, plate XVIII; *Hand Book to the Sculptures in the Museum of the Bāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*.

them separately under the belief that this may offend the other planets. So far as I know only two detached images of the planets have been discovered uptill now, one of the moon at Mandla⁷ and the other of the Rāhu and Ketu at Chidambaram.⁸

(The number of such Navagraha slabs found in Bengal up to the present time is also not very considerable. Only four were discovered before in the North Bengal. They are now preserved in the collection of the Varendra Research Society. From their descriptions, published in the Catalogue of the Museum of the above society, we know that two of them contain figures of Gaṇeśa as in the image from Kaṅkaṇḍighi. This peculiarity is seen in these Bengal sculptures alone, and the probable reason for it may be traced to the fact that Gaṇeśa being believed to be the remover of all obstacles (*vighnāntaka*), his image was placed before those of the nine planets, who are supposed to influence the destinies of mankind.)

In the Orissan temples such sculptures are seen, placed on the doorways, as architraves. According to Mr. Monmohan Ganguly the introduction of these images in the temples was invariably meant to ensure prosperity to their founders, and to prevent any evil happening to the temples themselves.⁹ In the South Indian temples also such images, carved in slabs, are found within the enclosed Verāṇḍahs, round the central shrine. But how they were placed in the temples of Bengal is not definitely known as there is no old temple in this province with such a sculpture fixed in situ.

These two images and the other sculptures, which have hitherto been found in this part of South Bengal, are all chance finds in stray diggings from many of the old sites lying unexplored here. The most extensive among them are the ruins at Kaṅkaṇḍighi, referred to above in lot no. 26. They cover more than one hundred acres of land and are situated with many brick mounds near the temple of Jaṭār Deul. Besides this Navagraha slab, a colossal Viṣṇu image of black shale, a

⁷ Vide *Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Archæological Section of the Nagpore Museum*, plate I, fig. 1.

⁸ Vide Sastri's *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, pp. 239-41, fig. 145.

⁹ *Orissa and Her Remains*, p. 185.

beautiful Sūrya image of bronze, some old potteries, as also other sculptures were unearthed a few years ago from this area. The river Raidighi Gang, which flows along the western side of this tract is also studded with ruins on both banks. Foundations of buildings, built of large bricks, exposed due to river erosion, are still visible there during the ebb tide, about 16 feet below the present bank of the Gang. From these and other numerous antiquities, discovered in its adjoining area¹⁰ it appears that in the pre-Muhammadan age, this place was the centre of culture of this part of the Gangetic delta.

The site is well worthy of trial excavations, which if fruitful, would be likely to throw light on the obscure history of the Sundarbans.

KALIDAS DATTA

10 Vide my paper on the Antiquities of Khari and Sundarbans. V.R.S.
Monographs.

Epigraphic Notes

I.—Genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana

While editing the Kolleru (Kollair) grant¹ of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja Nandivarman, son of Caṇḍavarman, Dr. Fleet remarked: "In Sir W. Elliot's fascimiles I have another copper-plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his *Yuvamahārāja*, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅgavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmā." He appended the following note to the name of the *Yuvamahārāja*: "The original (l. 3) has 'Vijayabuṅgavarmassa', and in the margin, a little above the line, there is the character *ddha*, differing not much from *ṅga* as there written, apparently intended to be introduced somewhere in the line as a correction." As we shall presently see, this statement regarding the inscription was found wrong and was subsequently corrected by Dr. Fleet himself. But unfortunately the mistake is perpetuated in later writings on the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy.

En passant, I may draw the attention of readers to the names of these kings generally accepted and used by scholars. The names can hardly be Vijayanandivarman, Vijayabuddhavarman and the like.

Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions are stated to be issued from Śrīvijayaveṅḡpura, Vijayaveṅḡpura or Vijayaveṅḡ. The Kadamba grants² are generally issued from Śrīvijayavaijayantī, Śrīvijayatriparvata and Śrīvijayapalāśikā. The Maṭṭepaḍ plates³ of Dāmodaravarman were issued from Vijayakandarapura. We have also references to Śrīvijayakaṇḍīpura,⁴ Śrīvijayapalakkada⁵ and Śrīvijayadaśanapura⁶ in many of the Pallava inscriptions. There can be no doubt that the names of the places are Veṅḡpura, Kaṇḍīpura, Vaijayantī, Palāśikā etc. and that *Vijaya* or *Śrīvijaya* has been prefixed to them simply for the sake of glorification. I have no doubt that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārāja of the Kollair grant is similarly Nandivarman,

1 *IA.*, V, pp. 175 ff. (Sanskrit and old-Canarese Inscriptions: No. XVIII.).

2 See the Kadamba grants edited by Fleet in *IA.*, vols. VI and VII.

3 *EL.*, XVII, 327 ff.

4 *ibid.*, III, 142 ff.

5 *IA.*, V, 50 ff.

6 *EL.*, I, 297; *IA.*, 154 ff.

and not Śrīvijaya- or Vijaya-nandivarman, as is generally taken to be. *Vijaya* and *Śrīvijaya*, in such cases, mean *Vijayayukta* and *Śrīvijaya-yukta* respectively; when prefixed to proper names, they form examples of the *Śākapārthivādi* (*Karmadhāraya*) class of the *Tatpuruṣa* compound. It must also be noted in this connection that in the Kanteru (A) and the Pedavegi plates, the reigning Śālaṅkāyana king is simply called Nandivarman without *Vijaya* prefixed to his name.

To come to our point. The scholar, who first accepted the wrong information of Fleet, seems to be Prof. Dubreuil, the author of the *Ancient History of the Deccan* (Eng. tran., 1920). Before his work was published, a Prākṛt copper-plate inscription of another Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Devavarman was discovered near Ellore. It was then edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, IX, 56ff. In the *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, Prof. Dubreuil, therefore, speaks of four Śālaṅkāyana monarchs, viz., (1) Devavarman of the Ellore plates; (2) Caṇḍavarman and his son; (3) Nandivarman of the Kollair plates; and (4) Buddhavarman, son of (3) Nandivarman, mentioned in the fascimile referred to by Fleet. As regards Buddhavarman, Dubreuil has quoted the passage of Dr. Fleet and remarked: "This name is probably Buddhavarmā, for in the margin, there is the character 'dha'".⁷ Evidently the Professor commits another mistake when he writes that the letter in the margin is 'dha' and not 'ddha' as is attested by Fleet.

The mistake was next repeated by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, who edited the two copper-plate grants discovered at Kanteru, one belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Nandivarman and the other to the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Skandavarman.⁸ Like Prof. Dubreuil, Lakshmana Rao has quoted the same passage of Fleet and has taken 'Vijaya Buddhavarman' as a king belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty.⁹ It is to be noted that Fleet hesitatingly proposed an alternative of two names, viz., Tuṅgavarman and Buddhavarman with a

⁷ *AHD.*, Eng. tr., p. 89.

⁸ *JAHRS.*, V, 26 ff.; the plates appear to be originally edited by Mr. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Andhra Academy or the Andhra-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, XI, 113 ff.

⁹ *JAHRS.*, V, p. 26.

slight inclination towards the latter; then Dubreuil preferred the name Buddhavarman, and now Lakshmana Rao takes Buddhavarman as an established name in the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy.

Next we come to Mr. Subba Rao, who has edited the Pedavegi copper-plates of the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* Nandivarman II.¹⁰ He refers to five inscriptions belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana kings. "Of these a Prākṛt inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished; but two kings mentioned in it are known to us as Vijayanandivarman Yuvamahārāja (!!!) and Vijayabuddhavarman. The late Mr. Lakshmana Rao edited in *Andhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, vol. XI, two Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions discovered in Kanteru near Guntur and these belong to Nandivarman and Skandavarman. Another Śālaṅkāyana inscription discovered in Kollair lake and (sic.) which belongs to Vijaya Nandivarman, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman, was published in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V by Mr. Elliot (? Fleet.). A Prākṛt inscription discovered at Ellore which belongs to Vijayadevavarman was published in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX."¹¹ By this time everything is complete.

I doubt, whether all the inscriptions, edited by Fleet in his well-known 'Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions' series have been carefully read by these scholars. It is however, wrong to say that "a Prakrit inscription which was discovered by Mr. Elliot remains unpublished." It was actually published by Dr. Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, IX 100ff. (*Sanskrit and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. LXXIV). "This is the grant of Vijayabuddhavarman," he says there, "of which I have spoken at vol. V, p. 175. I now give the text from the original plates which belong to Sir Watter Elliot." Fleet's reading of the first plate of the grant is as follows:—

L. 1.	Siddha	Sirivijayakhandavamma-mahārājassa	saṃv-
	vachhara.....		
L. 2.	Yuvamahārājassa	Bhārattāyana	Pallavā- ...
L. 3.	ṇaṃ	Sirivijayabuddhavamassa	devi
L. 4.	kūjana vihā (?)	rudevī Kadā	(?) vīya ...

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 92 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

No argument is necessary to prove that the inscription belongs to the Pallavas and refers to king Skandavarman and the Crown-prince Buddhavarman, and that it has nothing to do with the Śālaṅkāyanas. Dr. Fleet himself was conscious of what he said before, and remarked: "And Vijayabuddhavarman is said to be a Pallava, and of the Bhārattāyanagotra. There is, therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarman of this grant and the Vijayanandivarman of the Veṅgī grant at vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra."¹²

This inscription has been carefully re-edited by Prof. Hultsch in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 143ff. We give here the text of the first plate as deciphered by Hultsch along with his translation.

Siddha

L. 1. Siri-vijaya-khandava[m]ma-mahārājassa samvachchhar-
[ā] . . . [1*]

L. 2. Yuvamahārājassa Bhāraddāyassa Pallavā-

L. 3. ṇaṃ Si[ri]-vijaya-Buddhavamassa devī [Bu]ddhi. .

L. 4. kura-janavī Chārudevī Ka[ḍake] vīya . . . [1*]

"Success! The years . . . (*of the reign*) of the glorious *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman. Chārudevī, the queen of the *Yuvamahārāja*, the Bhāradvāja, the glorious Vijaya-Buddhavarman (*of the family*) of the Pallavas, (*and*) mother of [Buddyaṇ]-kura, (*addresses the following order*) to the official at Ka[ṭaka]."¹³

There can, then, be no question of a Buddhavarman in the family of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The following kings are so far known, from inscriptions to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty.

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Ellore Prākṛt grant: | (1) Devavarman. |
| 2. Kollair Sanskrit grant: | (2) Nandivarman, eldest son of
Caṇḍavarman. |
| 3. Kanteru Sanskrit grant A: | (1) Nandivarman. |
| 4. „ „ B. A: | (1) Skandavarman. |

12 *IA.*, IX, 101.

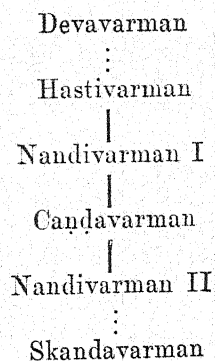
13 *Ep.*, VIII, 146.

5. Pedavegi Sanskrit grant: (1) Hastivarman
 (2) Nandivarman I, son of Hastivarman.
 (3) Caṇḍavarman, son of Nandivarman I.
 (4) Nandivarman II, eldest son of Caṇḍavarman,

There can be no doubt that the Nandivarman of the Kollair grant is identical with Nandivarman II of the Pedavegi grant, since both of them are described as 'the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman' in the inscriptions. It is, however, not quite clear whether the Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant A. is identical with either of the two Nandivarman of the Pedavegi grant or he is a third king different from them. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to identify him with Nandivarman II of the Pedavegi grant. In both the Kanteru and the Pedavegi grants, Nandivarman II is called *Bhagavaccitrarathasvāmipādānudyāto vappabhattāarakapādabhaktaḥ paramabhāgarataś Śālaṅkāyano mahārāja Śrīnandivarmā*. The Kollair grant also has *Bhagavaccitrarathasvāmipādānudyāto vapabhattāarakapādabhakta-paramabhāgarataś Śālaṅkāyano* etc. It is also to be noted that this king has the epithet *paramabhāgarata* in all these three inscriptions, and that no other Śālaṅkāyana king is known to use that epithet. It appears, then, almost certain that the Nandivarman of the Kanteru plates is also, like the king of the same name of the Kollair plates, identical with Nandivarman II of the Pedavegi plates. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions from which we can determine the precise relationship to which Devavarman and Skandavarman stood to the line of these four kings.

As the Ellore grant is written in Prākṛt, there can hardly be any doubt that king Devavarman ruled before Skandavarman and Nandivarman II, both of whom use Sanskrit in their inscriptions. Devavarman, therefore, should be placed before Hastivarman, who appears to have been succeeded regularly by his son, grandson and great-grandson. Considering the facts that the inscriptions of Nandivarman II are, on palæographic grounds, to be assigned to about the middle of the 5th century A.D. and that he was preceded by three kings of his line, it

seems probable that Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant came after Nandivarman II. We, however, do not know whether Devavarman was the immediate predecessor of Hastivarman and Skandavarman, the immediate successor of Nandivarman II. The genealogical table then stands as the following :



In conclusion it may be pointed out that this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman of the Pedavegi plates can hardly be any other than the Vaiṅgeyaka-Hastivarman mentioned in the famous Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.¹⁴ The main arguments in favour of this assertion are the following :

(1) The Śālaṅkāyana is the only dynasty which can be called Vaiṅgeyaka, as all the grants of the Śālaṅkāyana kings are issued from Veṅgīpura. No other early dynasty is known to have its headquarters at the city of Veṅgī.¹⁵

14 *CH.*, III. No. I, l. 20; see also *JAHRS.*, I, 93.

15 It may be noted that a Sanskrit grant belonging to the Pallava *Dharmamahārāja* Siṃhavarman (*IA.*, V, 154) refers to Veṅgorāṣṭra. The grant was issued from Śrīvijayadaśanapura which has been identified by Venkayya with Darsi in the Nellore District. According to Venkayya and Dubreuil, the Pallavas were, about the time of Siṃhavarman, in possession of parts of the Nellore and the Guntur Districts. It is not impossible that Siṃhavarman's kingdom included the southernmost part of the Veṅgī country. There is, however, as yet no evidence to prove that the Pallavas were ever in possession of the city of Veṅgī. We must also note that even the grandfather of this Siṃhavarman used Sanskrit in his inscription. (cf. Omgodu plates of Skandavarman II, *EI.*, XV, 246 ff). It is generally accepted that Sanskrit was introduced in Southern inscriptions about the 4th century A.D. Siṃhavarman, therefore, seems to have come long after the time of Samudragupta.

(2) The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled, according to Dubreuil, 'between 350 and 450 A.D.',¹⁶ and Burnell thought that the Kollair grant of Nandivarman II may be palæographically assigned to about the 4th century A.D.¹⁷ It is then generally accepted that the Śālaṅkāyanas ruled contemporaneously with the early Guptas (320-467 A.D.).

As regards the date proposed by Dubreuil, it may be said that the Śālaṅkāyanas certainly began to rule long before 350 A.D. Dr. H. C. Raychowdhuri¹⁸ has rightly identified the Śālaṅkāyanas with the Salakenoi mentioned in the *Geography of Ptolemy* (about 140 A.D.). Ptolemy says: "Beyond the Maisoloi (cf. Masuli-paṭṭan) are the Salakēnoi near the Arouaia mountains, with the following cities: Benagouron 140° 24'; Kastrā 138° 19' 30'; Magaris 137° 30' 18' 20'."¹⁹ Benagouron, the premier city of the Śālaṅkāyanas appears to me to be a mistake for Bengaouron (Beṅgapura; cf. Veṅgorāṣṭra), which is no other than the well-known Veṅgipura.

As regards the conjecture of Dr. Burnell, it may be said that, if we compare the characters of the Kollair plates²⁰ with those of the inscriptions of the early Eastern Calukyas²¹ and of the Viṣṇukunḍins,²² it becomes impossible for us to accept such an early date for the Kollair grant. I have no hesitation in asserting that palæography has nothing to say against the ascription of the inscriptions of Nandivarman II to the middle of the 5th century A.D. It is, then, quite possible that his great-grandfather ruled about a century earlier and was a contemporary of Samudragupta (about 330-375 A.D., according to Smith).

(3) Lastly, excepting this Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman, we do not know of any other king, who ruled at Veṅgī, whose name was Hastivarman and who can be any how placed in the middle of the 4th century A.D. i.e. the time of Samudragupta.

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16 *AHD.*, Eng. tr., p. 89.

17 *South Ind. Pal.* 14 & n. 2; *I.A.*, V, 176.

18 *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd. ed., 341 n.

19 *Geog.*, VII, i, 79.

20 *IA.*, V, 176 Pls.

21 See. e.g., Satara plates of Viṣṇuvarddhana I, *IA.*, XIX, 30; Polamuru plates of Jayasimha I, *JAHS.*, IV, 72.

22 See e.g., the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman, who cannot be much earlier than the Eastern Cālukya Jayasimha I, *JAHS.*, VI, 17.

Formal Elements in Indian Inscriptions

The treatment of the formal character of Indian inscriptions is connected with the classification of the inscriptions themselves. A votive inscription cannot be ranked with a historical record, giving the genealogy of a dynasty, the date, the account of all the real or exaggerated exploits of a ruler, the subdued countries and kings, and thus serving as an invaluable source for geography, history etc. Nevertheless, from the point of view of a study of the formal elements in Indian inscriptions, one has to abstract from the historical and non-historical the records which are religious and quasi-religious. To decide the class, to which an inscription belongs, one has to ask whether the inscription has been issued by an official authority or not. Even in those inscriptions, the contents of which are deeds of grant, religious endowments, donations, passages commemorating the erection of a public work, panegyric descriptions of personal events there are also found the essential parts of an official procedure.

The production of such an inscription in the office of a ruler justifies an inquiry into its formal parts. Not only to get an insight into the working of the bureaucratic apparatus of the royal court are these formulas helpful but also they serve as a guide for chronological considerations, when other sources are lacking; the genuineness of such documents can be easily proved, because nowhere else than in these formulas does a forger¹ commit a slip so easily. Finally, there is one point more, more important perhaps from the general view of history and human culture viz., the question, whether the developing of the formal side is an indigenous feature of India, or, whether we have to take into account a foreign influence.

Our starting point, in any case, should be the earliest representatives of the epigraphic literature, the inscriptions of Aśoka, not only from their chronological priority, but also, because of their fulfilling

1 For a classification of Indian inscriptions according to their contents see Fleet, *Imperial Gazetteer of India, the Indian Empire*, II, pp. 50 ff.

the condition required, viz., that they are enunciations of a ruler issued from his chancellery.

The opening formula consists of a statement that the following enunciation, relating to religion,² was caused to be written by the king; the circumstance that the sentence occur only twice in RE I and RE XIV seems to point to the use of a general introductory. While RE III, V, VI, IX begin with: the king speaks thus, the remaining inscriptions lead *medias in res*, in few cases only putting the king in the beginning of the sentence as subject (RE II, IV, VIII, XIII against VII, X, XII). Something like a date we meet in RE III after the opening sentence with *evaṃ āha, dbādasa vāsābhisitena mayā idaṃ āñapitaṃ*; in RE IV at the end of the text we read: *dbādasa vāsābhisitena Devānaṃpriyena Priyadasinā rāṇā idaṃ lekhāpitaṃ*.³ From the date of the *mahāmātra*-institution in RE V, Kh. 14, leaving aside the date of the inscription itself, one must conclude that the king wanted only to fix chronologically the development of his religious and moral ideas, as he emphasizes his authorship of the confessions and efforts. So I would be inclined to consider RE I-XIV as of one type except the differences stated in RE XIV by the king himself. As a proof of such a view we may refer to the uniformity of the text and engraving of each of the inscriptions in the same order on the same rock.

A new element is introduced into the separate inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. Dh. S. I. runs as follows: *Devānaṃpiyasa vacanena Tosaliyaṃ mahāmāta nagalaviyohālākā vataviya*, while J. begins: *Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ āhā Samāpāyaṃ mahāmātā* etc. The second form, reminding the usual introduction in RE, has surely to be taken in the sense of *vacanena*, according to the order of the king, and with slight difference, due to the government, the same wording is found

2 Hultzsch uses the term "rescript on morality" (*UII.*, I, p. 2, n. 2), the word 'rescript,' however, has such a specific meaning that it can hardly be applied to *dhammalipi*; cf. Buehler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 472, n. 23, who has noted the collective sense of *dhammalipi*.

3 From the sentences: *etāya athāya ayaṃ dhammalipi* or *idaṃ likhitā*, or *lekhāpitā*, or *lekhāpitaṃ* (RE., IV, V, VI) it is to be seen, that the drafting is meant, not the engraving. Of. Dh. and J. SE.

in Dh. II and J. II. Further the place is given, the seat of the provincial officers, as in Dh. RE I and J. RE I. Finally, on the Jaugaḍa rock these two separate edicts are clearly distinguished from others and "the separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription".⁴ The *m* has been explained, in connection with the *svastika*, being a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*, as the final letter of the sacred syllable *om*. One would feel inclined to connect the letter *m* with the marks on the punch-marked coins,⁵ where sometimes two *ms* appear, one on each side of a dotted circle. Whether the latter or the former explanation is correct there is no doubt that these symbols are of an auspicious character, expressed in later inscriptions by word.

The formula: *Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha*, occurring in each PE, repeated not less than ten times in PE VII, cannot be considered as anything else but as giving prominence to the royal view, a self-complacency of an extraordinary kind. While the indication tells us often, when the *dhañmalipi* has been caused to be written, the inscription itself is not dated therewith.⁶ Although the observation, made by Fleet, accepted by Hultzsch,⁷ is correct, according to which the PE VII ends with a date, this date pertains to the composition, not to the publication of the inscription. The Queen's PE Allahabad-Kośam begins with the formula, as known from SE; a little

4 *CII.*, I, p. xiv; according to the Plate opposite p. 116 also the lower inscription shows in the centre of the upper border a *svastika*.

5 See *JBORS.*, V. 1919, pp. 463 ff., Plate III, figs. 74, 96. While the sign is generally explained as the Taurine symbol, e.g. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., p. clxxv, 2. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 529 ff.) believed it to be "an Indian development of the top of the caduceus—as the herald's staff, the token of a peaceable embassy." The real caduceus is to be seen full-shaped e.g. in Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, I, 1906, Pl. I, 1 rev.

6 In PE VI (Delhi-Topra 9 f.) the year of the draft is given on the end of the inscription, because in its beginning, line 1, there is a reference to the RE-composition in the 12th year.

7 *CII.*, I, p. 133, n. 6 and p. 137, n. 5.

different is the introduction of the Kauśāmbī PE, where the king, using here as in the former inscription, only one name, namely *Devānaṃpiye*, issues an order: *ānapayati*, and continues by addressing the officers, to whom the order pertains, probably similar to the Sārnāth inscription.

Different again are the introductory words in the Bairāt RE; the king addresses the *saṃgha*, by saluting the clergy and expressing his hopes that the monks are in good health and enjoying pleasant life. Justified as it may be in paying reverence to the holy men,⁸ the same formula is used, *mutatis mutandis*, in addressing the officers, as shown by the inscription at Brahmagiri and Siddāpura: *Suvaṃṇagiriṭe ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ ca vacanena Isilasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā* resp. *heavaṃ ca vataviyā. Devānaṃpiye ānapayati*, resp. *Devānaṃpiye heavaṃ āha*.⁹ No doubt, here occur some features, which are found in later inscriptions: the place, from which the record has to be issued corresponds to the later usage of indicating the place, from which the king addresses his officers and issues his order; the officers are honoured by a courteous formula, and the royal order is introduced by *ānapayati*.

This survey, however, would be incomplete without calling attention to another item, of course, of a few inscriptions only: it is the subscription of the writer. In the copies of Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, the name, Capaḍa, is mentioned in Brāhmī, while his profession, *lipikara*, is written in Kharoṣṭhī.

To sum up: The inscriptions of Aśoka, though not of that secular and official character, as are the inscriptions of other ancient cultures, show some formulas, occurring throughout the later epochs of Indian epigraphic literature. These features are: 1. The introductory words (a) stating the order of the king, preceded by a courteous phrase; (b) giving the place of the officers, to whom the order is addressed, and where it is to be published; (c) re. the province of the officer, who has to convey the order to his subordinates; 2. though no exact date of the inscription is given, some event or the composition is dated in regnal

⁸ Cf. e.g. *Manu*, II, 127; *Gaut.*, V, 37; *Ap. Dh.*, I, 14, 26ff.

⁹ Accordingly the beginning of the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara inscription has to be supplied.

years; 3. auspicious marks on the beginning are used; the writer (engraver) is mentioned at the end of the inscription. Thus we can say that the formal features of Indian inscriptions are to be found *in nuce* in Aśoka's time already.

The Indian Monumentum Ancyranum, the Hathigumphā-inscription of the Kalinga king Khāravela, is an autobiographic panegyric, though its contents are very important from a historical point of view. The religious sentiment of the author finds its expression in the opening formula of reverence: *namo arahaṃtānaṃ, namo savasidhānaṃ*. These *namaskāra*-sentences cannot be counted as the *svastika* and the *m*-marks in the inscription of Aśoka or the auspicious formulas, used in later epigraphic records. Nor need the annalistic style in Khāravela's monument deceive us into the assumption of a date; at the same time, the so-called Maurya date, I think, is a misreading and misinterpretation.¹⁰

The earliest Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, of great importance for the reconstruction of the history and chronology of the first centuries of the Christian era, are mere votive and donors' inscriptions. Though not in all of them, in many, however, there occurs a new feature: an exact date in regnal years, or, according to some specific era, viz. the year, the month, the fortnight (sometimes), the day. For mainly three reasons, viz., the use of Indian month-names in a form not like the specific dialect of the inscription, the use of un-Indian month-names, and the continuous reckoning of the days of the month, the inference is hardly out of place that this new feature is due to some custom introduced into that area.¹¹

Into the second century A.D. lead us some Brāhmī inscriptions, which are characterised by a new style. Among them that of

10 The new edition of the inscription by K. P. Jayaswal and the late R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 71ff. reads in the opening line: *ar[i]haṃtānaṃ*; the passage in l. 16, mentioning the *Muriyakāla*, has been omitted in the translation on p. 89. In the inscription are to be found two symbols at the beginning, namely a *vaddha-maṅgala* and a *svastika*, at the end a tree within a square enclosure or railing, see p. 74.

11 The occurrence of Macedonian month-names seems to support the theory of a borrowing from the Greeks, cf. Konow, *CII.*, II, 1, p. lxxxix f; but see n. 25 below.

Rudradāman deserves special attention.¹² The first word met in his dam-inscription is an auspicious expression: *siddham*. After a "plain statement of events" in the mutilated first three lines, a superficial connection is made by *tad idaṃ sc. tadākaṃ* introducing the quasi-historical part, the history of the dam and the eulogy of the rebuilder, the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. It has to be remarked, that the verbose style is significant in the inscriptions of the later centuries; a style, in which historical events of a secondary importance are exaggerated; but there does not yet appear the metrical form, though the poetic eloquence of the future *praśasti* is found in its first steps. This second part opens with an exact date according to the year of an era, the month, fortnight and day. A third part of the inscription (1. 16ff.) brings the acknowledgment for the service done by the officer who carried out the work of reconstruction; the writer or engraver is not mentioned. Important is the language, it is Sanskrit. This inscription, no doubt, had its origin in the office of the ruler, although it was given shape by a man of letters. That assertion gets its support from the Andhau inscriptions;¹³ here none of the features of the former Junāgaḍh inscription is to be found, except the date. One would infer that it was already a common custom to date the private votive inscriptions, probably in imitation of the official records.

Some peculiarities of the same kind like those in the Junāgaḍh inscription occur in that of the Queen Gotamī Balasirī (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 60); the auspicious formula, the dating according to the regnal year of her grandson Vasiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi, but giving the season, fortnight and its day, describing the historical career of her son, Gotamīputa Siri Satakaṇi, and finally, the poetical style must be noticed. The caves at Nāsik and Karle have preserved some inscriptions of these two rulers. Gotamīputa Siri Sadakaṇi issues an order (*ānapayati*) from the victorious camp of his army at Vejayaṃtī to the officer Vinhupālita at Govadhana.¹⁴ That order was orally

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 36 ff.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 19 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 71, No. 4. Vaijayantī is Banawāsi in the North Kanara District, occurring in several inscriptions, cf. Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1905, 304f. D. R.

(*ariyena*) given, was written down by the officer Sivaguta, kept by the Mahāsāmiya;¹⁵ the deed was delivered in the 18th year, on the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season; the engraver was Tāpasa. From the same king comes an inscription in Nāsik¹⁶ which offers a plenty of information on the chancellery work. The beginning may be quoted verbally:

*Siddha! Govadhane amacasa Sāmakasa deyo rājāṇito (?) raño
Gotamiputasa Sātakaniṣa mahādeviya ca jīvasutāya rājamātuya
vacanena Govadhane [ama] co Sāmakō arogavatavo tato eva ca vatavo
etha.....*

Neither the reading nor the explanation of the word *rājāṇito* is certain though the sense, suggested by Senart, is clear: *rājāṇati* = *rājājñapti* might be the *lectio faciliior*.¹⁷ That order of the king and the queen has to be made over to Sāmaka, who is called an *amaca*, as the officer Viṇhupālita of the former record; but one new thing occurs here: the officer has to be wished good health (*arogavatavo*). Again it is stated that the order was given orally and written down by the *pratihārarākṣin* Loṭa in the 24th year of the king, on the fifth day of the fourth fortnight in the rainy season. The engraver of that record was Sujīvin. In line 7 (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73, l. 11) occurs the order to register the donation (*nibadhāpetha*), the reading accepted by Senart (*ibid.*, p. 74); in the last line the second date: tenth day of the second fortnight in the summer season of the 24th year is connected with the expression: *nibadho nibadho*. Senart translates: the donation had been made....., without considering that the donation does not need to be dated, if the execution of the royal couple's order by writing the *lekha* and its date is mentioned. Further, his reference in the Karle inscrip-

Bhandarkar believes Benākataka as the place where the king's army was encamped, see *Ind. Ant.*, 47, 1918, p. 152, n. 18.

15 Differing from Senart's interpretation of that term V. S. Bakhle is of opinion that the Mahāsāmiya seems to refer "to the resolution of that body [the corporate assembly of the city] or to that body itself," *JBBRAS.*, N.S., IV, 1928, pp. 64, 72.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73, No. 5.

17 Senart, of course, must change also *deyo* into *deyā*; referring to line 11 one would prefer to read *rājāṇato*.

tion No. 19¹⁸ to *Yājñavalkya* (I. 317) is hardly correct. *Nibandha* means in the official language only a register, the verb *nibandha*=to enlist into the register.¹⁹ Perhaps in the inscription the engraver of the cave-inscription repeated by a mistake the note of the registering; otherwise the expression means: the registration has been carried out on (that and that date).....Now, from the two dates, which are separated by about three months' time, that at the end of the inscription is the date of the registration, while the former, though later in time, dates the execution of the *lekha*. Senart suggested that the earlier date, "on which the donation had been pronounced" "was probably added by Sāmaka, because he wanted to state the interval which, owing to delays in transmission, intervened between the resolution of the two royal persons and the execution of their will". In the inscription (l. 6, resp. 11) the king and the queen order the registration; it seems natural that the registration took place at once, while the execution of the plate needed some time; and as the order of registration is expressed in the plural with the local adverb *ettha*, there is no doubt that the registration was carried out in the court, before the deed was executed and handed over to the donees. Schematically this inscription is composed of: 1. The auspicious formula; 2. command for the transmission of the royal order to the provincial officer; 3. formula of salutation; 4. text of the order proper; 5. the writer of the orally given order and the date of the *lekha* execution; 7. name of the engraver; 8. date of the ordered registration. The third inscription²⁰ by the same ruler comes from Karle. The king orders the *amaca* of Māmāḍa, informing him about the grant of a village as land for the benefit of the monks, to register that donation and the privileges connected with it; the order

18 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 68.

19 Neither the form *nibadha* for *nibandha* and *nibaddha* is probable nor can the latter be something else than 'written,' 'enlist,' a term known also from the *Kaṭṭhiya*. *Nibandha* in the sense of endowment, rent etc. is of later times. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, l.c. Senart himself says: 'Hence *nibandha* refers to a distinct official formality which precedes the completion of the grant.....perhaps it was a kind of registration of the royal decision in the archives of the State.'

20 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 64. Senart's rendering (p. 67f.) of line 5, where he reads and takes *niba[m]dhapehi[m]* as 1st person accretive, is of the

was given orally, written down and delivered in (some place?) in the 18th (?) year; the plate was executed by Sivakhadaguta.

Turning to the inscription of Gotamīputa Satakaṇi's son, the Nāsik No. 3,²¹ the following items are found: 1. the auspicious formula; 2. the order of Vasīṭhīputa Siri Puṣumayi to the officer (*āmaca*) of Govadhana; 3. the statement of the donation; 4. the order of registering; 5. the writer of the order, the *mahāsenāpati* Medhuna; 6. probably the keeping of the record; 7. the delivery of the deed, the date of that delivery; 8. the engraver.²² By these inscriptions we get a fairly good insight into the chancellery work, though there exist some vagueness. It is not clear whether the dating refers to the engraving or the delivery of the deed. Nāsik No. 5 seems to date the writing of the king's order, Nos. 3 and 4 as well as Karle No. 19 the delivery of the deed to the donees, because the fact of engraving is not such an important event as to need a date. Doubtful is the word *lekha*, it seems to refer to the document, made by the *mahāsenāpati* or *pratihārarākṣin*, high courtiers,²³ according to which the (copper?) plate which was handed down to the donees was executed by an engraver of the office. The donees got incised on the cave as a public proof of their rights the copy of the plate (*paṭikā*).²⁴

As far one can judge from the material offered by the inscriptions of the Sātavāhana dynasty, a definite form of the developed formal style is reached, though there existed slight deviations. The scheme seems to be: 1. auspicious formula; 2. the order of the ruler (from any place, generally his camp) to an officer (of a province), sometimes with a courteous sentence; 3. the order stating the grant of land, and the like, ending with the order of registration; 4. the explicit genesis of the deed: orally given order, written down by a high courtier, whose name

21 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 65 f.

22 Not of the cave-inscription, but of the 'title-deed[s] to the donees,' as remarked correctly by Senart *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 69.

23 In that sense the assertions by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ind. Ant.*, 43, 1919, p. 80 and n. 4; and by J. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 6 and 32 have to be modified, at least for the earlier period of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

is mentioned; 5. the date of the execution of the *lekha* or *paṭikā*, re. the delivery to the donees; 6. the name of the executing artist of the *paṭikā*; (7. the dated note on the executed registration).

An attempt will now be made to connect the development of the formal elements, as treated above, with the general history of India. Between the inscription of Rudradāman and those of the Sātavāhana dynasty there exists some difference in the method of dating, which has been observed already.²⁵ But we can trace a different wording too, viz., the absence of a bureaucratic or formal language in Rudradāman's record which contains a poetic language, while the Sātavāhana inscriptions show an official style; and to a certain extent the records of the Kṣaharāta inscriptions form a transitory stage between the two. It must, however, be conceded, that the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of the *kṣatrapa* Nahapāna, do not represent the orders of a ruler; nevertheless, an official position must be attributed to this man. The large donations show at least the commanding power of a rich relative of the ruling father-in-law, to whom he never forgets to refer in the inscriptions and who himself nowhere appears in them. Uṣavadāta was a Śaka, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII (p. 85, No. 14a, 1. 2) and must be considered as a governor, but certainly he acted as a general.²⁶ For, in the Nāsik cave inscription No. 10 (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 78, 1. 3) he speaks of the *aṃṛāti* of his *bhaṭāraka*, according to which he released the chief of the Uttamabhadras from the siege of the Mālayas, who fled and were made prisoners by the Uttamabhadras. The most interesting inscription of Uṣavadāta is Nāsik No. 12 (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 82), mentioning the endowment of a large sum, invested in guilds at Govardhana; the investment and the gift of cocoanut trees have been proclaimed (*śrāvita*) and registered in the *nigamasabhā* at the *phalakavara*.²⁷ The inscription offers three dates, the first is the year 42, Vaiśākha month, the second shows the year, month, fortnight and day, the third was perhaps given in the same way. Though the registration is stated as performed

25 Cf. Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 140 f.; supra, p. 219; but see Harit Krishna Deb, *IHQ.*, VII (1932), pp. 117 ff.

26 Cf. Rapson, l. c., LVII, CX.

caritrato, according to custom, the difference in the way of dating and of registration, compared with that of the Sātavāhanas, is obvious.

One point more must be touched, i.e. the appearance of the auspicious formula. The signs of *maṅgala* in Aśoka's Separate Edicts are the first occurrence of such an use in inscriptions; the supposed seven signs in the Sohgaura copper-plate are more likely to be explained in connection with the contents of the plate.²⁸ Auspicious signs can be traced in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, where they serve as distinguishing marks between two inscriptions, of which the former ends and the next begins in the same line.²⁹ The innovation, however, of the Sātavāhana dynasty's inscriptions in Nāsik and Karle is the use of an auspicious word *siddhaṃ* in different forms. The question, when this word came into existence,³⁰ can be answered in this way: the word

28 See Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 510 ff.; cf. also for a view connecting the symbols with the punch-marked coins, Durga Prasad, *Observations on the silver punch-marked Coins of ancient India and their age*, Benares 1931, pp. 7 f.

29 Nāsik No. 3, cf. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, Plate I, last line, middle of the lower photograph: a *svastika* and some trapezoid sign; in Nāsik No. 5, to be seen in photograph 5, first line.

30 According to rulers:

Kṣaharāta. Uṣavadāta: Nāsik No. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14a (?), Karle No. 13.

Sātavāhana. Time of Maḍhariputa Svāmi Sakasena: Kaṇheri, Lueders' List No. 1001, 1002.

Gotamiputa Siri Sadakaṇi: Nāsik No. 4, 5.

Vāsithiputa Siri Pulumāvi: Nāsik No. 1, 2, 3; Karle 19 (?); Myākādoni (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155).

Private inscriptions of his time: Nāsik No. 25, Karle 14, 20. Further Nāsik No. 6, 16, 17 (? a *si*; a superscribed *ddha* seems to be visible *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 90 Senart does not read it, while he translates 'Success'), 18, 26, 27. Amarāvati Lueders' List 1248.

Gotamiputa sami Siriyaṇa Sātakani: Nāsik No. 24; Kaṇheri No. 1024.

Abhira. Iśvarasena: Nāsik No. 15 (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, 47, 1918, p. 156).

Later Sātavāhana: Vāsithiputa sami Siri Caḍasāta ('end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D.," Sten Konow, *ZDMG.*, 62, p. 592).

Gotamiputa Siriyaṇa Sātakani. Lueders' List No. 1840.

Hārītiputa Viṇhukaḍa Cūṭukulānamda Sātakamni: *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, 1885,

siddham is found in Brāhmī inscriptions of the Satavāhana dynasty, of the Kṣharāta and of the Kuṣāṇa, in Nāsik, Karle, Amarāvati and Mathurā. But the home of that use was, no doubt, the Western Cave area, and it must be connected with the development of the official style in the Sātavāhana inscriptions.

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1232, 1233, 1244, 1255, 1262, 1267, 1268, 1271-1274, 1285, 1308; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 266, No. 21; p. 272, No. 49; p. 274, No. 55, 56; p. 275, No. 57. Jagayyapeta: 1203.

Kuḍā: Luders' List No. 1040, 1041, 1060.

Mahād: „ „ „ 1072, 1073.

Yunnar: „ „ „ 1172.

The Mathurā inscriptions are throughout of private character; the greater part of them is dated between the years 4-95 (the Kāman inscription, Luders' List No. 12 in the 74th year): Luders' List, No. 16, 19, 22a, 27-31, 37, 39, 44, 48, 53, 54, 58, 75, 85, 116, 121, 122, 125m, 125n; of unknown rulers' time 81a, 83; time of Kaniṣka 21; of Vāsiṣka 149a; of Huviṣka 35, 42, 60, for 81 cf. Buehler, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 206, No. xxxvii and Konow, *CHI.*, II, 1, p. lxxxiii, 163f.; of Vāsudeva 66, 69a. As mentioned above, these inscriptions are entirely private votive inscriptions and the like, where an old custom, borrowed from other places, like the Western Caves, continues. And though there is an inscription of Kumāragupta of the 113th year (*Ep. Ind.*, V, Appendix No. 442), it must be remarked, that already some Mathurā inscriptions show the late stage of the use of *siddha* by abbreviating the word to *sdha* (cf. Luders' List, No. 35, 42, 66, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 206, No. xxvi, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 287, No. ix, p. 392, No. xxiv). Thus we can say that in the later part of the third century A.D. the use of *siddha* slowly came to an end, and the occurrence in Kumāragupta's inscription is nothing but a survival of the practice of the engravers at Mathurā.

For other instances cf. the quotations by Buehler, *Palaeographie*, p. 87, note 35, further Kanheri, Luders' List, Nos. 993, 998, 999, 1000, 1005, 1006, 1012-14, 1020. For the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions see Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 1 ff, No. C 3, B 1, B 2, B 4, B 5, C 2, C 4, C 5, E, F, G, H, J. No doubt, the custom spread from Amarāvati of the Sātavāhana time to this place. Another proof of that view can be seen in the inscription of the Kadamba king Sivakhaḍavamman in *Ep. Carn.*, VII, 1, No. 264. No official record of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions shows the word *siddha*.

The Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit

The third manuscript that has been examined by me is, as is the case with the other two manuscripts,¹ written on birch-bark in Cursive Gupta characters of the 6th century A.D. Considering the period it was under earth, it is surprising to find that the glaze of the ink still remains and can be easily revived by a slight wiping with a damp piece of soft cloth.

The title of the Ms.

The title of the book, as given in the last leaf of the Ms., is

सर्वतथागताज्ञान-बोधिसत्त्वभूमिक्रमणम् and

सर्वतथागताधिष्ठान-सत्त्वावलोकन-बुद्धक्षेत्रनिर्देशनव्यूहम् ।

The second name has been adopted in the Tibetan version, in which the Sanskrit title is given thus (MDO, Kha, 395a):

आर्यसर्वतथागताधिष्ठान-सत्त्वावलोकन-बुद्धक्षेत्रनिर्देशनव्यूहनाम महायानसूत्र and its Tibetan rendering is as follows:

Hphags. pa.de. bshin. gsegs. pa. thams. cad. kyi. byin. gyis. brlabs-sems. can. la gzigs.sñ-saṅs. rgyas.kyi. shin. gi. bkod. pa.kun. tu. ston. pa.shes. bya. ba. theg. pa. chen. poḥ. mdo. On restoration it would be आर्यसर्वतथागताधिष्ठान-सत्त्वावलोकन-बुद्धक्षेत्रव्यूहसन्दर्शननाम महायानसूत्र ।

Csoma Körösi translates the title thus: "Description of the province of Buddha, on which, for the sake of all beings, all Tathāgatas have bestowed their benedictions" (*As. Res.*, XX, p. 425).

The Chinese text, which has been taken by Nanjio as a version of this Sūtra, contains only a small fraction of the whole Sūtra, and is entitled Fo-shuo-chuang-yen-wang-to-lo-ni-ching (for Chinese charac-

1 For the accounts of the previous two mss. see *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 93-100, 342-350.

In this connection I must thank Mr. Ramchandra Kak, who realises the value of the finds, for taking the necessary care of the mss. and giving me all the facilities to deal with them.

ters, see next page, l. 1), and its Sanskrit form would be बुद्धभाषितव्यूह
राजधारणीसूत्र। but in ll. 5-6, the full title of the Sutra is given thus:
*i-ch'ieh-ju-lai-so-hu-kuan-ch'a chung-sheng-shih-hsien-fo-ch'a-chung-
yen-wang-to-lo-ni* (For Chinese characters, see next page, ll. 5-6).

Nanjio has reproduced the Sanskrit title as transliterated in Tibetan characters in the xylographs, but the exact restoration from the above Chinese expression should be सर्वतथागतधिष्ठान-सत्त्वावलोकन-बुद्धक्षेत्रव्यूह-
राजधारणी।

Its translation in the light of the Chinese rendering would be: "The Dhāraṇī for a beneficent watch over the beings of the excellent Buddha-land, to whom all Tathāgatas vow their protection."

The Chinese and Tibetan versions

The Tibetan translation of this work has been made by Surendrabodhi, Silendrabodhi, and Jinamitra with the Tibetan monk Ye-shes-de. The translation is as literal as possible and hardly needs any comment.

The Chinese translation of I.tsing, printed in the Taisho edition is equally literal, making allowances of course for the insurmountable difficulties presented by a non-alphabetic language. On a comparison of the Chinese version with our Ms., it appears that the Chinese text contains the essential portion of this Sūtra i.e. the actual *dhāraṇī*, and not the supplementary *dhāraṇīs* and the accounts of their efficacies. Perhaps the Chinese version represents the earliest form of the Sūtra, which, in course of time, attained by additions its present form as found in our manuscript and the Tibetan version.² The Chinese text (see l. 2 of the Chinese characters), as restored into Sanskrit begins thus:

² Cf. the beginning of the Sanskrit ms. and the Tibetan text, *infra*, p. 236.

佛說莊嚴王陀羅尼呪經

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 所 與九十俱胝衆生。一聞此法皆得如來智
 王陀羅尼。我昔初發心時。於花光顯現如來
 經名一切如來所護觀察衆生示現佛刹莊嚴
 聲。告觀自在菩薩妙吉祥菩薩言。善男子有
 人天一切大衆演說法要。遍觀十方以妙音
 如是我聞。一時薄伽梵在布怛洛迦山。爲諸

[2] एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन् समये भगवान्
 पोतलकपर्वते विहरति स्म । सन्ति बहवो [3]
 देवमनुष्याः सर्वे महाव्याख्यानधर्मकामाः । [अथ]
 दशदिशमवलोक्य वलगुमनोज्ञस्वरे [4] अवलो-
 कितेश्वरं बोधिसत्त्वं आमन्त्र्य मञ्जुश्रीः बोधि-
 सत्त्वोऽबोचत् । अस्ति कुलपुत्र (lit. सत्पुरुष)
 [5] सर्वतथागताधिष्ठानसत्त्वावलोकन-बुद्धक्षेत्र-
 व्यूह[6] राजधारणी नाम सूत्रम् । मया पूर्वं
 प्रथमचित्तोत्पादकाले सुकुसुमज्योतिःसन्दर्शतथा-
 गतस्यान्तिकात् श्रुतम् । येषां [7] नवतीनां
 सत्त्वकोटीनां तद् धर्मं श्रुतं तेषां तथागतज्ञान-
 प्रतिलम्भोऽभूत् ।

A comparison of this with the Sanskrit text shows that an addition of a long passage covering 4 leaves has been made after the words विहरति स्म and before दशदिशमवलोक्य. In the Chinese text, there is the first line of the Sūtra as found in Sanskrit, i.e. the name of the place where Buddha was staying but not the names of the Bodhisattvas, gods and other beings that assembled to hear him. It then skips over 4 leaves of the Sanskrit Ms. corresponding to 3 (395-397) leaves of the Tibetan xylograph, and then comes to the 5th leaf of the Sanskrit Ms. corresponding to leaf 398a of the xylograph. The Chinese text henceforth keeps quite close to the Sanskrit original up to leaf 132a, l. 2.

In the Chinese version as also in the Tibetan, the *dhāraṇīs* or *mantrapādas* are not translated but transliterated, and compliment must be paid to the Chinese for the great skill that has been shown in the reproduction of Sanskrit sounds.

The concluding passage of the Chinese version is given below along with its Sanskrit restoration. The last three lines (5-7) are not found in the Sanskrit Ms.

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

[1] मरणकाले बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वदर्शनं भविष्यति ।
 [2] कायमुत्सृज्य सुखावस्थां लोकघातौ पुनस्तृप्तिं
 लप्स्यते । आयुर्वर्ण्यलसमन्वागतः भविष्यति (lit.
 परिपूर्णि गमिष्यति) । सर्वेऽत्रवः [3] शमिताः सत्त्वाः
 प्रमुदिताः । अस्यां धारण्यां भाष्यमाणायां षट्शतानां च
 प्राणिसहस्रानां अनुत्पत्तिकेषु धर्मेषु [4] ज्ञान्तिप्रति-
 लम्बोऽभूत् सर्वावरणविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वभिप्रायपरिपूर्णः ।

[5] एवं खलु लोकज्येष्ठेन भाषितं तत् सूत्रम् । अव-
 लोकितेश्वरः बोधिसत्त्वः मनुश्रोबोधिसत्त्व [6] सर्वो
 महासंघश्च प्रमुदिताः सुप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ [7] बुद्धभाषित-
 व्यूहराजधारणी सूत्रम् ।

臨命終時觀佛菩薩。捨身之後必得
 往生極樂世界。壽命色力悉皆具足。一切怨
 讎並生歡喜。說此呪時六萬有情得無生法
 忍。永除諸障所願滿足
 爾時世尊說此經已。觀自在菩薩妙吉祥菩
 薩。一切大眾聞佛所說歡喜奉行
 佛說莊嚴王陀羅尼呪經

The above extract indicates a natural end. In view of the fact that after this a new Dhāraṇī is being recited, it may be easily concluded that the rest of contents of the manuscript is a later addition.

The Tibetan version is a *verbatim* rendering of the whole of the Sanskrit Ms. and hence it is much larger in size than the Chinese. Nanjio has not taken note of this fact in his *Catalogue*.

Date of the Work

The safest data for ascertaining the time of composition of the ms. are the dates of the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Tibetan translation was made in the ninth century while the Chinese in the seventh (about 701 A.D.). Hence there can be no doubt about the existence of this work in the sixth century or some time before this. Though the Chinese translator had, as his basic text, an original different from the present one, there need not be any doubt about the work belonging to the sixth century A.D., as the script of the present ms. testifies. Again, if it be held that the Chinese translators worked with a Sanskrit original, which is earlier in date than the present one, then its date may be pushed further back, say, by a century, and we may safely conclude that this text was written as early as the 5th century A.D.

Résumé of the Contents*

Section I—The text opens as usual with an account of Buddha's residence which is here located at Potalaka, the abode of Avalokiteśvara, and his audience consisting of gods, men, bodhisattvas and other beings. There, at the request of all these beings Buddha delivered the Sūtra containing the principal Dhāraṇī.

Section II—What follows after Section I is really superfluous. It is only another dhāraṇī called *Abhayatejam*, delivered by Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva; the only reason for its inclusion is perhaps that it is also a *Buddhādhiṣṭhāna* and that the merit acquired by learning this *dhāraṇī* is similar to that conferred by that of the previous one.

Section III—After the conclusion of this *dhāraṇī* and followed by an account of a ceremonial, Mañjuśrī appears on the scene and asks why the present sūtra is called *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-buddhaḥṣetrasandarsana-ryūha* (leaf 134b), and then puts a few other incidental questions, which Buddha answers, by uttering some gāthās.

Section IV—Ārya Avalokiteśvara comes with another *dhāraṇī* called *Vyavalokana-prātihārya*; the reason for its inclusion is that it speaks of *sattvādhiṣṭhāna* or *sattvāvalokana* and that by reading and writing this *dhāraṇī* all the merits described before by the Tathāgatas are acquired (*sarvān etān tathāgata-bhāṣitān guṇān pratilabhante*—leaf 139b, l. 4).

Section V—The *Vyavalokana-prātihārya* is followed by three other *dhāraṇīs* with descriptions of their respective rites given by Anopamā Mahāyakṣiṇī, Saṅkhinī Mahādevī, and Bhīmā Mahādevī. All these are meant to confer benefits, or protect those beings who will read, write or propagate this Sūtra.

Section VI—Lastly comes the section dealing with the merits acquired by studying and propagating the Sūtra, and the suitability of its title.

* For want of space the full summary cannot be published in this number. It will appear in *IHQ.*, IX. 2.—Ed.

Various Points of Interest

Of the various points of interest to which attention should be drawn, the first is the Indian Buddhist system of writing two or more books in one volume with running pagination, and the adoption of that system by the Tibetan translators.

When Sāhityācārya Sivanātha Sāstrī, the learned paṇḍit of H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, commenced in collaboration with myself the transcription of this ms., our first impression was that 123 leaves of the ms. had been lost, as the page number began with 124. On a comparison, however, of this Ms. with its Tibetan version, it appeared that the ms. lacked only two leaves, i.e., nos. 122 and 123. From the numbering of the leaves i.e. from 122 and not from 1, it seems that the present ms. was a copy prepared at the instance of a certain upāsaka from another ms. which bore these page-numbers, and that the preceding leaves of this ms. viz. from 1 to 121 were left out as they evidently contained other books. Our ms. represents the last part (leaves 395-426) of the second (kha) volume of the Tibetan Kanjur mDo. This Tibetan bundle contains four sūtras, of which the first is the *Lalitavistara* (1-329), the second *Mañjuśrī-vikrīḍita nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*, the third *Mañjuśrī-vikurvāṇa* and the fourth *Sarva-tathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-Buddha-kṣetra-nirdeśana-vyūha*. On the basis of the division of the volumes as made by the Tibetans and the page-numbering of the present ms., the opinion may be hazarded that the Tibetans adhered to the divisions as made by the Indians, who, as is the practice in writing mss. both among the Indians and the Tibetans, included 3, 4 or more books in one bundle, writing the last words of one book and the first words of another in the same line, leaving a little space between them. It is very likely that the *Lalitavistara*, being very extensive, was not given a place in this volume, and that the original bundle, from which the present ms. was copied, contained the last three books of the vol. *kha* of mDo.

The second point of interest is the name of the donor, Sulivajra, at whose instance this ms. was copied. The name occurs thrice in the ms., every time it being mentioned in the concluding line of the Dhāraṇī, by which invocation is made for the protection and well-being

of the donor. The name of the person and, probably, that of his *gotra* are non-Sanskritic, indicating thereby the non-Indian nationality of the donor. It may be that he was a Hūpa, about whom we read so much in Kālhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The Dhāraṇī (Ms. 130b; Tib. 402b) is worded thus:⁴

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६
नमः सर्वतथागतानां । तद् यथा बुद्धे सुबुद्धे बुद्धमते* । लोके विलोके लोकतिक्रान्ते । सत्त्वा-
७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२
वलोकने सर्वतथागताधिष्ठिते । सर्वाशापरिपूर्णे द्युतिन्धरे नरदेवपूजिते । तथागतज्ञानदे तथा-
१३ १४ १५ १६
गताधिष्ठाने सर्वलोकं सुखीभवतु । पूर्वकर्म क्षपय** । मम [नात्सेहं मारपति शुल्लिङ्गस्य आर्यदिक
१७ १८ १९
महाश्राद्धोपासक शुल्लिङ्गस्य††] रक्षा भवतु । सर्वभयेभ्यः तथागताधिष्ठानेन स्वाहा ॥

The third point of interest is that the Dhāraṇīs in the ms. are found transliterated and not translated in the Tibetan and Chinese versions, pointing thereby to the belief current among the Buddhists, both Indian and non-Indian, of the 6th or 7th century A.D. about the efficacy of the mantras by their proper intonation.

Lastly, it is of interest to note the remark occurring in leaf 153a that this Sūtra will become popular in the south and not in the north, east or west, where the people will not give it its due honour and as a result will go to hell. The author of this Sūtra never dreamt that it would gain popularity more in the north than in the south and that an inhabitant of the farthest north would be instrumental in propagating its copy in the 20th century.

The scene of this Sūtra is located at Potalaka as is the case with many other Dhāraṇīs (see, e.g. *Dhāraṇī-Saṅgraha*, ASB. Ms. I. 11b).

4 This mantra is collated with its Tibetan and Chinese transliterated texts. The devanāgarī figures indicate the numbers given in the Chinese text, and the footnotes show the differences in reading.

* Ms. सुद्धमते ; Chin. omits it.

† Ms. सर्वतथागताधिष्ठानाधिष्ठिते

‡ Ms. नरके च पूजिते

** Tib. सर्वकर्म क्षपयतु

†† The Chinese, as restored into Sanskrit, gives मम असुकस्य स्ववर्णं स्वनाम ; for this Tibetan gives here nothing. The Ms. in another place mentions this name which may be read thus:

नात्सेहं मारपति शुल्लिङ्गस्य आघ्रवदिक शुल्लिङ्गस्य ।

Yuan Chwang refers to this mountain as a place of great sanctity, being the abode of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. He locates it on the east of the Malaya mountain, the scene of the well-known Mahāyāna sūtra, *Laṅkāvatāra*.⁵ It was very near the sea, and a stream of water after a long winding course flowed into the sea from the lake on the Potalaka mountain. The port of India from which people sailed to Ceylon was on its north-east. If we take Dhanuṣkoṭī to be that port, Potalaka should be located somewhere between the Malaya mountains and Dhanuṣkoṭī. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (leaf. 28b) occurs the name *Sāgara nāma Laṅkāpatham* and in leaf 27a *Sāgaramukha*, a place suitable for meditating upon the vastness of the sea. It seems that these forsaken places near the border of the sea and amid the mountains became the haunt of the meditating monks, and many Mahāyāna sūtras came into existence in those places. Watters (II, p. 230) dismisses away the Malaya mountain as a 'poetical creation' but Nundolal Dey gives ample evidence to show that it really existed and constituted the southern part of the Western Ghats (see his *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 132). He further states that one of the summits of these mountains bore the name of Pothigei, the Bettigo of Ptolemy, the abode of Agastya, and was also called Agasti-kūṭa or Poṭiyam, which was the southernmost peak of the Annamalai mountains where the river Tāmra-parṇī has its source (see *Ibid.*, Map.). Can this Poṭiyam be our Potalaka?

The tradition recorded by Tāranātha about the location of Potalaka, the abode of Avalokiteśvara, also points to its existence somewhere in the southernmost corner of India. The upāsaka Śāntivarman⁶ wanted to go to Potala from Śrīdhanakaṭaka caitya,⁷ the identification of which has been placed beyond doubt by the finds at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. He had to traverse a long perilous way over uninhabited regions and had to cross

⁵ *Laṅkā*, p. 1.

⁶ See Schiefner, *Geschichte etc.*, p. 132.

⁷ It is located in Dhanaśrīdvīpa. The Tib. word is *Dha.na.srī.i.glin*, *glin* being usually restored as Sanskrit *dvīpa*. According to S. C. Das's Dictionary, it may also mean "an isolated large monastery." Tāranātha, I think, has used the word *glin* in the sense of a 'monastery'. In that case, *Dha.na.srī.i.glin* would refer to the huge monastic establishment at Amarāvati or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

rivers, forests, lakes and so forth. Superstitious as the people must have been at that time, Sāntivarman, for safety while travelling, invoked Tārā, Bhṛkūṭī, Hayagrīva, Ekajaṭī and lastly Avalokiteśvara all well-known names of gods in the later Buddhist literature to aid him in his tour over the wild uninhabited region. In the account there is no indication that the route lay across the vast sea to an island like Madagascar, where Prof. Tucci⁸ would have us look for the location of the Potalaka, the abode of Avalokiteśvara on the basis of an account of the travels of Buddhagupta. It may be contended that in p. 157 of Tāranātha's *Geschichte* while describing the the route of Candragomin from Nālandā to Potala *via* Dhānaśrī-gliṇ (gliṇ = *rihāra* and not *drīpa*), it is said that he travelled in a boat which was wrecked, and that he was saved by the goddess Tārā. This also does not suggest that we are to look for Potala in Madagascar, for it is quite natural that in those days, when the land-routes were generally infested with wild animals and robbers, and when there were the difficulties of crossing rivers and mountains and obtaining food and shelter on the way, it was safer and more comfortable to travel by the river-routes or coastal sea-routes, and that this was preferred by the Indians is amply proved by the *Jātakas* and such other literature. In this case, I think, Candragomin went in a boat along the eastern coast up to Amarāvati and thence to Potala or Potalaka. In view of the fact that the scene of the present work is laid at Potalaka, and the statement that the work will become popular in the south, it behoves us to look for its location somewhere near the southern extremity of India, where it will not be too much to expect that we shall, in no distant future, hear of the discovery of ruins of as great an antiquity and importance as those at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

We shall conclude this preliminary note by reconstructing from the Tibetan xylograph the Sanskrit text which was written on the first two leaves of the Ms. nos. 122 and 123 that are lost. It is as follows:

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये पोटलकस्थिते आर्यावलोकितेश्वरायतने दिव्यमणिखण्ड-
नीलमये पुष्पसंस्तृते देवसिंहासने भगवान् सार्द्धं महता भिक्षुसङ्घेन पञ्चमात्रैर्भिक्षुशतैः सर्वैर्हंसिः
त्रीणां चैतो वशिष्ठाप्राप्तैः सद्धर्मपारंगतैश्च सार्द्धं बोधिसत्त्वैः सर्वैः महाकृष्णज्ञानप्राप्तैः सर्वैः

एकजातिप्रतिबद्धैः द्विजातिभ्यां च त्रिजातिभिर्दशजातिभिर्विंशतिजातिभिस्त्रिंशतिजातिभिः शत-
जातिभिर्वा प्रतिबद्धैः सर्वैः अष्टफलप्राप्तैर्दशभूमिस्थितैः तद् यथा आर्यावलोकितेश्वरेण मंजुश्रिया
विमलकेतुना रत्नश्रिया वज्रकेतुना विमलप्रभेण चन्दनेन अमृतकेतुना एवंप्रमुखं सप्तशतैः बोधि-
सत्त्वैः सार्धं उपासकोपासिकाभिः सर्वैः च व्याकृतैः समाधिप्राप्तैः नानालोकधातुभिः सन्निपतितैः
पञ्चसहस्रैः सर्वैः गन्धर्वशतसहस्रैः पूर्वबुद्धपर्युपासितैः तथागतप्रातिहार्यदृष्टैः सार्धं सर्वाभिः
महायन्त्रिणीभिः बोधिसत्त्वज्ञानप्राप्ताभिः व्याकरणप्राप्ताभिरवैवर्तिकाभिः अनौपम्यया विमलप्रभया
च प्रभावत्या भीमश्रिया यन्त्रिण्या च एवं प्रमुखाभिरशीत्या महायन्त्रिणीभिः । शतक्रतुब्रह्म-
वंशत्रयवृत्ताष्टविरूढकविरूढान्नमणिभद्रमुत्रपूर्णभद्राः एतैश्च लोकपालैः सार्धं निरग्रणोऽभूत् ।

अथ तैः सर्वैः तथागतं सिंहासनं निरग्रणं ज्ञात्वा स्वकस्वकैः कुशलमूलैस्तथागतं दिव्या-
लंकारवस्त्रपुष्पमाल्यधूपविलेपनवाद्यशब्देन मानितः पूजितः शतसहस्रकोटिशः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य
अर्चितश्च । तेन खलु पुनः समयेन भगवान् सर्वसत्त्वमहाकल्याणज्ञानस्थितं नाम समाधि समा-
पन्नोऽभूत् । तेन समाधिधारणबलेन त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रलोकधातवः आभया अवभासिता
अभूवन् । सर्वरूपाणि स्फुटितानि । ये च सत्त्वा जात्यन्धाः चक्षुषा रूपाणि पश्यन्ति स्म । वधिराः
श्रोत्रेण शब्दान् शृण्वन्ति स्म । रोगघृष्टा विगतरोगा भवन्ति स्म । नग्नाश्च वस्त्रावृता बभूवुः ।
उन्मत्ताः स्मृतिं प्रतिलभन्ते स्म । हीनकायाः परिपूर्णैर्न्द्रिया बभूवुः । दरिद्रा धनानि प्रति-
लभन्ते स्म । सत्त्वानां यः खलु धनवस्तुभोगविहीन आसीत् स धनवस्तुभोगसम्पन्नोऽभूत् ।
सर्वसत्त्वाः सर्वसुखसमर्पिताः सर्वांशापरिपूर्णा अभूवन् । त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रलोकधातौ ये
केचित् सत्त्वा अनुशासनधर्मश्रवणाय येन भगवान् तेनाजलिं प्रणम्य उपसंक्रान्ताः । ये सत्त्वाः
देवभूताः ते सर्वे देवसुखं संप्रदाय बुद्धानुस्मृतिं कृत्वा धर्मश्रवणाय येन भगवान् तेन उपसंक्रान्ताः ।
ये सत्त्वा मनुष्यभूताः ते च मनुष्यसुखं परित्यज्य धर्मश्रवणकामाय येन भगवांस्तेन उपसंक्रान्ताः ।
ये सत्त्वा नागयज्ञरान्नसप्रेतपिशाचभूतास्ते बुद्धानुस्मृतिं प्राप्य सर्वसत्त्वेषु मैत्रचित्ता भूत्वा काय-
चित्तसुखं लब्धा धर्मश्रवणाय येन भगवान् तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः । ये सत्त्वा यमलोके अन्धतमिस्रायां
जातास्तेऽपि बुद्धानुभावेन एकज्ञानं स्मृतिं लब्धा परस्परं परिजानन्ति स्म । ते महातमिस्राभ्यः
परिमुक्ता बभूवुः । सर्वे सत्त्वाः परस्परं मैत्रचित्ताः बभूवुः । तेषामुपक्लेशाः क्षीणा अभूवन् । तेन
खलु समयेन महापृथिवी षड्विकारं प्रकम्पते उन्नमति अवनमति स्म । अथ तस्यां पर्वदि
मंजुश्रीकुमारभूतः सन्निषण्णः सन् बोधिसत्त्वं महासत्त्वमार्यावलोकितेश्वरमेतदवोचत् । कुलपुत्र,
महाबोधिसत्त्वपर्वदि अवभासितायां महापर्वदः पूर्वनिमित्तं परिस्फुटम् । अनेकबोधिसत्त्वकोटि-
नियुतशतसहस्राणां च व्याकरणं प्रकटितम् । धर्ममहावाक्यस्य [Leaf. 124 पूर्वनिमित्तं संदृश्यते ।
कुलपुत्र अनेकानां च बोधिसत्त्वकोटिनियुतशतसहस्राणां सर्वांशापरिपूर्णिमहाज्ञानप्रतिलम्भो
भविष्यति । तत् कुलपुत्र सत्त्वानां काश्यपमुत्पाद्य हिताय सुखाय यावदनुत्तरस्यां सम्यक्-
संबोधौ प्रतिष्ठापनाय तथागतं परिपृच्छ ।]

The Śaivaite deity Kṣetrapāla

The deity Kṣetrapāla, which is at present almost transferred to the domain of folk-deities and little known to students of Hindu religion, appears to have at one time occupied a position of no mean importance in the Hindu pantheon. Beside the descriptions of the deity scattered in different Tantras and Purāṇas, we know of treatises which exclusively dealt with the worship of this deity. *The Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. p. 134, III. p. 29) refers to two works, e.g., *Kṣetreśapūjana* and *Kṣetrapālapaddhati* while there is reference to a *Kṣetrapālatantra* in the *Karīṇdrācārya List* (No. 1141). The names of all these works indicate quite clearly the fact that they pertain to the worship of Kṣetrapāla.

We do not know when and how the deity came to occupy a place in the catholic and ever-expanding pantheon of the Hindus. Presumably evolved out of the tendency of the primitive people that supposed every object, animate and inanimate, to be presided over by a separate spirit or deity, it came to acquire an independent position in the Hindu hierarchy of gods at a comparatively early period. We find it referred to or described not only in some of the original Tantras and Purāṇas, but also in digests and other works some of which go back at least to the sixteenth century.

The exact identity of and the proper position occupied by a deity in Tantra and Purāṇa pantheon is not always easy of determination. The descriptions of a particular deity to be found in different works are seldom elaborate and exhaustive. The same deity, again, is found in different works in different forms and not infrequently discharging different functions. A particular form of a deity is often supposed to be meant for a particular type of worshipper, having a particular end in view and thus arose innumerable forms of the already numberless deities.¹ As a matter of fact, this is the principal idea underlying the

conception of plurality of deities in India. These general observations apply fully to the deity we are going to describe e.g. Kṣetrapāla as to other deities like Kālī, Tārā, Manasā etc.

Kṣetrapāla appears to be a Saivite deity from the descriptions that are met with in various works. In one place he is definitely called a son of Śiva (śambhu-tanaya)² According to the *Līṅga Purāṇa*³ Kṣetrapāla is an incarnation of Śiva. It is stated that when even the destruction of the demon Dārūka would not satisfy the wrath of the goddess Kālī, Śiva, for the welfare of the world, assumed the form of a child, suckled her breast and drank off in this manner her indignation. The energy thereby infused into the system made him the protector of the field and he had eight forms.

The *Skandapurāṇa* account differs from the above in some detail. According to it Śiva in his child-form created 64 Kṣetrapālas from his mouth with a view to remove the fear of the gods from Kālī.⁴

The same Purāṇa, elsewhere, gives Kṣetrapāla as the name of one of the līṅga forms of Śiva, worshipped in Prabhāsa and Puruṣottamakṣetra (Puri). This is stated to be the name of one of the eight līṅga forms assumed by Śiva in Puruṣottamakṣetra (*Viṣṇukhaṇḍa-Puruṣottamamāhātmya* IV. 57-9). Phallic forms of Kṣetrapāla under the names of Kālamegha and Kāṅkālabhairava are also represented as being objects of worship in Prabhāsa.⁵

Kṣetrapāla is found to have been identified with Vāṭuka, - a Bhairava or emanation of Śiva, in the *Vāṭukabhairavarastatra* which is stated to belong to the *Viśvasāratāntra* and which while enumerating one hundred and eight names⁶ of the latter deity gives Kṣetrapāla as one of the names.

2 मूर्ध्नि पिङ्गलकेशम् ऊर्ध्वत्रिलोचनं सम्पाद्य जटाकलापम् ।

दिगवासं मुजङ्गभूषणमुग्रदंष्ट्रकं क्षेत्रेशं शम्भुतनयं भजे ॥

This *dhyāna* is given in the *Purohitadarpaṇa* under *Vāstupājā*.

3 *Pūrvaḥbhāga* 106. 22-4.

4 चतुःषष्टिरेत्रपालानित्युक्ता सोऽसृजन्मुखात्—*Skandapurāṇa*, *Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa*, 62, 16.

5 *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*, chapters 331 and 137 respectively.

6 The hymns giving such lists of names of deities are interesting inasmuch

In spite of these clearly śaivaite characteristics, it is curious, as we shall see hereafter, that in folk conceptions the deity sometimes takes a feminine form and sometimes is given a Vaiṣṇavite appearance. The *Kulārṇava*, however, goes to the extent of saying that Kṣetrapāla is the supreme deity who rules over the whole universe.⁷

The deity is supposed to have a good many forms. According to the *Līṅgapurāṇa* the number is eight, while according to the lists quoted in the *Vācaspatya* and the *Puraścaryāṇava* the number is 49 and 64 respectively.⁸ One form of the deity is believed to preside over each letter of the alphabet and each of these letters begins one particular name. This close connection of the deity Kṣetrapāla with letters of the alphabet is significant in view of one of the cardinal doctrines of the Tantras according to which letters and sounds occupy a very important position in Tantra theology. Particular regions have also particular forms of the deity beside the 49 presiding over the 49 letters of the alphabet and the *Puraścaryāṇava* mentions 15 such forms.

From the etymology of the name as also from the account of the *Līṅgapurāṇa*, already cited, protection of the field or rather plots of land appears to have been the main function of the deity.⁹ Hence worship was first of all offered to him in all important rites with a view to safeguard the place of worship and consequently the whole performance. One who takes recourse to a particular plot of land without worshipping Kṣetrapāla is supposed to be oppressed by serious obstacles.¹⁰

as they reveal the under-current of monotheism pervading all the external forms of polytheism. Thus in the list of names of one deity are found not infrequently names of other deities probably seeking thereby to impress on the popular mind the identity of all the different deities.

7. XVII. 99.

8 The *Skanda P.* also gives 64 as the number though the list given by it differs, in respect of some of the names, from the other lists. According to this *Purāṇa* 25 of this number were given charge of heaven, 25 of the nether world and 14 of the earth (*Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa* ch. 62).

9 It is to be noted that a pastoral character is also attributed to the god Siva in his popular conception as revealed in the *Sivāyana* songs in Bengali. The deity was also worshipped for getting various other sorts of objects e.g. freedom from the fear of snakes (*Skanda P. Prabhāsakhanda*, ch. 181).

10 The need of offering worship to this deity at the beginning of all rites

The deity is conceived of in some quarters as a *dvārapāla* (door-keeper) or rather lord of a quarter. He seems to have presided over either the Western or the Southern direction. According to the *Prayogasāra* as quoted in the *Vācaspatya* worship should be offered to him in the west while according to the *Kulārṇava* (VII. 30) to the south.

The anthropomorphic description of the deity is found to be differently worded in different works but still there are some common Śaivaite characteristics in all these various descriptions.¹¹ He is three-eyed and naked, has serpents as his ornaments, has the mace and the skull in his hands, carries the shining moon. According to the *Kaulāvalī* he has a trident in his hand and is possessed of *ḍamaru* and *khaṭvāṅga*. He is described as being of a mad and strange appearance. His eyes are savage and circular, his teeth and hence the face are fearful though in the *Dākinītantra* he is stated to have a smiling face, his tawny hairs are up-raised. He wears a red piece of cloth. He is not, however, white like the silver mountain (*rajata-girinibha*) as usually Śiva is described to be, but is only whitish in colour or is as black as the collyrium-mountain (*nīlāñjanādrinibha*) or as blue as the sky (*vyomanīla*). According to the *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Kumārikā Khaṇḍa*, 62. 18)¹² Kṣetrapālas have, like Vaṭuka Bhairava, the dog as their *vāhana* (or conveyance). A long mustache is attributed to him in the conception of the deity as worshipped by the women of Bengal.

As regards the offerings to be made to the deity there seem to have been some objects specially favourite to him. According to the *Tantrasāra* a big piece (of flesh) with condiment is the offering specially laid down for him. The *Isānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati* (pt. II, p. 188-9) prescribes for him a special preparation of rice. Śiva in the *Skandapurāṇa* directs that bean mixed with rice is to be the offering made to the Kṣetrapālas. In folk rites in Eastern Bengal *śaktu* (*chāttu* or a particular preparation of barley) is the principal object offered to the deity. Cakes and sweetmeats, kids, 'the first milk of a

is emphasised in *Kulārṇava Tantra* (VII. 32) and *Skanda P. (Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa* 62. 18-20).

cow or buffalo', 'the first fruits at harvest times' are also offered in different places.¹³

So far we have dealt with accounts of the deity as found mainly in Purāṇa and Tantra works. But there is another aspect of the deity, not unlikely the more primitive one, though there is scarcely any reference made to it in any old work. This may be called the popular aspect, the aspect familiar to the people in general though little known to scriptures. The deity enjoys immense popularity all over India and is worshipped under different popular names and forms. Khetpāl (Protector of the fields), Khera (the homestead mound), Bhūmiyā (the godling of the land or soil), Zamindar (land-owner), Saim or Sayam (which has been traced to *śyāma* 'black' or *svayambhū* 'self-emanated' in Sanskrit) are the various vernacular names with which the deity is called by the people.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, every village in the Himalayan Districts is stated to have a temple dedicated to this deity.¹⁵

11 The deity is described among other works in the *Dākinītantra* (Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat Ms.—fols. 16b, 17a), *Merutantra* (XXXII. 227-8), *Isānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (II. 188-9), *Sāktānandatarāṅgiṇī* (XII. 3), *Puraścaryārṇava*, *Tantrasāra*, *Kulāvalinirṇaya* (p. 33 of Avalon's edition) and *Skanda P.*, *Kumārikā Khaṇḍa* (62. 18, 25).

नीलाञ्जनाद्विनिभमूर्द्ध पिशङ्गकेशं वृत्तोयलोचनमुपात्तगदाकपालम् ।

आशाम्बरं भुजगभूषणमुग्रदंष्ट्रं क्षेत्रेशमद्भुतमहं प्रणमामि देवम् ॥

Sāktānanda, XII. 3 and *Puraścaryārṇava* (p. 705).

क्षेत्रपालं महाभागं वराभयकराम्बुजम् ।

द्विभुजं खेतवर्णाभं स्मेरास्यं रक्तवाससम् ॥—*Dākinītantra*.

12

वलिमपि सोपदंशवृहत्पिण्डेन दद्यात्—*Tantrasāra*.

दध्याज्यमिश्रं शाल्यन्नं सिद्धं कुट्टपतण्डुलैः ।

दत्त्वाम्भस्त्रिस्तदन्नार्घात् त्रिः कपालेर्बलिजिपेत् ॥—*Isāna*.

नैवेद्यं भवतां राजमाषतण्डुलमिश्रकाः—*Skanda-Kumārikā* 62, 18

माषभक्तं वलिं दद्यात् धानाचूर्णमथापि वा—*Dākinī*.

13 Crooke—*Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore in Northern India*, pp. 65-6; Atkinson—*Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the N. W. P., India*, p. 127.

14 Crooke—*loc. cit.*

15 Atkinson—*loc. cit.* The deity is popular in South India as well. Different types of images of Kṣetrapāla of a fearful and awe-inspiring character are there

The cult of Kṣetrapāla is highly popular among the women folk of Bengal. The women of the districts of Farīdpur and Barisal¹⁶ observe the *vrata* of Kṣetra in the month of Agrahāyaṇa on Saturdays and Tuesdays of the black fortnight. It is believed, one is relieved of illness or from fear of tigers by this observance. It is further believed that the performance of the *vrata* in the month of Māgha tends to rouse the wrath of tigers and hence it is performed always in the month of Agrahāyaṇa and never in the month of Māgha. *Chāttu* made of fried paddy and *tila* is specially liked by the deity and partaken of by the ladies observing the *vrata*. Some amount of *chāttu* packed in a piece of cloth is hung at the time of worship from a jujube tree where the deity is supposed to reside. At some places the worship is offered in an open place under a branch of this tree, with two baskets marked with vermilion placed on the ground nearby upside down.

The story runs to say that on a certain occasion a peasant's wife went with some amount of *chāttu* as provision for the day to work in the field taking her husband, suffering from a bad type of leprosy, in a basket. Some part of the *chāttu* was packed in a piece of cloth and kept hanging from a branch of a jujube tree. The god Kṣetrapāla partook of the food and when cleansing the moustache to which portions of the *chāttu* were sticking, powders fell on the body of the leper who had a temporary glimpse of the god who immediately cured him completely. This led to the introduction of the worship of the deity in this world.

Another story says that two drops of blood fell on the ground from Pārvatī who was in her monthly courses. She covered them with two baskets and went to work. On her return she noticed two tigers were born under the baskets. They were very hungry and asked for food. Pārvatī ordered them to find out any food they could within the time that would be taken by her in spinning thread from a very small amount of cotton. They went and finished two villages and a half. Pārvatī was taken by surprise and she struck their

met within many a Śaiva temple. One image of the deity in the Tanjore temple is as old as the 11th century A.D. (*South-Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*—H Krishna Sastri, p. 159-60).

16 A brief description of the *vrata* as performed in the district of Mymensing was published in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrika*, (vol. IX, p. 112).

hind legs with a stick with a view to cripple them and curtail their mischievous activities. The legs were broken and they could not do as much harm with the remaining two legs. Pārvatī also ordered them to take food only once a week and to take stale, and not fresh, meat by leaving the animal killed to decompose for a week before its meat could be taken. But it was stated that their hunger would be appeased by the annual performance of Kṣetra-vrata by the women.¹⁷

Worship is offered to the deity in Chittagong by members of different communities like the Hindus, Buddhists and Muhammadans. Elaborate folk-rites are also performed there in connection with his worship.¹⁸

In Western Bengal, apparently in some stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, the deity seems to have been given quite a different setting. Here the deity appears not only in a feminine form but also gives up the Śaivaite connections and thoroughly becomes Vaiṣṇavite.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, the deity is here worshipped as a form of Lakṣmī, consort of Viṣṇu. The link with Kṣetrapāla seems to be perceptible through the name Kṣetradevī and through the pastoral characteristics. Kṣetradevī like Kṣetrapāla is also the presiding deity of the field. The story describing the benefit accruing from her worship states how through her grace paddy seeds brought forth golden paddy in a day.²⁰

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17 The story is interesting inasmuch as it relates a legend embodying the popular belief regarding the origin of the tiger and some of its characteristics.

18 "On the cult of the godling Kṣetrapāla in the District of Chittagong in Eastern Bengal"—R. K. Bhattacharya (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. XIII, pp. 673-80).

19 In Patna also the deity is identified with Viṣṇu and in Oudh a feminine form is ascribed to it. Crooke, *loc. cit.*

20 *Vratadarpana*—Sudev Chandra Chatterji (Kamalini Sahitya Mandir, 1333 B. S.) p. 161-2.

Some Political Ideas in the Tamil Work (Kural)

In is an accepted idea of the Tamils that the 'Sacred *Kural*?' of the immortal Tiruvalluvar is the abiding authority on all ethical subjects valued in the Tamil country. The author was, in the words of Dr. G. U. Pope, "undoubtedly one of the great geniuses of the world." According to tradition, he belonged to a lowly caste, but has been the oracle of millions for nearly two thousand years; and in his person, 'the last has indeed become the first'. We have no definite data which will enable us to fix with precision the age of our author. A series of verses, under the name of the 'Garland of Tiruvalluvar' and ascribed to many great Tamil poets, describes the merits and excellences of the poet in an exhaustive manner and an admiring spirit. The circumstances narrated for the composition of this anthology have been interpreted to bear out the suggestion that the poet was a member of the so-called third Saṅgam of Madura and a contemporary of some of the celebrated Saṅgam poets¹, most of whom flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. Ceylonese tradition speaks of the poet's contemporaneity with Elāla or Elāra who was of the Tamil race and conquered and ruled the island, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, from 145 to 101 B.C.; and it has been suggested that Tiruvalluvar wrote his treatise, possibly as a guide to his friend Elāla or his son, and that the title Valluvar might mean a priest, a nobleman or an officer of state.² In spite of this it is maintained that the distinct references to the work by Śāttanār, the author of *Maṇimekhalai* and Ilanko-aḍigal, the equally illustrious author of the *Silappadikāram*, both of whom were contemporaries of Seṅguṭṭuvan Cera, who is said to have flourished in the second century after Christ, strengthen the postulation of a very early date for the work which employs the pecu-

1 V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 131.

2 *Valluva* may be identified with the Sanskrit term Vallabha; and it all depends on whether the term is the name of a person, a caste or an office, as applied to the poet (*ibid.*, p. 130). The date of the work is not yet capable of precise definition.

liar *venba* metre after the sūtra style of Sanskrit literature:—say in the first century B.C. or in the first two Christian centuries. The author did not give the work any sort of sectarian tinge but endeavoured, primarily, to be a moralist rather than a religious teacher. Every Hindu sect claims the great poet and interprets his verses so as to support its own peculiar tenets. “The Jainas specially consider him their own; and he has certainly used several of their technical terms. . .”.³ Materials are available for claiming him, though not with definiteness, for Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and even Christianity. He seems to have been acquainted with different creeds and faiths; and his teaching appeals to every faith and implies an eclectic system of faith and practice, being didactic and non-controversial. “What philosophy he teaches seems to be of the eclectic school as represented by the Bhagavadgītā⁴ which can be made to appeal to every faith.”

According to the new school of non-Aryan Tamil scholars that is rising up, there has not been much of indebtedness of the Tamils to the early Aryan culture; and the early Dravidians had, independently of the slightest Aryan or other influence, their own culture and literature. On the other hand, there are not wanting scholars who say that the history of South Indian culture begins, properly speaking, only with the coming of the Aryans to the south. The introduction of Aryan culture into the south was the result, not of conquests, but of a peaceful and gradual process of penetration.

Be this point as it may, it is not open to much opposition that Tiruvalluvar was familiar with Sanskrit literature, and particularly with the literature bearing on the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra, not to speak of the Kāmaśāstra. His work deals with the four objects of life, *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* (*Aṟam*, *Poruḷ*, *Inbam* and *Viḍu*, which are the exact Tamil equivalents of the corresponding Sanskrit terms). The last of these does not lend itself to didactic treatment and has been omitted. *Dharma* (Righteousness) has been treated in all the four stages viz., of student, house-holder, a retired life and that of the hermit, and the whole is supplemented with a chapter on

3 G. U. Pope, *The Sacred Kuraḷ* (1886), Intro. p. v.

4 Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 192.

predestination. The next division of the book relates to life in society which presupposes and implies some sort of governmental organisation. It deals with *Artha* and is termed *Poruṭpāl*.⁵ It covers 70 chapters out of a total of 133 for the whole work. Parimeḷagar, the greatest of the commentators on the work, divides the section into kingship (royalty), elements of sovereignty (the *aṅgas* or limbs of the state), and common duties. The section on kingship covers 25 chapters, and that on Ministers of state in 10 chapters. Five chapters are devoted to the territory of the state, fortifications, royal wealth and forts. Alliance and enmity are detailed in 11 chapters; and the remaining chapters in the division relate to the conduct of ruler and subjects, the carrying on of agriculture and other miscellaneous matters. The seven categories, viz. *svāmin* (sovereign), *amātya* (minister), *suhṛt* (ally), *koṣa* (finance), *rāṣṭra* (territory), *ḍurga* (fortress) and *bala* (army) constitute the doctrine of *Saptāṅga*, the seven limbs (organs) of the body-politic.⁶ From Kauṭilya's description of the attributes of a *janapada*, it is co-extensive both with territory and population which form the physical constituents of the state from the point of view of political thought. Chapter LXXIV, dealing with the land, implies the combination of both people and territory in the treatment of Tiruvalluvar. The king should have, according to the *Kuṛaḷ*, courage, wisdom and energy, a sleepless promptitude, knowledge and strong decision; he should be easy of access and endowed with pleasant speech and pleasing mien. Almost in the same ideas, does Kauṭilya clothe the essential qualities of the *svāmin*. He should have an inviting

5 Translated by Father Beschi into 'rerum proprietates'; by Graul into "de bonis;" 'vom Gute', and by Ariel into 'la fortune.'

The chief translations of the work are those of (1) Beschi (Latin) (cir. 1730 A.D.); (2) F. W. Ellis (1820); (3) W. H. Drew (1852); (4) J. Lazarus (1885); (5) G. U. Pope (1886); (6) V. V. S. Aiyar (1916); and (7) H. A. Popley (1931). There are (1) a German and a Latin rendering by Dr. Graul (1856); (2) French versions by Mm. Ariel, de Dumast, Lamaisresse and de Fontainieu.

6 Verse 281 of the *Kuṛaḷ*—tr. of Pope:

(*abhiḡāmika*) nature; and he should be endowed with *prajñā* (understanding), *utsāha* (energy) and *ātma-sampat* (self-possession). Tiruvalluvar's description of the king as one who gains treasure, stores it up, defends it and expends it duly for the kingdom's weal, is paralleled by the four-fold functions of the king according to the *Kāmandaka Nītisāra*, which are "to acquire wealth by equitable means, to preserve it, to augment it and then spend it on the deserving." Tiruvalluvar regards learning as the most essential attribute of the ruler; he deems that the chief wealth of all is that 'acquired by ear-attent', following herein the old maxim, stressed by Kauṭilya that hearing opens the door to right knowledge and to right action. The prescription of Tiruvalluvar (verse, 447) that

"What power can work his fall,
Who faithful ministers employs,
That thunder out reproaches when he errs",

is supplemented with the lesson that

"To cherish men of mighty soul,
And make them all their own,
Of kingly treasures rare,
As rarest gift is known" (verse 443).

Kauṭilya's enumeration of the qualifications of a ministerial officer (*amātyasampat*) is capable of close comparison with the *Kuraḷ*'s description of ministerial qualities.

The chapter on acting after due consideration and those dealing with the selection of time and place and with the cognisance of power⁸ run almost closely identical with the Kauṭiliyan maxims on many points; and similar parallels with Kauṭilya may be easily found in the succeeding chapters dealing with the selection of ministers and other 'instruments' and their employment. In the 51st chapter, Tiruvalluvar puts in the very first verse itself an expression which "indicates unmistakable affinity with Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra".⁹ The subject is the

7 The *Kuraḷ*, verse 385, and *Kāmandaka*, I, 20.

8 Chapters 47, 48, 49 and 50.

9 Dr. S. K. Aiyangar—*Some Contributions of South India to Indian*

selection of ministers by the king; and the verse, as translated by Pope, runs thus:—

“How treats he virtue, wealth and pleasures?

How, when life's at stake, comforts himself?

This four-fold test of man will full assurance make.”

The substance is that a man, before being selected for admission into the body of ministers, should be tested by the four tests of righteousness, wealth, love and fear of life. The last test or *upadu* has not been understood rightly, owing to a wrong reading, by the commentator and owing to a lack of knowledge of the original source of inspiration, that source being Book I, Chapter X of the *Arthaśāstra*, which goes on to describe the four allurements—religious, monetary, love and that of fear—and advises the king to employ those ministers whose character has been tested under “the three pursuits of life, religion, wealth and love, and under fear.” It may be also well maintained that in the same chapter of the *Kuraḷ*, dealing with the selection of ministers, we find a great many points of resemblance to the qualifications that are to be expected of ideal councillors, as set forth by Kauṭilya in the chapter on the creation of ministers.¹⁰ One finds an almost full identity between Tiruvalluvar's maxims regarding the right sceptre (chapter, LV)¹¹ and the several rules by which the righteous monarch should abide, as laid down by Kauṭilya, Manu and others. The *Kuraḷ* precept that the king

10 Commenting on this, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar remarks:—“But to any dispassionate reader, the similarity of idea is quite clear, detail for detail, so that there is no reasonable doubt left that the author of the *Kuraḷ* had full knowledge of the *Arthaśāstra* and adopted several of its conclusions strangely enough. It is to the credit of Tamil scholarship of an elder age, that this similarity had already been pointed out by a commentator who preceded Parimēl Alahar in this work.” (*ibid*, p. 128).

11 Verse 543 viz.,

“Learning and virtue of the sages spring

From the all-controlling sceptre of the king.”

and its complement, verse 560 (ch. LVI),

“Where guardian guardeth not, udder of kine grows dry,

And Brahmans' sacred lore will all forgotten lie.”

can easily get numerous parallel passages in *Kauṭilya* in the *Arthaśāstra*.

“Should raise the rod with brow severe,
But let it gently fall”

may be read side by side with the maxim of Abul Fazl, the learned minister of Akbar, that the king “makes wrath the tyrant, pay homage to wisdom, so that blind rage may not get the upper hand and inconsiderateness overstep the proper limits” and “sits on the eminence of propriety, so that those who have gone astray have a way left to return.”¹² Again, when the Tamil sage urges, in chapter LVII on Absence of Terrorism, the warning:—

“Whom subjects scarce may see,
of harsh forbidding countenance,
His ample wealth shall waste,
blasted by demon’s glance”,

we are naturally inclined to Kauṭilya’s enumeration of the first class of qualities that must mark the true *svāmin*, viz., those attributes which are of an inviting nature (*abhigāmika*) and induce people to approach him and follow his lead.

More suggestive is Tiruvalluvar’s treatment of detectives. His lesson that

“One spy must not another see; contrive it so;
And things by three confirmed as truth you know”.

is identical with Kauṭilya’s warning; “when the information derived from three independent sources is the same, then it shall be held reliable; if the sources differ, the reporters concerned shall be either punished or dismissed.”¹³ His very first notice of spies in whom “along with the Dharmaśāstra, let the king confide as eyes” is synonymous with the aphorism, familiar in the pages of Kauṭilya and Megasthenes, that the ‘reporters’ were in fact ‘the eyes and ears of the executive government.’¹⁴ The Tamil poet mentions spies; disguised as monks and

12 The *Ain-i-Akbari* tr. by H. Blochmann, vol. I (p. iv of Abul Fazal’s Preface).

13 *Kural*, verse 589; and *Kauṭilya*, II, ch. XIII.

14 Compare with *Kāṇva*...

devotees and stresses on the wisdom of "spying by spies and testing the things they tell by other spies."

The qualities of *utsāha* (energy) and of *prajñā* (wisdom) which are very necessary to the king, are detailed in four chapters (60-63) in the course of which the Tamil sage teaches that 'the wealth of mind' is permanent as contrasted with material wealth and that 'delay, oblivion, sloth and sleep; these four are pleasure-boat to bear the doomed to ruin's shore.' Manly effort is idealised into the lesson, breathing of the spirit of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, that

"Though fate divine should make your labour vain,
Effort its labour's sure reward will gain."

(Verse 619).

Hopefulness in difficulties is regarded as an essential royal virtue; and the ruler is enjoined "not to allow sorrow to touch his soul" and 'to take pain as pleasure' and "not to meet with troubled mind the sorrows it expects."

The ideal measure of the qualities of a minister is spread over ten chapters of the *Kural*. Kauṭilya's description of the fittest person for a ministership as one who was "a native of the country, born of a high family, influential, learned in the arts and sciences; possessed of wisdom and foresight, endowed with a good memory, capable, eloquent, intelligent; possessed of enthusiasm, endurance, dignity and grandeur, pure in character, devotedly attached (to the interests of the state), endowed with a good excellent conduct, strength, health and boldness, devoid of procrastination and fickleness of mind, of a loving nature, and not of a disposition to excite enmity" can well apply to every phase of the minister's qualifications, according to Tiruvalluvar, which embrace a knowledge of the means, time and mode of execution, a determined mind, greatness of protecting power, learned wisdom and manly effort and a combination of natural subtlety of mind and power of pondering and firmly resolving (chapter LXIV).

The minister's power of speech should be such as to hold spell-bound "the listening ear, while those, who have not heard, desire to hear." (verse 643). It is noteworthy that he is warned against even the least sin and oppression, even though it be to safeguard the so-called

“In pot of clay unburnt he water pours and would retain,
Who seeks by wrong the realm in wealth and safety to
maintain.” (verse 660)¹⁵

The duties of envoys are detailed in chapter LXIX; they lay stress on the qualifications of high birth, knowledge, goodly grace, sound sense, and capacity “to speak right home, prepared for each emergency”, as well as a fearlessness of consequences to himself. This last is indicated in verse 690, which runs thus:—

“Death to the faithful one his embassy may bring:
The envoy gains assured advantage for his king.”

The envoy (Dūta) was evidently deemed to be an important minister; and his description implies that he had to advise with regard to peace and war relations of the state with a control over foreign policy.

The idea that the minister should have a thorough knowledge of the council and should not dread to speak out his mind boldly before it, is conveyed by Tiruvalluvar in the course of two chapters, illustrations of which are embodied in the two following verses, translated:—

“By rule, to dialectic art your mind apply,
That in the council fearless you may make an apt reply.”
(verse 725)

“Though many things they have learned, yet useless are all
To men who cannot well and strongly speak in the council hall.”
(verse 728)

It may not be stretching the idea too far if we should suppose that the Tamil sage expected the ideal minister to check the autocratic tendencies of the king who was bound by the decisions of the *Mantri-pariṣad*, morally, if not constitutionally. The minister was, strictly speaking, to prop up the monarch on the pedestal of righteousness and efficiency, and had to keep true to the maxim—“For if the king

15 Compare this with Aristotle's dictum that one of the chiefest qualifications required in those who fill the highest offices, should be 'virtue and justice.' Also Plato's view, embodied in his *Republic* that members of the

could not be kept in check by ministers, is national prosperity possible by such ministers?¹⁶

The attributes of land and people as the essentials of a state are next detailed; and we are straightly told that, in spite of other advantages that it may possess, a land gains nought that is not at peace with its king. The *durga* constituent of the state comprehends different types of fortifications, like water and hill forts, desert and forest forts (verse 742). The revenue receipts of the state should be mainly made up of income accruing to the king in his personal capacity, taxation proper and tribute and booty taken in war (verse 756). The treasury is deemed to be the surest guarantee of internal peace and external security. The army is required to be complete in all its limbs, and well-equipped and drilled, under proper leaders. Above all desiderata there should be the true martial spirit animating all ranks (chapters LXXVII and LXXVIII). The *ally* as a constituent element of the state is treated only in the very general terms of friendship, good and bad, real and unreal. Secret foes are to be guarded against; and indulgence in dicing and gaming, peculiarly royal vices in ancient times, is condemned in forceful terms.

It has been possible, in the course of this brief paper, to indicate only a few salient features of the political ideas embodied in the *Kural*; but enough has been shown to demonstrate the familiarity of the Tamil sage with Sanskrit political literature and to show the comprehensive culture and outlook that marked ancient Tamil learning and scholarship.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Some Linguistic Notes

I

Maṭaci

The curious word *maṭaci* occurs in a passage of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I, 10. 1): *maṭaci-hateṣu Kuruṣv Atikya saha jāyayā Uṣastir ha Cākrāyaṇa ibhya-grāme pradrūṇaka uvāsa*. Though the word is of unknown meaning there is no doubt that in this sentence the devastation of the Kuru country caused by the *maṭaci* and the consequent poverty of the village in which Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa lived are spoken of.

The word has been explained by Śaṅkara in his commentary to the *Chāndogya* as *aśani*; this explanation is generally accepted, and it is rendered into English as 'hailstone'. Sénart in his translation of the *Chāndogya* while accepting the same meaning 'la grêle (?)' has expressed his doubt about it. Jacob in his *Scraps from the Saddarsana* (JRAS., 1911, p. 510) discussed the different traditional explanations of the word and pointed out for the first time that Ānandagiri in his commentary on the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara offers an alternative explanation of the word as *rakta-varṇāḥ kṣudra-pakṣi-viśeṣāḥ* 'a sort of red-coloured winged creatures'. This is admitted by Amalānanda as the correct meaning of the word in his *Vedānta-kalpataru*, a commentary on Bhāmatī. Jacob while accepting this meaning of the word thought that it meant 'locusts'. The word seemed to him to be an importation from 'outside Āryāvarta'. Since this suggestion was made K. B. Pathak took it up and tried to find out the word 'outside Āryāvarta' in the Dravidian world. In a note published by him in the *Indian Antiquary* (XLII, p. 235) he pointed out that the word is a Sanskritised form of 'the well-known Dravidian word *miḍiche*'. The word *miḍiche* is in fact found in Canarese, and it means there 'grasshopper, locust'. Kittel in his Canarese Dictionary has compared this word with other Dravidian words for 'locust' e.g. Telugu-*miḍutha*, Malayalam-*vittal* or *vettal* and Tamil-*vettukkili*. Pathak is of opinion that all these words are derived from a common root *miḍi*

(*Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 28) for establishing his theory of Dravidian influence on the Sanskrit language.

It is difficult to say if the Malayalam and Tamil words are at all related to the Canarese word *midiche*. If the Telugu word *midutha* has at all any connection with the Canarese *midiche* the changes in the vowel and the final consonant have not been explained. On the other hand, the word is found in different Iranian dialects and we have reason to suppose that it was present in the common Indo-Iranian.

Gauthiot in his *Grammaire Sogdienne* (Introduction, p. ii) while discussing the different words for 'locust' in Persian showed that three different names of 'locust' are known in Persian: the one **ma ṣax* (old **ma ṣakha*) is special to the language of Northern Persia i.e. what may be called the Arsacidan language. It is found in the Armenian loan *marax*, Hübschamann—*Pers. St.*, p. 100 and Meillet, *MSL.*, t. 17, p. 245). The second word in Persian is *maig* which belongs to the dialect of the South-West and goes back to old **ma ṣ aka* or **ma ṣ ka*. The third Persian word is *malax* derived from an ancient **ma ṣ akha*. *Malax* has been supposed by Gauthiot to be of Sogdien origin as in one of its dialects only *ṣ* is known to have changed into *l*. Afghan *malax* and Brahui *malakh* go back to the same origin.

All these forms are reducible to ancient **ma ṣ aka* or **ma ṣ akha* of which there was an old feminine form like **ma ṣ aki* or **ma ṣ akhi* which in common Indo-Iranian was something like **madak'i*. It is probable that the dental underwent a cerebralisation on Indian soil and gave rise to the form *maṭacī*. The Canarese word therefore seems to be a loan from the Indo-Aryan.

II

Mañjula and Manāzil

The name of Mañjulācārya appears as that of a famous astronomer. Bhāskarācārya who lived in the beginning of the 12th century has not only mentioned his name in connection with the precession of the equinoxes but has also accepted his calculations in that respect. A work of astronomy is attributed to the authorship of Mañjulācārya. The work is called *Laghumānasam* and is as yet unpublished. It was composed in the Śaka year 854 i.e. 931 A.D. A detailed notice of this work will be found in the *Descriptive Cata-*

logue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (vol. XXIV, 1918, Section on *Jyotiṣa*, pp. 9101-9103, no. 13475). The colophon of the work runs thus:—

Śrī Mañjulācāryakṛtam prabhava-saṃvatsara-kārtika-śukla-paurṇamāsyām prārabdham Laghumānasākhyam gaṇitam Yallayā-kṛta-sopapattika-vyākhyā-sahitam.

The commentator Yallaya who belonged most probably to the 11th century¹ quotes a verse from earlier authors to testify to the high position of Mañjula amongst astronomers:

Āryabhaṭa grahagaṇitam golam Dāmodaro vijānāti|

Candrajño Jīṣṇusutassarvam jānāti Mañjulācāryaḥ||

“Āryabhaṭa knows the science of the motion of stars, Dāmodara that of the earth, Jīṣṇusuta that of the moon but Mañjula knows all of them”. There is therefore nothing strange in Bhāskara’s accepting him as the greatest authority on the precession of the equinoxes.

Yallaya’s comment on the first śloka of the *Laghumānasam* has a special interest which has not yet been pointed out. The śloka runs thus:

Prakāśādityavat khyāto Bhāradvājo dvijottamaḥ|

labdhapūrvam sphuṭopāyam vakṣye ’nyallaghumānasam||

1 Prof. J. C. Ray in his Bengali book “*Our Astronomers and Astronomy*” (p. 23 and p. 95) gives the name as Muñjāla but this seems to be wrong. He mentions two Mss., one from Kāśmīr and the other from Madras. We have consulted a copy of the Madras Ms. where the name is written as Mañjula. Cf. also the *Madras Catalogue*. Mr. N. K. Majumdar (*Journal of Letters*, vol. XIV Calcutta University, *Laghumānasam* of Muñjāla) gives the name under the same form. Prof. Ray gives the name of the commentator of the *Laghumānasam* also wrongly as Mallayācārya. The correct form of the name is Yallayācārya.

The colophon of the commentary speaks of Yallaya as the son of Śrīdhara and the disciple of Sūryanārya (*sic.* Sūryācārya, cf. the *Madras Catalogue*, *loc. cit.*, p.9020), the son of Bālāditya. In this catalogue another work of Yallaya—a summary of Sūryadeva’s commentary on the *Āryabhaṭīyam* (*loc. cit.*, p.9020) is mentioned. If Sūryācārya and Sūryadeva be the same person then he lived in the 10-11th century A.D. as the latter is quoted by Bhāskara in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. The time of Yallaya therefore will not be much later than this date.

Yallaya explains it thus :

prakāśaḥ prasiddhāḥ prakāścāsārāditya-śceti tadvat khyātāḥ. loke ādityanāmadheyāḥ puruṣāḥ vidyante. tathāvidhakhhyātimannaham. Brahmanāntastimira-saṃhārako-rko yadvat prasiddhāḥ tadvad-ahamapi.

athanyadarthāntaram. Prakāśam nāma paṭṭanam-uttaradeśeṣu vidyate. tatrastha-puruṣāstu deśabhāṣayā sūryam Mañjula iti varṇayanti. Mañjulācāryohamityuktam bhavati....Śrīmat Prakāśapaṭṭana-vāsino deśabhāṣayā sūryam Mañjula iti hi vadanti.

I believe there is some foundation in the second meaning offered by Yallaya. According to it Prakāśa was the name of a city in Northern countries, "where the people in their native language describes the sun as Mañjula". Yallaya was an astronomer by profession and had direct access to certain traditions about the great teachers of astronomy—traditions which are lost to us. According to this tradition therefore Mañjula was a man of the city of Prakāśa of the Uttaradeśa and his name was a synonym of the sun. This agrees with what we know about the names of some of the great teachers of astronomy like Varāhamihira, Jīṣṇusuta, Bhāskarācārya, etc. all of which are connected with the names of the sun.

But Mañjula as a name of the sun is unknown to any Indian language. It seems to be a Sanskritisation of the Arabic word *manzil* (plural, *manāzil*) which means a lunar station and thus corresponds to Sanskrit *nakṣatra*. The name of Mañjula was thus probably modelled on a real astronomical term. If it was at all taken to mean sun, as Yallaya wants us to believe, it was through a certain confusion.

III

Hippokoura and Kolhapur

Ptolemy in his *Geography* mentions Hippokoura, the royal city of Beleokouros, on the western coast of India almost midway between Barygaza and Muziris. Barygaza is modern Broach and Muziris, Muzirakuttu of ancient Tamil inscriptions, is modern Cranganore a little to the north of Cochin. Beleokouros is generally supposed to be one of the kings known as Viḷivāyakura from the Audhra coins. The coins

of Viḷivāyakura are exclusively found at Kolhapur and this is why it is believed that the kings of that name belonged to a particular branch of the Andhra kings ruling in the region of modern Kolhapur.

Hippokoura which is said by Ptolemy to have been the capital of Viḷivāyakura has, however, not been properly identified. It is tentatively identified with Kolhapur on account of the fact that it is the find-spot of the coins of Viḷivāyakura. But this identification can be supported with more precise arguments.

The first element of the name Hippokoura, *Hippos*—is a Greek word meaning 'horse'. The second element *-koura* like *goura*, *oura*, *our* etc. which are generally found in the end of the place-names of South India mentioned by Ptolemy has been proved to be an indigenous word meaning 'city' (cf. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*).

The name therefore was partly translated and partly transcribed in Greek. It was evidently known to them as 'the city of horse'. The word for horse in the Dravidian languages are the following:

- koṛā (Goṇḍ),
- goḍā (Kui)
- goṛo (Kurkh)
- gurramu (Telegu)
- kudirei (Tamil)
- kudure (Canarese)
- hulla (Brahui)

All these forms of the word show the possibility of the existence of another form like *kolla* which might have given rise to *kolha* of Kolhapur. It is probably the name of Kolhapur which is referred to as *Kollagiri* in the medieval Tāntrik literature. (cf. for example the Dākṛṇava, H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of A.S.B.*, vol. I, p. 97). *Kollagiri* was supposed to be a *piṭhasthāna* in the Tantras, and Kolhapur also has been sacred to the Hindus for its famous temple of Mahālakṣmī.¹ In the same region and not far from Kolhapur

1 In fact Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 538 and p. 497) says that the more ancient name of Kolhapur was *Kollāpura* and *Kollagiri* which is mentioned in the list of conquests made by the Hoysala King Viṣṇuvardhana (1117-1137 A.D.) was probably a different name of Kolhapur. The more ancient form of the word *Kolha* was therefore *Kolla-Kollā*.

we find mention of another place sacred to the Tantras viz. Karahāṭaka, modern Karhād or Karād (cf. S. Lévi, *Le Catalogue Géographique des Yakṣa*, 44.4., p. 78). It is therefore permissible to think that Hippokoura and Kolhapur are identical as both the names mean the same thing—‘the city of horse.’

Prof. Przyłuski in a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1929, pp. 273ff.) has tried to bring out the significance of the names Viḷivāyakura and Sātakarṇi, the titles of the Andhra kings. He has pointed out that *Sāta-* of Sātakarṇi is based on the Austric word for horse *sādām*. I might here point out *en passant* that the word is still preserved in the Hindi vocabulary as *sāro* or *sālo* in the word *sārotarī* which means an *aśvavaidyaka* or *ghoṭakacikitsaka*, ‘horse-curer’.

Besides Viḷivā of Viḷivāyakura has been compared with the word Vaḍavā which ordinarily means a ‘sea-horse’. But in the Sanskrit lexicons Vaḍavā is also taken to be a synonym of *aśvā* or *ghoṭakī*, the female of an horse. Therefore Viḷivāyakura also may be equated with Hippokura and Kolhapur and it may be asked whether the word Viḷivāyakura primarily was the name of the place and afterwards was used to designate a particular family of the Andhras ruling from that place.

IV

Pil-, Peḍ- and Vedic Pedu, the words for elephant.

Prof. Sylvain Lévi in a note on Paloura-Dantapura (*Notes Indiennes J. As.*, 1925, pp. 46-57) tried to prove that the two names, Dantapura mentioned in Indian texts, and Paloura mentioned by Ptolemy, are identical because in Dravidian the words *pallu*, *hallu*, *pal* etc. mean ‘tooth’. Prof. Przyłuski subsequently discussed the question again (*Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1926, pp. 218-219; for both the articles see *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* published by the Calcutta University). As the word is found in different languages of the Austric family too meaning the tusk of an elephant Prof. Przyłuski is inclined to trace the word to Austric origin. I do not propose here to decide if the word is Dravidian or Pre-Dravidian but I want to draw the attention of

scholars to the different forms under which it occurs in the Sanskrit vocabulary.

In the Dravidian family of languages the words *pallu*, *pella*, *pell*, *hallu*, *pall* and *pal* mean 'the tusk of elephant.' The word for elephant in Assyrian is *piru*, in Aramean *pil* and in Arab *fil*. They are all supposed to have been derived from the Indian world along with the animal and are apparently connected with the words found in the Dravidian family. Though they mean in the Dravidian languages exclusively 'the tusk' there was a time when it meant also the animal. Kittel in his *Kannadā-English Dictionary* records the following words—*pal-a*, elephant; *pallava*, young of an elephant; *piḍi*, a female elephant, *pillakā*, female elephant. Traces of it have been left in old inscriptions and texts. In an inscription of the 11th century of king Bhāskara Ravivarman of Cochin written in Tamil, the word for she-elephant is given as *peḍi* (*Epigraphia Indica*, III, p. 66ff cf. also Kottāyan grant, *Madras Journal*, XIII, I, pp. 182, 142ff.), still called *piḍi* 'a female elephant' in modern Tamil. In Dravidian *Pillaiyar* is the name of Ganeśa—the god who has the head of an elephant. Besides *pille* in the Tamil country means a child. It probably originally meant "the young one of an elephant" (cf. Pāli, *pillaka* which means the young of an animal; for further discussion on it see later).

On account of uncertainty of quantity of the medial vowel the word has been preserved under different forms like *pil-*, *pel-*, *pal-*, or with cerebrals like *peḍ-*; with a final vowel it has taken the forms *pil-la*, *pil-lu*, (also *pil-u*), *pel-la*, *pal-a*; *pal-lu* etc. We may therefore expect the word under any of the forms mentioned above.

This word whether Austric or Dravidian plays an important role in Sanskrit vocabulary. It has been preserved in a number of place names. Hiuan Tsang in the middle of the 7th century visited a mountain to the south-west of the capital of Kapiśā (Kafiristan) which he calls *Pi-lo-sho-lo*. This name, he says, was given to the mountain from its presiding genius which had the form of an elephant (cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 129). The name is translated into Chinese as 'elephant-solid' and hence restored by Julien as *Pilusāra*. It is evident that the word *Pilu* was used to mean 'elephant'. It is

possible to discover the same word in a little different form in the name of another place mentioned by the same traveller further to the west on the borderland of India, *Po-lu-sha*. The city which was situated about 100 li to the south-west of Puṣkarāvati is generally identified with modern Palo-dheri (*ibid.*, p. 217). The name has been restored as *Paluśā*. It seems that the word *palu* (later *palo*) was used in the sense of 'elephant's tusk'. Such a view is confirmed by two curious Buddhist legends which are associated with this place. Hiuan Tsang relates that to the north of the city there was a tope to mark the spot where the Bodhisattva in his previous birth as prince *Su-ta-na* bade adieu on being sent into exile for having given the elephant of the king, his father, to a Brahmin. The name of the prince is rendered as *Sudāna* but it means according to the Chinese gloss 'having' good teeth' (*sudanta*). The Jātaka referred to it is the *Vessantara Jātaka*; the name of the prince was Vessantara. The name Sudanta was that of the much prized white elephant which the prince gave away (cf. also Watters, *ibid.*, p. 218). Besides close by the city the Chinese pilgrim noticed a mountain called *Tan-to-lo-ka* with which another legend of Bodhisattva's sacrifice is connected. The name is generally restored as *Danta-loka*. These two legends clearly indicate that the place was somehow connected with a fabulous 'white elephant and its tusk' just in the same way as the mount Pilusāra is said to have been presided over by an elephant-genius. It may not be out of place to point out that in the north-western zone in the region of Pilusāra and Paluśā a few other place names also had connection with elephant in some way. The name of Puṣkarāvati has probably been preserved in that of modern Hastnagar 'the city of elephant' with which it is identified. Puṣkara is one of the names of elephant and it is therefore not impossible that in ancient times it really meant the 'City of Elephant', like Hastinapura of the Kurus and Vāraṇāvata of the Pāṇḍavas. It is not without significance that the historians of Alexander mention a king called Astes (Hasti) as ruling over a people called Astaciāns (Hastikas) living in the region of Puṣkarāvati.

A large number of Nāga legends are still current in the Punjab. Some of the legends relate to nāgas called *Piuli* or *Pili*, *Phal*, *Pael*,

Padoi etc. (See the *Punjab Tribes and Castes*, I, p. 161, 169, 170, 784).

The word is preserved under cognate forms in other connections. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (III. 517) mentions a name *Pālakāpya* (*Pālakāpye kareṇubhū*) which the commentator explains as the name of a *hasti-cikitsaka*. That a particular science on the medicine of the elephants had developed and was attributed to the authorship of *Pālakāpya* is known from other sources too (cf. H. P. Sāstri, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, V, 308ff). H. P. Sāstri gives the story of *Pālakāpya* in full. The sage says: "My name is *Pālakāpya*. I take care of the elephants and nourish and cherish them, hence my name is *Pāla*, and the suffix *kāpya* denotes the Gotra in which I was born." (Ibid., p. 311-12). The attempt in the legend to connect the word with the Sanskrit root *Pāla* is a late one. It is possible to discover two elements in this name—*Pāla* and *Kāpya*. *Pāla* is evidently the word for elephant under consideration while the second element *kāpya* is the name of a particular *gotra*. But without raising the deeper question of the origin of the gotras it is possible to analyse the word further. It is derived from the word *kapi* which usually signifies 'a monkey.' But another sense of it is preserved in the Sanskrit texts. In the Sanskrit lexicons (cf. *Śabdakalpadrūma* sub. voce) amongst the different synonyms for *gajapippali* we get *kariippali*, *ibhakaṇa*, *kapivallī*, *kapillikā* etc. Here the words *gaja*, *kari*, *ibha* and *kapi* appear to have been used in the same sense. Therefore in the compound *Pālakāpya*, both the words *pāla* and *kapi* had probably the same sense originally.

Besides in such words like *palāda*, *palādana*, *palāpaḥ*, *palāśa*, *pippala* etc. which occur in the Sanskrit vocabulary the same word for elephant viz. *pal-* is discernible. The first two words of the series *palāda* and *palādana* are recorded by the Sanskrit lexicographers (see *Śabdakalpadrūma*) as meaning 'a meat-eating *rākṣasa*'. As the second element of the two words *ad-* is 'to eat' the first element *pal* may be taken to have meant 'flesh probably of elephant', the significance of which may be best understood by supposing that elephant was important amongst a certain section of Indian population

and those who killed the elephant were counted amongst the barbarians. *Palāpa* is explained as *hastikapola* where *pal-* is clearly taken in the sense of *hasti*. The word *pippala*, another word for the *ficus religiosa*, occurs under the form *pippapala* in the *Amarakośa*. Amongst its many synonyms is found *gajāśana* probably because the twigs of the peepal tree are a favourite food of the elephant. But one of the Hindi names of the tree is *gajahanḍu* and a particular kind of peepal which is called in Hindi *Beliā pippala* is known in Sanskrit as *gajapādapa*. *Pippapala* is explained in the *Amarakośa* as *kuñjarāśana* and *gajabhakṣaka*. The word *palāśa* which is the name of a different kind of tree may have a similar significance. *Āśa* means food and hence *palāśa* means the food of *pal-* i.e. elephant. *Pippala* and *pippapala* might have originated from a reduplicated form of the same word *pal-*.

Moreover another word is found in the Sanskrit lexicons (cf. the *Śabdamañjari*)—it is *pillakā* of which the meaning is given as *hastinī*, 'she-elephant'. Though the masculine form of the word does not occur in the Sanskrit dictionaries it was evidently **pillaka*. If the Sanskrit suffix *ka* is omitted we get the word *pilla*, a secondary form of the word *pil-*.

The word also occurs under the form *pīlu* in one of the later Sanskrit lexicons, the *Medinakośa*, where among its many synonyms is given *matamgaja* i.e. relating to the elephant. The word *pīlupati* or *mahāpīlupati* is sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions as the title of a particular officer. It is generally taken to denote 'the officer in charge of elephants' [*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 43; Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 186]. In the *Mahāvīryupatti* the word occurs along with *āsvapati* and *gajapati* and is interpreted as 'chief-treasurer' probably because 'elephant' in the Buddhist literature is supposed to be the best of the seven treasures.

The word *pillaka* which we have just noticed is preserved also in another connection. In the Pāli texts (*Jātaka*, II, 406; *Dictionary*, P.T.S.) the word is used to mean 'the young of an animal'. Amongst the modern dialects Bengali has preserved it in the doublet *chele-pile* to mean 'children'; *chele* from *sāvaka* which originally meant 'the young one of a bird'. Such doublets, primarily, applied

to the animal world, are used as expressions of greater tenderness. (cf. also the use of the expression *kāccā-vāccā* which is used in Bengali in the same sense). It is therefore probable that Bengali *pīle*, derived like Pāli *pillaka* from *pīlla* or *pīl*- originally meant 'the young of an elephant'.

In the Rg-vedic hymns mention is often made of a mythical steed called *Paidva*. It is so called because it was given to a person called Pedu by the Aśvins. Pedu was a protégé of the Aśvins and they favoured him with a good steed instead of a bad horse which he had. This 'swift, strong, white incomparable and dragon-slaying steed' was the *Paidva*.

The *Paidva* is described as white. [*Rv.*, I. 116. 6 *śvetam*; (Śāyana-*śvetavarṇamaśvam*), I.118.9, *śvetam aśvam*; X. 39.10, *śvetam aśvam*.]

The *Paidva* is praiseworthy and invoked by men (cf. *Rv.*, I. 116.6 and I. 119.10, *kīrtenyam* which Śāyana explains as *mahi mahat atigambhīram ata eva kīrtenyam sarvaiḥ kīrtanīyam praśasyam*).

The *Paidva* is swift and powerful. [*Rv.*, I. 116.6, *vājī* (Śāyana, *vejanavān*); I. 117.9 (also VII. 71.5; *ūhathurāśumaśvam*, I. 118.9, (Śāyana-*johutram atīśayena saṃgrāmeṣu āhvātāram aryo'reḥ śatrorabhibhūtim abhivhāvukam ugraṃ vīryavaltam*) X. 39. 10, *navabhīrvājai-rnavatīm ca vājinam* i.e. mighty with nine and ninety varied gifts of strength.]

The *Paidva* is loud-neighing (cf. *johutram* in *Rv.*, I. 118.9 already explained. *Av.*, X. 4.4 *aramghuṣo*).

The *Paidva* is invincible in war (cf. I. 119.10 *śaryairabhidryum pṛtānasu duṣṭaram*; I. 117.9, *sahasraśam vājinamapratītam* (strong winner of thousand spoils).

The *Paidva* is impelled by Indra, he is a dragon-slayer like Indra and he is comparable to Indra in prowess (cf. *Rv.*, I. 118.9, *indrajūtam ahihanam*; I. 117.9, *ahihanam*; I. 119.10, *Indramiva carṣaṇisaham*- *Av.*, X. 4. 10 *Indra mehimaghāyantum-ahim paidvi arandhayat* i.e. Indra and *Paidva* have subdued and tamed the vicious snake (Griffith). In *Rv.*, IX. 88. 4, Soma is described as *paidvo na hi tramahināmnām hantā* i.e. Soma is like *Paidva* in slaying the dragon.

Besides in *Rv.*, I. 116.7 and I. 117.6 *Paidva* seems to be the steed

from whose *kārotara* (which means according to Yāska, *Nirukta* III, 23, a *kūpa* or *utsa*—hence the cavity in the head) the *Ásvins* make flow hundred jars of wine.

It is probably the same *Paidva* who is found as *Petva*, *Pitva* and *Pidva*. *Petva* is twice mentioned in *Atharva Veda* (IV. 4.8; V. 19.2) where reference is made to its *vāja* i.e. strength and swiftness but by that probably its male power is meant, as the spell is for removing lack of virility. In *Av.*, V, 19.2 *Petva* is said to have overcome a horse. In *Rv.*, VII. 18.17 *Petva* overcomes a female lion. *Petva* is further mentioned in the list of animals offered in the *Ásvamedha* sacrifice. *Petva* is generally taken to mean a ram or a goat. But a ram or a goat can not possibly be supposed to have overcome a horse or a female lion. *Petva*, *Pitva* and *Pidva* therefore may be taken to mean the same powerful animal as the *Paidva* (for references to these words see the *Vedic Index*, Macdonnell and Keith; *Taitt. Saṃ.*; V, 5.22; VI, 2.8, 4; *Vāj. Saṃ.* XXIX. 58.59, XXIV. 32 etc.).

Now which is this steed called *Paidva* described as white, swift and powerful, invincible in war, loud-neighing, able to overcome a horse and a lion and from whose head wine flows? He is said to have been impelled by Indra and is often compared to Indra for his prowess. He is above all a steed. The aforesaid qualities can be only attributed to a steed of the kind of elephant. An elephant of the white colour, powerful, loud-neighing and rutting, goaded by Indra and having the qualities of Indra himself, reminds us of the *Airāvata*, the elephant of Indra in classical mythology. Though I do not propose here to deal with the story of the mythical *Airāvata* I would like to point out in this connection that Indra does not possess any elephant in the Vedic mythology. He is only once (*Rv.*, IV. 16.4) compared to 'a wild elephant with might invested'. So if we are to trace the origin of the *Airāvata* from the Vedic myths we cannot overlook its similarity with the mythical *Paidva*. If it is admitted that the steed *Paidva* was an elephant it is possible to go further into the history of the name.

All the forms *Paidva*, *Pidva*, *Petva* and *Pitva* are reducible to either *Pedu-Pidu* or *Petu-Pitu*. The fluctuation of the vowels *e* and *i* and that of the consonants *d* and *t* show that it was a foreign word that was being transcribed. The foreign word was probably the word

under consideration *pedu* or *pidu*, the indigenous word for elephant. As the cerebralisation had not started in the Indo-Aryan in that period the cerebral was rendered simply by a dental.

In later Vedic period we come across with other words for elephant like the *hasti*, *kari*, etc. But these words are all descriptive and evolved in a period when the Indo-Aryans had become more familiar with the elephant. The account of *Pedu-Paidva* reveals probably their first acquaintance with elephant. The Indo-Aryans had in earlier times greater familiarity with the horse; the superiority of elephant over horse in strength, speed and in other respects inspired them with awe at the first instance and that awe found expressions in coloured stories which gradually took the form of the myth of Paidva.

P. C. BAGCHI

Hetucakranirṇaya

Though there is not a single text of Diṇnāga in its original form, the manifold references to him and his school in the works of the Brahmanic as well as Jaina logicians, who were at so much pains to demolish the Buddhist views, enable us to realise at once the importance of the philosophical standpoints of Diṇnāga and his followers and the vigour of their criticisms of the non-Buddhist schools. So the history of Mediæval Indian Logic and as a matter of that, the history of Indian Logic in its entirety, cannot be properly studied until the writings of Diṇnāga and Dharmakīrti—the two great figures in the field of Buddhist Logic—remain buried in Tibetan (and in some cases Chinese) translations. It has become imperative upon the students of Indian Logic to exploit the Tibetan sources and attempt reconstruction of the texts from their Tibetan (or Chinese) translations. It may be pointed out in this connection that the faithful Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts, prepared by Tibetan and Indian scholars in collaboration with each other can be more easily rendered into Sanskrit than into English or any other European language.

The object of this paper is to offer an edition of the Tibetan text of Diṇnāga's *Hetucakranirṇaya** with its Sanskrit reconstruction and English translation. The Tibetan text consists of three parts viz., one table of *hetus* and two sets of *kārikās*. It is in the Tanjur Mdo, Ce, fols. 193^b1—194^b2 (Narthang edition, Viśvabhāratī copy). It was translated into Tibetan by one Zahor scholar called Bodhisattva in collaboration with Bhikṣu Dharmāśoka. Though exact identification of Zahor is not known (vide Dr. B. Bhattacharya's Introduction to the *Tattva-saṃgraha*, G. O. Series, Vol. I, pp. 30-31), the Buddhist scholars of that place played an important part in translating Sanskrit texts into Tibetan.

* The name, *Hetucakranirṇaya*, has been preferred to *Hetucakrahamaru*, as read in the Xylograph, which seems to be a wrong transliteration. Dr. F. W. Thomas agreeing with Cordier suggests *Hetucakraḍamaru*, but the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit title unmistakably suggests the original as *Hetucakranirṇaya*. See Randley's *Fragments from Diṇnāga*, p. 2, note 1.

Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa published (*JASB.*, N. S., III, pp. 627-632) the Tibetan translation of the *Hetucakra* (the table of nine reasons) reproduced from a copy of *Hetucakra nirṇaya* (according to him *Hetucakrahamaru*) which he obtained from Labrang. In his *History of Indian Logic* (p. 299) he has also given some account of the work.

The *Hetucakranirṇaya* is, as the name implies, a tabular representation of the possible forms of inference based upon the presence, the absence as well as both the presence and the absence of the *hetu* in the *sapakṣa* (similar cases) and the *vipakṣa* (dissimilar cases). The treatise does not undertake to discuss the principles or methods of an inferential argument but only shows the several forms of inference both correct and incorrect, arising from the possible relations of the *hetu* with *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa*. It may be suggested that Dinnāga after setting forth the principles of inference in treatises like the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, has prepared the *Hetucakranirṇaya* as an appendix containing a chart of the possible forms of inference.

It is worth noting that the examples of inference are all taken from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Nyāyapraveśa* and they continue to be the stock-examples in the later manuals of Buddhist Logic for the illustration of the corresponding forms of inference, valid and invalid.*

* The English translation and the dissertation on the Doctrine of Threefold Hetu and a few incidental notes will be published in the next number.—Ed.

TEXT

I

- (1)
sgra ni rtag ste | g'zal bya
yin paḥi phyir | namkhaḥ b'zin
dañ bum pa b'zin no | mthun
paḥi phyogs thams cad la
yod de | dños kyi ma
res pa yin par bsad ||
- (2)
sgra ni mi rtag ste | byas paḥi
phyir | bum pa dañ namkhaḥ b'zin |
mthun phyogs la yod | mi mthun
phyogs la med | rtags pa yañ
dag yin aṅ ||
- (3)
sgra ni rtsol ba las byuñ ste |
mi rtag paḥi phyir | bum pa
dañ glog dañ namkhaḥ b'zin | mthun
paḥi phyogs thams cad la yod mi
mthun paḥi phyogs gñis ka dños kyi
med pa yin par bsad ||
- (4)
sgra ni rtag ste | byas
paḥi phyir | namkhaḥ b'zin
dañ bum b'zin no |
mthun paḥi phyogs la med
mi mthum paḥi phyogs la yod |
hgal baḥi gtan tshigs yin
par bsad ||
- (5)
sgra ni rtag ste | mñan bya yin
paḥi phyir | namkhaḥ b'zin | mthun
paḥi phyogs la med mi mthun
paḥi phyogs la med | thun mon
ma yin paḥi gtan tshigs so ||
- (6)
sgra ni rtag ste | rtsol ba las
byuñ baḥi phyir | namkhaḥ b'zin
dañ bum pa glog b'zin no |
hgal baḥi gtan tshigs yin par
bsad ||
- (7)
sgra ni rtsol ba las mi
byuñ ste | mi rtag paḥi
phyir | glog b'zin dañ namkhaḥ
bum pa b'zin no | mthun
paḥi phyogs gñis ka mi
mthun paḥi phyogs thams cad
la yod de dños kyiho ||
- (8)
sgra ni mi rtag ste | rtsol
ba las byuñ baḥi phyir | bum
pa glog dañ namkhaḥ b'zin |
mthun paḥi phyogs gñis ka mi
mthun paḥi phyogs la med |
yañ dag go ||
- (9)
sgra ni rtag ste | lus can la yin
paḥi phyir | namkhaḥ dañ rdul
phran dañ las dañ bum pa b'zin |
mthun paḥi phyogs gñis ka mi
mthun paḥi phyogs la dños gñis
kyiho ||

(1)	(2)	(3)
शब्दो नित्यः प्रमेयत्वात् । आकाशवद् घटवच्च । सपत्ने [विपत्ने च] सर्वस्मिन् सत्त्वम् । अनैकान्तिको [हेतुः] ।	शब्दोऽनित्यः कृतकत्वात् । घटवदाकाशवच्च । सपत्ने सत्त्वं विपत्ने चासत्त्वम् । हेतुः सम्यक् ।	शब्दः प्रयत्नजोऽनित्यत्वात् । घटवद् विद्युदाकाशवच्च । सपत्ने सर्वस्मिन् सत्त्वं विपत्ने उभयं सत्त्वमसत्त्वं च ।
(4)	(5)	(6)
शब्दो नित्यः कृतकत्वात् । आकाशवद् घटवच्च । सपत्नेऽसत्त्वं विपत्ने सत्त्वम् । विरुद्धो हेतुः ।	शब्दो नित्यः प्रावणत्वात् । आकाशवत् [घटवच्च] । सपत्नेऽसत्त्वं विपत्ने चासत्त्वम् । असाधारणो हेतुः ।	शब्दो नित्यः प्रयत्नजत्वात् । आकाशवद् घटविद्युद्वच्च । विरुद्धो हेतुः ।
(7)	(8)	(9)
शब्दोऽप्रयत्नानन्तरीयकः । अनित्यत्वात् । विद्युदाकाशवद् घटवच्च । सपत्ने उभयं (सदसत्त्वं) विपत्ने सर्वस्मिन् सत्त्वम् ।	शब्दोऽनित्यः प्रयत्नजत्वात् । घटविद्युदाकाशवच्च । सपत्ने उभयं (सदसत्त्वं) विपत्नेऽसत्त्वम् । हेतुः सम्यक् ।	शब्दो नित्योऽमूर्तत्वात् आकाशवत् परमाणुवत् कर्मवद् घटवच्चैति । सपत्ने उभयं विपत्ने उभयं (सदसत्त्वम्) ।

II

[193^b, 1] rgya gar skad du he tu ca
kra ha ma ru ।

bod skad du gtan tshigs kyi hkhor lo
gtan la dbab pa ॥

[2] hjam dpal g'zon nur gyur pa la
phyag htshal lo ।

hkhrol paḥi dra ba hjoms mdzad paḥi
thams cad mkhyen la phyag [3] htshal nas ।
gtan tshigs tshul gsu.a po po yi
gtan la dbab pa bśad par bya ॥ 1 ॥

rjes su dpag par bya ba la
yod [4] dañ med dañ gñis ka yi ।
yod pa la ni yañ dag ste
med dañ gñis ka ma grub yin ॥ 2 ॥

the tshom gñis te ma grub b'zin
ma [5] grub sbyar ba de b'zin du ।
mthun paḥi phyogs la yod pa dañ
med pa de b'zin gñis ka dañ ॥ 3 ॥

mi mthun phyogs la de b'zin no
gsum la rnam pa gsum yin te ।
steñ hog gñis la yañ dag go
logs la hgal ba gñis yin te ॥ 4 ॥

zur [6] b'zi thun moñ ma ñes yin
dbus na thun moñ ma yin paḥo ।
g'zal bya byas dañ mi rtag dañ
byas dañ mñan bya rtsol byuñ dañ ॥ 5 ॥

mi rtag [194^a, 1] rtsol byuñ lus can min*
rtag dañ mi rtag rtsol byuñ dañ ।
rtag dañ rtag dañ rtag pa dañ
rtsol byuñ min dañ mi rtag rtag ॥ 6 ॥

II

॥ भारतभाषायां हे तु च क्र
ह म रु ॥

भोटभाषायां गतन् छिग्स किय
खोर् लो गतन् ल द्रव्व प
[हेतुचक्रनिर्णयः]

मञ्जु श्रीकुमारभूताय नमः ।

सर्वज्ञाय नमस्कृत्य
भ्रान्तिजालविनाशिने ।

रूपत्रयविशिष्टस्य
हेतोर्निर्णय उच्यते ॥ १ ॥

अनुमेये भवेत्सत्त्व-
मसत्त्वमुभयं तथा ।

सत्त्वे सम्यगसत्त्वे स्वा-
दसिद्धकस्तथोभये ॥ २ ॥

सन्दिग्ध उभयासिद्धौ
यथासिद्धः प्रयुज्यते ।

सपक्षे च भवेत्सत्त्व-
मसत्त्वमुभयं तथा ॥ ३ ॥

विषक्षेऽपि भवेत्तद्वत्-
त्रयाणां त्रिप्रकारकम् ।

उपर्यधो द्वयोः सम्यग्
द्वौ विरुद्धौ च पार्श्वयोः ॥ ४ ॥

मध्येऽसाधारणोऽनैका-
न्तिकः† कोणचतुष्टये ।

प्रमेयकृतकानित्य-

कृतश्रावणयत्नजाः ॥ ५ ॥

अनित्ययत्नजामूर्ता

नित्यानित्यप्रयत्नजाः ।

नित्यो नित्यश्च नित्यश्चा-

यत्नजानित्यनित्यकाः । ६ ॥

* Xylograph reads yin.

† According to Tib. sādharmaṇa anāikāntika

III

rtaḡ dañ mi rtaḡ [6] rtsol byuñ dañ
bar du rtaḡ pa rnam gsum dañ ।
rtsol byuñ min dañ mi rtaḡ rtaḡ
dgu po de ni bsgrub byaḡi chos ॥ 1 ॥

g'zal bya byas dañ mi rtaḡ dañ
byas dañ mñan bya rtsol las byuñ ।
mi rtaḡ rtsol byuñ lus¹ can min
dgu [7] po ḡdi ni rtags rnam yin ॥ 2 ॥

dañ po gsum po mthun phyogs la
yod pa g'zir b'zag mi mthun la ।
khyab byed gtan med gñis paḡo
bar pa rnam gsum mthun phyogs la ॥ 3 ॥

med pa g'zir byas mi mthun la
khyab dañ mi [194^b 1] mthun rnam
gñis paḡo ।
hog ma gsum po mthun phyogs la
rnam pa gñis pa g'zir byas nas ॥ 4 ॥

mi mthun phyogs la khyab pa dañ
gtan med rnam pa gñis pa yin ।
rim pa b'zin du go bar mdzod
zur b'zi dños kyī mā ñes la ॥ 5 ॥

[2] logs gñis la ni ḡgal rtags te
dbus kyī dbus ni thun moñ min ।
dbus kyī thog mthaḡ yañ dag dgod
blo gros² khyon du ḡkhums par mdzod ॥ 6 ॥

III

नित्यानित्यप्रयत्नोत्था
मध्यमत्रिकशाश्वताः ।
अयन्नानित्यनित्याश्र
साध्यधर्मा इमे नव ॥१॥

प्रमेयकृतकानित्य-
कृतश्रावणयत्नजाः ।
अनित्ययत्नजामूर्ता
एते हि नव हेतवः ॥२॥

आद्ये त्रिके सपक्षे हि
सत्त्वाश्रयाद्विपक्षके ।
व्याप्त्यभावोभयानि स्यु-
र्मध्ये त्रिके सपक्षके ॥३॥

विपक्षेऽसत्त्वमाश्रित्य
व्याप्त्यभावोभयानि हि ।
आश्रित्योभयरूपं तु
निम्ने त्रिके सपक्षके ॥४॥

भवेद् व्याप्तिरसत्त्वं च
विपक्षे द्विविधं तथा ।
अवगच्छ क्रमेणानै-
कान्तं कोणचतुष्टये ॥५॥

विरुद्धः पार्श्वयोर्हेतु-
रसामान्योऽन्तरान्तरे ।
मध्योर्ध्वाधो भवेत्सम्यग्
बुद्ध्यावगच्छ विस्तरम् ॥ ६ ॥

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI

1 Xylograph reads *reg bya* for *lus can*.

2 Xylograph here adds *bloḡi* which is required neither by the metre nor by the sense.

Epigraphic Notes

II—Genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins

The history of the Viṣṇukunḍins has been touched by scholars like Kielhorn, Hultzsch and Dubreuil. Their views as regards the genealogy and the chronology of the dynasty differ from that of mine. The question of genealogy will be discussed in the present paper and that of chronology in another.

The first known inscription of the Viṣṇukunḍins is the Chikkulla plates, edited by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, IV. 193ff. These plates give us the following line of kings.

- 1 Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
- 2 Vikramendravarman (I) ; his son
- 3 Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman ; his eldest son
- 4 Mahārāja Vikramendravarman (II) (10th year).

Then come the Rāmatīrtham plates, edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. 133ff. Here we have the following line :

- 1 Mahārāja Mādhavavarman ; his son
- 2 Rājā Vikramendra ; his son
- 3 Rājā Indravarman. (27th year).

There can hardly be any doubt that Rājā Indravarman of the Rāmatīrtham plates is identical with the Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman of the Chikkulla plates.

Next, we have two sets of copper-plate grants belonging to this dynasty, which were found at a place called Ipur in the Tenali taluk of the Guntur District. They were edited by Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. In the first set of these plates, we have the following line :

- 1 Mahārāja Govindavarman ; his son
- 2 Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (37th year) ; his son
- 3 Mañcaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka.

Hultzsch, on grounds of palaeography, identified Mādhavavarman of the first set of the Ipur plates with the king of the same name in the Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates. It can be easily shown that later writers, who have disapproved of this identification as unwarranted, are themselves wrong. The epithets applied to the name of this king, as found in the Chikkulla, Rāma-

tirtham and the Ipur plates (set I), clearly establish the identity. Let us here quote the corresponding passages of the three inscriptions:

1. Chikkula plates : एकादशाश्वमेधावभ्रिता (भृथा) विधौतजगद्भक्त लम्पस्य
क्रतुसहस्रयाजिनः : *]सर्वमेधावाससर्वभूतस्वाराज्यस्य बहुसुवर्णपौगडरीकपुरुषमेधावजपेय-
यूध्यषोडशिराजसूयप्राधिराज्यप्राजापत्याद्यनेकविविधपृथगुत्तरशतसहस्रयाजिनः : *]क्रतुवरानु-
ष्ठाताधिष्ठाप्रतिष्ठितपरमेष्ठित्वस्य महाराजस्य सकलजगन्मण्डलविमलगुरुप्रि(पृ)थुन्नितिपतिमकुट-
मणिग[णनि]करावनतपादयुगलस्य माधववर्मणः[*]

2. Rāmāṭīrtham plates : सकलमहीमण्डलावनतसामन्तमकुटमणिकिरणावलीढ-
चरणयुगो विख्यातयशाः श्रीमन्महाराजमाधववर्मन्—तस्योजितश्रीविष्णुकुण्डिपात्थिवोदितो-
दितान्वयतिलक[समुद्भूतै]कादशाश्वमेधावभ्रुत(थ)विधौतजगत्कल्मषक्रतुसद्व[या]जिनः स्नान-
पुरयोदकपवित्रीकृतशिरसः

3. Ipur plates set I : रुष्टमितिबलसत्त्वत्त्वधैर्यवीर्यविनयसंपन्नः सकलमहीमण्डल-
मनुजपतिप्रतिपूजितशासनः त्रिवरनगरभवनगतयुवतिहृदयनन्दनः स्व[न]यबलविजितसकल-
सामन्तातुलबलविनयनयनियमस्वत्व(त्त्व)[ल]पन्नः सकलजगद्वनिपतिप्रतिपूजितशासनः अग्निष्टोम-
सहस्रयाजी हि[र]ण्यगर्भप्रसूतः) एकादशाश्वमेधावभ्रुतविधूतजगत्कल्मषः सुस्तिस्थि रक्मर्ममहा-
राजश्रीमाधववर्मन्

When we remember the fact that no other Viṣṇukuṇḍin king is as yet known to have performed a single sacrifice of any kind except the one named Mādhavavarman and when we note further the unique numbers—eleven *asvamedhas* and *thousand agniṣṭomas (kratus)*, testified to by all the above three inscriptions, there remains no doubt as regards the correctness of the identification proposed by Hultzsch.

The second set of the Ipur plates gives us the following line of kings:

1. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I) ; his son
2. Mādhavavarman (II) (17th ? year).¹

As regards Mādhavavarman (II), the issuer of this set of the Ipur plates, Hultzsch says: "As the alphabet of this inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceding one (*scil.* Ipur plates set I), and as grandsons are frequently named after

1. Hultzsch doubtfully reads the date as year 47. We shall discuss the point in another paper.

their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavavarman III." A consideration of the evidence of the two sets of the Ipur plates renders this theory untenable. It is to be noted that Mādhavavarman (I), the grandfather of the issuer of the Ipur plates set II, is called in that inscription : [ए]कादशाश्वमेधावभृथावभृतजगत्कलम[व]स्याग्निष्टोमसहस्रयाजिनोनेक

सामन्तमकुट्टमणिखचितचरणयुगलकमलस्य महाराजस्य श्रीमाधववर्मणः । If this passage be compared with the corresponding passage, quoted above from the Ipur plates set I, there can be no doubt whatsoever about the identity of this Mādhavavarman (I) with the king of the same name of the Ipur plates set I, and also of the Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrtham plates. It is highly improbable that two kings of the same name and dynasty and of the same period performed exactly equal numbers—*eleven* and *thousand*—of great sacrifices, such as the *āśvamedha* and the *agnistoma*. We, therefore, think it perfectly justifiable to take the king named Mādhavavarman as one and the same person, who has been credited with the performance of eleven *āśvamedhas* and thousand *agnistomas* (*feratus*) in all the different Viṣṇukunḍin inscriptions.

Moreover, the theory of Hultzsch that Mādhavavarman (whom he is inclined to designate Mādhavavarman III), son of Govindavarman of the Ipur plates (set I), is the grandson of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), has now been disproved by the discovery of the Polamuru plates, where Mādhavavarman, son of Govindavarman is represented as the grandson of Vikramendra, and not of a king entitled Mādhavavarman.

The Polamuru plates, edited by Subba Rao in the *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, 17ff., give us the following line of kings.

- 1 Vikramahendra ; his son
- 2 Govindavarman ; his son
- 3 Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (40th ? year)²

2 There is only one numerical symbol on the plate. In the *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, VI, it has been deciphered as 48. As far as I know, there was no method known in ancient India to express a number like 48 by a single numeri-

That this Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates can be no other than the famous performer of eleven *asvamedhas* and thousand *agnistomas* is proved by his significant epithets :—अनुल[ब*]लपरा[क्र]मयशोदानवि-
नय[सं] पन्नो दशशतसकलधरणीतलनरपतिरवसितविविधदिव्यस्त्रिवरनगरभवनगतपरमयुवतीजनवि-
हरणरतिरन्न (न) न्यनुपतिसाधारणदानमानदयादम^३धृतिमतिज्ञान्तिकान्तिशोरियौ (शौऽर्यौ)-
दाय्यर्गभि(भी)र्यप्रभृत्यनेकगुणसंपन्नितरयसमुत्थितभूमगडलव्यापिविपुलयशोः (शाः) क्रतुसह-
स्रयाजी हिरण्यगर्भप्रसूतः(ः) एकादशाश्वमेधावभृत्यस्नानविगतजगदेनस्कः सर्वभूतपरिरक्षणचुञ्चुः
विद्वद्भि(द्भि)जगुरुद्धतपस्त्रिजनाश्रयो महाराजः श्रीमाधववर्मा ।

It appears, however, that Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman have respectively been called Janāśraya and Vikramāśraya in this inscription, and it may be argued that they are not identical with the kings of the same names of the Ipur plates (set I). But this doubt is unjustifiable in view of the fact that Mādhavavarman of the Polamuru plates is not only called son of Govindavarman and credited with the performance of eleven *asvamedhas* and thousand *agnistomas*, but is also called हिरण्यगर्भप्रसूत^४ and त्रिवरनगरभवनगतपरमयुवतीजनविहरणरति (त्रिवरनगरभवन-
गतयुवतिहृदयनन्दन in the Ipur plates), which epithets we have only in his own Ipur plates (set I). There can therefore be no doubt that the Ipur plate (set I) and the Polamuru plates were issued by one and the same king.

In this connection we must notice the view of some South Indian scholars who have identified Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II), with the king of the same name of the Chikkulla and the Rāmatirtham plates, and Vikramahendra of the Palamuru plates with Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates. We have noted above that only one king of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty may be believed to have performed sacrifices and, though there seems to be a little exaggeration in the grant of one of his successors, in all

cal symbol. I have not found a symbol like this elsewhere. It appears to signify the figure 40 (or 70P).

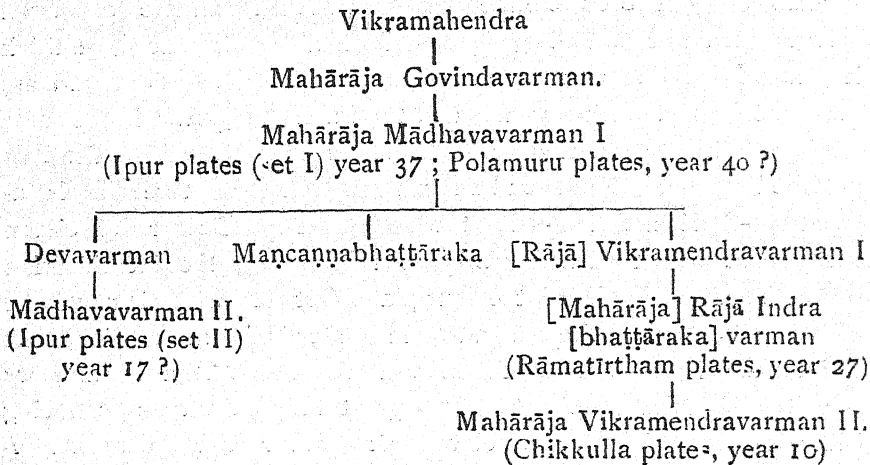
3 In quoting the passage from the Polamuru plates, I have not followed Mr. Subba Rao's transcript. The word दम has been read as धर्म.

4 The meaning of this term will be discussed in another paper.

the inscriptions of the dynasty, that king—Mādhavavarman (I), son of Govindavarman and father of Devavarman and Vikramendrarvarman (I)—has been credited with the performance of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*. As is also noted above, we think it almost impossible that there can be more than one Mādhavavarman, performer of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, in the same family and the same period. But if we accept the above identifications proposed by some South Indian scholars, we have three Mādhavavarmans—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*! Moreover, the identification of Mādhavavarman II of the Ipur plates (set II) with his namesake of the Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrtham plates is, in my opinion, next to impossible. In the Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrtham plates we have the significant epithets of the great Mādhavavarman, crediting him with the performance of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*; but these epithets are conspicuous by their absence in the Ipur plates (set II) in connection with the name of Mādhavavarman II. The date, which is not fully legible but which appears to me to be 17, has been read by Hultzsch as the 47th year of the king. Is it possible that a king who performed, among other sacrifices eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*, did not perform a single of them before his 47th (if my reading is correct, 17th) year or forgot to refer to such glorious performances in his own inscription? It is also significant that Mādhavavarman II has no royal title in his own Ipur plates (set II). Again, the identification appears utterly untenable when we notice that those significant epithets regarding the performance of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas* have been attached in this inscription to the name of his grandfather Mādhavavarman I. We, therefore, hold that there were only two—and not three—Mādhavavarmans in the Viṣṇukunḍin family and that the first of them, who was the grandfather of the second, performed a good many sacrifices including eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*.

As regards the second identification, nothing needs be said after our identification of Mādhavavarman I, the great performer of sacrifices. But it must be noticed that his name is written in the inscription as Vikramahendra, which appears to be the engraver's mistake for Vikramamahendra. If, of course, we take it as a slip for Vikramendra, the king should be designated Vikramendra I, there being two other Vikramendras in the family.

The following is therefore the genealogical arrangement of the Vismukundin princes according to our theory.



DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR

Some Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar

Since the dawn of grammatical studies in India, grammarians have noticed the peculiarities of declension in the strong cases and have coined special technical terms to denote them. The term used by Pāṇini is **सार्वाधत्तुक** which has greatly puzzled his commentators. Unable to find any rational explanation of this term, commentators of Pāṇini have generally contented themselves with saying that by the use of this big technical term, which conveys no meaning of itself, Pāṇini intends to hold up to ridicule the needlessly long technical terms of his predecessors. We read in the *Nyāsa on Kāśikā*, I. 1. 42

पूर्वाचार्यैरेवेयं प्रयोजनमन्तरेणापि महती संज्ञा प्रणीता । तस्या इह समाश्रयणं यत् तत्
तत्कृतस्य शब्दानुशासनस्य दोषवत्त्वसूचनार्थम् । तत् पुनः स्वशास्त्रस्य पुनरुक्ततादोषपरिहारार्थम् ।
यदि हि तद्दोषवद् भवत्येवमस्य प्रणयनं युज्यते नान्यथा ।

‘It is the ancient teachers who coined this long technical term without any necessity whatsoever. The use of that term in this work is to show the defective character of their grammars. And that again for the purpose of showing that the author’s own work is not superfluous, for if the previous works are defective then only the composition of a new treatise on the subject is justified, not otherwise.’

Haradatta in his *Padamañjarī* on the same sūtra says practically the same thing **पूर्वाचार्यानुपालब्धमेवा संज्ञा**—‘this technical term is for the purpose of rebuking his predecessors.

Bhaṭṭoji saw the absurdity of this explanation and merely said **महासंज्ञाकरणं पूर्वाचार्यानुरोधात्**—‘The use of this big technical term is simply out of regard for the ancient teachers’. So also the other modern commentators of Pāṇini.

The true explanation is supplied by an anonymous commentator who is quoted with disapproval by Haradatta. He says: **सर्वं नाम तिष्ठत्यस्मिन् इति सर्वनामस्थानम् । नाम प्रातिपदिकम् । सर्वशब्दोऽवयवकार्त्तस्यवचनः । सर्वावयवयुक्तं यत्र नाम तिष्ठतीत्यर्थस्तेनान्यत्र न्यूनं तिष्ठतीत्यर्थो गम्यते** i.e. that in which the entire word remains (without suffering weakening or reduction in any way) is known as *Sarvanāmasthāna*. *Nāman* means *Prātipadika* (or the crude form of a word). *Sarva* implies the entirety of parts. The mean-

ing is: where the word remains with all its parts intact, the implication being that in the other *ribhaktis* the word undergoes weakening or reduction.

This explanation has not generally been accepted by grammarians of the Pāṇini School because in the artificial system of Pāṇini the suffixes postulated by older grammarians were discarded in favour of what he considered simpler ones. According to the predecessors of Pāṇini comparatives are formed with *īyans* which is retained in the strong cases but suffers reduction in the weak cases; similarly perfect and present participles are formed with *vans* and *ant* respectively. Pāṇini, however, finding that these full forms occur only in five cases whereas the reduced forms occur in the remaining sixteen cases, postulated the suffixes as *īyas*, *vas*, *at* etc. to secure लाघव or brevity and prescribed a *n* as the augment in the strong cases of these stems.

The strictly scientific method has been followed in the Kātantra system which regards the suffixes as *īyans* (*u*), *vans*(*u*), *śant*(*ri*) etc. So the technical term *Sarvanāmasthāna* is significant in the treatises of the Kātantra School, which, though preserving the ancient self-explanatory technical terms in most cases, has by a strange irony of fate substituted the meaningless syllable *ghuṭ* (II.1.3) for *Sarvanāmasthāna* in this particular case. This *ghuṭ* is evidently coined after the *suṭ* of Pāṇini.

That the above explanation of सर्वनामस्थान is the correct one may also easily be seen by comparing the term with another technical term used by Pāṇini viz., सर्वधातुक. The word सर्वधातुक as opposed to आर्धधातुक means the suffixes in which the root was retained in its entirety. According to the ancient grammarians the vikaraṇas formed a part and parcel of the root, so the terminations before which the vikaraṇa was found were known as सर्वधातुक terminations and those before which they were not found were regarded as आर्धधातुक i.e. preserving only a portion of the root.

In the *Atharva Prātiśākhya* we find the term पञ्चपदी (i. 88, iii.5.59) used for the strong cases and this appears to be earlier than सर्वनामस्थान as it merely means 'a collection of five cases' and does not specify the peculiarity of the strong cases, but simply draws attention to the fact that they stand apart from the other cases.

The corresponding term used in the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* is घ (1. 1 32) and in the *Mugdhabodha* वि (Rule 82). Sākaṭāyana uses the *pratyāhāra* छट्.

In the *Nirukta* (II.1) Yāska uses निवृत्तिस्थान for the weak cases, but we do not find therein any word for the strong cases.

In this connexion it will be interesting to note another peculiarity of the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*. The *Kātantra* generally uses significant terms for the tenses and moods. The only two exceptions are पञ्चमी and सप्तमी. Thus we find there (*Akhyāta*, I.24-33):

वर्त्तमाना—लट्,	present	परोक्षा—लिट्,	perfect
सप्तमी—विधिलिङ्,	optative	श्वस्तनी—लुट्,	periphrastic future
पञ्चमी—लोट्,	imperative	आशीः—आशीर्लिङ्,	benedictive
ह्यस्तनी—लङ्	imperfect	भविष्यन्ती—लृट्,	future
अद्यतनी—लुङ्,	aorist	क्रियातिपत्ति—लृङ्,	conditional

In the above list we find सप्तमी and पञ्चमी occupying the second and third places—a fact which the commentators of the *Kātantra* have not found it easy to explain. To us, however, the explanation is perfectly simple, it being clear that for some reason or other the terms for these two moods were lost or disliked and since लिङ् occupies the seventh place in Pāṇini's system of लकारs and लोट् the fifth place, सप्तमी and पञ्चमी were substituted for them (1. लट्, 2. लिट्, 3. लुट्, 4. लृट्, 5. लोट्, 6. लङ्, 7. लिङ् etc. according to the order of the vowels following ल् and leaving लेट् out of consideration as confined to the Vedas).

KSHITISH CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

The Maināmati Copper-plate
of
Rāṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva (1141 Śaka).

This copper-plate was discovered towards the end of the year 1803 while "digging earth for the repairs of the highway through the Maināmati hills", about 5 miles to the west of the town of Comilla in the district of Tippera. It was sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mr. Elliot, the then Judge-Magistrate of Tippera. The plate unfortunately has long disappeared from the collection of the Society. The inscription was deciphered 'by the aid of several Paṇḍits' and published by the celebrated orientalist Mr. H. T. Colebrooke in the *Asiatic Researches*, IX (1807), pp. 401-6 with an indifferent engraving, exhibiting a facsimile of the original, which is the only material now available for the record. It was reprinted with the engraving in Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, pp. 241-6. The exact find-place is not unfortunately indicated by Colebrooke and cannot be determined now. It appears from Rennell's Map (Sheet No. 46, pt. II) that at that time there were two roads passing through the Hills from the village 'Uumtulla' (i.e. Amtali near Comilla), one through the 'Lolmi' hills to Rammoan and the other branching to the N.W. (i.e. by the northernmost range called Maināmati) to the village Mirzapur whence to Burkamta. The mention of the Maināmati hills instead of Lalmai makes it almost certain that the plate was discovered in the latter road somewhere near the Maināmati hills.

This is a single plate engraved on one side only. Colebrooke gives the following description of it: "The plate measures eleven inches in height and nine in breadth. . . . The sides have a gentle curvature and at the top is an abrupt bend allowing room to a figure coarsely delineated and apparently intended to represent a temple" (cf. the description of the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara, *JASB.*, 1874, p. 318). The delineation probably constituted the emblem of the Royal dynasty. The inscription consists of 24 lines and the characters are evidently proto-Bengali. The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of the last three lines where the date of the record is given the entire inscription is in verse. It contains nine stanzas employing six

different metres. As regards *Orthography* the only things noticeable are the spelling of the word Samvat with the *ś* in place of *m* and retention of the final *m* before the letter *t* (11. 4, 7 & 15), before *p* with which it is joined in 'maṇḍanam=paṇḍitānām' (1.2) and before *m* in 'anīṣam=mānase' (1.3). The avagraha is used in lines 11, 14 and 23.

The inscription opens, rather abruptly, with a laudatory stanza in praise of one 'Hedi-eba', whose son Śrī Dhaḍi-eba is eulogised abundantly in three elegant verses. The latter was a chief minister of a famous king, Raṇavaṅkamalla (v. 5) and held the office of a *Mahāśvanibandhika*, a title which is not met with elsewhere. *Aśvanibandhika* literally means a groom, while Colebrooke takes it to mean 'a general commanding the cavalry'; but a *Mahāśvanibandhika* who happens also to be the 'chief minister' (*amātyatilaka*) probably denotes here a civil officer in charge of the Royal Horse, for, there is hardly any reference to military skill in the elaborate panegyrics of this officer. The inscription records a grant of land measuring 20 *Droṇas* in a village named Beja-khaṇḍa in favour of a Buddhist Monastery (*Vihāra*) built in the city of Paṭṭikerā (v. 6). From v. 8 it is clear that the gift of land was made not by the sovereign monarch nor by a vassal but expressly by the *Aśvanibandhika*, to whose mouth is put the usual address to the future kings. The writer of the record, one Medinī-eba, makes no secret of the fact (in v. 9) that the inscription is in the nature of a *Prasasti* of a (private) family (of officers) to which probably he himself belonged. The description and the boundaries of the lands are not given in the record which fortunately, unlike other records of Bengal, is very clearly dated in the Saka year 1141 and the 17th regnal year of King Harikāladeva, Phālguna 26. The wording of the date clearly shows that the actual name of the king was Harikāla and Raṇavaṅkamalla was his *viruda*. Dr. Keilhorn calculated that this date (corresponding to Feb. 19, 1220 A.D.) coincides with the auspicious *tithi pūrṇimā* and according to him "there can hardly be a doubt that the donation recorded in the copper-plate was made on account of the full-moon." (*Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 108).

The inscription thus fortunately preserves the name of a monarch of the ancient kingdom of *Paṭṭikerā* who came to the throne in the year 1203-4 A.D. Colebrooke gave a wrong reading of verse 6 and

failed to decipher the important reference to the city of Paṭṭikerā which was first correctly given by Mr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum (*Dacca Review*, 1921-22, p. 142). We have to make a slight improvement in Mr. Bhattasali's reading of the line in question. The metre requires a long syllable in the 3rd letter: so the reading cannot either be 'Durgottaro' or 'Durgottarā' (accompanied by forts), but is clearly *Durgottārā* (excelling a fort). The phrase *Durgottārā-vihārī* may better be taken as one word meaning 'a *vihāra* dedicated to the Goddess Durgottārā i.e. a form of Tārā named in the *Sādhanamālā* as Durgottāriṇī-Tārā'. While correctly making out that the inscription 'appears not to be a grant by the sovereign', Colebrooke was clearly wrong in surmising that it was 'a memorial of the grant recorded by the possessor, who must have been the heir of the grantee and who seems to acknowledge in this place (v. 9) the liberality of the grantor's successors continuing to him.' (*Miscell. Essays*, II, p. 246 note).

The city of Paṭṭikerā remains yet to be identified. If the find-spot of the plate is any clue to its situation, the Maināmati hillock presumably formed a part of this ancient city and the ruins of a temple on the top of this hillock to the west of the Mahārājā's Bungalow may even point to the small monastery mentioned in the plate. The city gave the name to an important *pargaṇā* in the district of Tippera still known as Pāṭikārā or Pāṭkārā which extends to the same hills, though the hills themselves now fall under a separate *pargaṇā* named Meherkula. In older documents of the 18th century the name of the *pargaṇā* occurs regularly as either 'Pāṭikerā' or 'Pāṭikerā' leaving no room for any doubt about the identification. The village Bejakhanda cannot be definitely identified now. The late Mr. Kailas Chandra Sinha (in the *Rājamālā*, pp. 517-18) wrongly read the name as 'Ijakhanda' and suggested its identification with a village 'Maijkhād' in *pargaṇā* Mahichail, a few miles to the west of the Lalmai hills. There is a village Bejabādi near the foot of the hills on the west of which may be the village referred to in the plate.

The extraordinary nature of the three names of the grantor 'Dhadi-eba', his father 'Hedi-eba' and the writer 'Medinī-eba', all apparently belonging to the same family, deserves more than a passing notice. Though the names have, no doubt, been more or less Sanskritis-

ed in the hands of the writer of the fairly good Sanskrit verses, they clearly preserve their foreign origin in the unique appellative 'eva' or 'eba', found in all the three names, which is entirely unknown in any Indian dialect as far as we know. Colebrooke also noticed that contrary to the rules of the language 'the particle *eva* is subjoined without changing the preceding vowel'. Fortunately he did not disturb the text with proposed emendations and in none of the three names there is any room for any doubt on the reading. We are, therefore, tempted to hazard the conjecture that here we have evidence of a respectable family of Burmese origin which settled and survived in the 13th century A.D. in the district of Tippera. For 'ba' and 'ye-ba' (modified to 'e-va') seem to be the characteristic of Burmese names even now. The inscription may thus be regarded as corroborating in a peculiar manner the intercourse between the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā and Burma as recorded in the Burmese chronicles. The identification of the 'Pateikkara' of Burmese chronicles with Paṭikara of the Tippera district though put forth in the local history of Tippera (*Rājamālā*, pp. 4-6) more than 35 years ago, attracted the serious attention of Burmese scholars only recently (*Report, Arch. Sur. of Burma*, 1923, p. 32). This identification is sufficiently corroborated by the position of the kingdom as given in the Burmese accounts. The vast kingdom of King Anoratha (1044-77 A.D.) of Pagan who 'made a progress through the western portion of his dominions as far as Bengal' (Phayre: *Hist. of Burma*, p. 37), was bounded on the west by the 'foreign' kingdom of Pateikkara (*Report*, 1923, p. 31). The celebrated love romance of the Prince of Pateikkara with the only daughter of king Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.), which forms the subject of one or two poems and is acted on the stage up to now, rests, according to the best authority, 'upon a solid foundation of fact' (*Ibid.*, p. 32). Pateikkara is mentioned in a Burmese inscription of 1184 A.D. (Gerrini, p. 740). The healthy intercourse between the two kingdoms was kept up by the next king Alaungsitthu (1112-87 A.D.) who undoubtedly had as one of his queens a 'Pateikkara' Princess (*Report*, 1922, p. 61: cf. Phayre, p. 40). King Narathu (1187-91 A.D.) who killed this foreign Princess with his own hand, was in his turn murdered by desperados sent by the King of Pateikkara for revenge. The event took place, according to the latest chronology, in 1189 or 1191

A.D. not more than 15 years before Harikāladeva came to the throne. King Harikāla was thus not unlikely the immediate successor of the King of Paṭṭikera who was responsible for the death of Narathu. In this connection we should like to mention the fact that in the whole district of Tippera there are at present about two thousand Buddhists living all in a group of villages near Laksam about 15 miles from Maināmati. Can the presence of this entirely non-Brāhmaṇic religion in Tippera be taken as a faint trace of the Burmese intercourse in the 13th century?

In verse 3 the grantor is described as being proficient in the rites of the famous *Sahaja* cult of later Buddhism and according to our interpretation the verse also preserves the name of his religious teacher Aviraha who must have flourished in Paṭṭikerā.

THE TEXT

- 1 Om¹ Ta-minn uccair-amalina-kule viśva-vikhyāta-kīrti(r)-
vidyā dhāraḥ parama-sukr
- 2 tī maṇḍanam = paṇḍitānām (1*) khyātaḥ śrīmān-ajani sa
mahān HEDI-EBĀ-bhidhāno yasya
- 3 svacche vyacairad-anīsam = mānase dharmīna-haṁsaḥ || (1*)
Tasmād-abhūd amalakūṭi-kalā-vitānaḥ ||
- 4 śrīmān amātya-tilako manujāmalenduḥ (1*) drṣṭvā śaśi
tamitī ²yam = truṭi-vṛddhi-śāṭhyā-
- 5 llajjā-rujā³ śvayathumān-iva saṁvibhātī || (2*) Avirahāt
sa mahāśvanibandhikāḥ parama-
- 6 tatt(v)a-mahatt(v)am-adhiṣṭhitaḥ (1*) rucira-rīṭiṣu nīṭiṣu
gīṣpatīḥ SAHAJA-dharmmasu karimmasu
- 7 śobhate || (3*) Dāna-dhyāna-mahodadhiḥ pravicalaccittaika-
kāraḅṛham = taptāsvāda-tṛṣā-
- 8 mayāḥ kati dayādhāraḥ paraprāṇinām (1*) Dharmmasyātula-
keli-sadma sukṛtī guptaika yo-

1 Expressed by a symbol: C. reads *Srī*.

2 C. reads *Yas=tru*. Read *Samiti* for *tamiti* which is meaningless.

3 C. reads *°rujī*.

- 9 gīśvaraḥ soyaṃ śrī-DHADI-EBA eka udabhūd-ānandacandro
bhuvi || (4*) Yasyaivāśvanibandhi-
10 koyam-abhavat kṣoṇīndra-cūḍāmaṇes = tasya ŚRĪ-RANA-
KAMALLA-nr̥pater-lilāpi loko
11 -ttarā (i*) ākrāmabbhir-itastatas-trijagatīm yat-tad-yaśobhiḥ
sitaiḥ prāsāde' pi ni-
12 je sahasranayano jātāvanīnāmītaḥ⁴ || (5*) Durgottārā-
vihārī rucira-vira-
13 citā PAṬṬIKERĀ-nagaryāṃ⁵ yeya(ṃ) dharmmasya kāmam
mukuta-viracanā-prakriyevāti-
14 bhāti (i*) grāme' syai VEJAKHANDE nija-sarala-hṛdā
viṃśati-droṇa-bhūmir-dattācandrā-
15 rkam-āstām-ativimalayaśaḥ śasya-samyak-kṛṣīsa || (6*)
Yuktam = tad-asya kirte(r)-
16 yat sarvvatra bhavati bhramah (i*) dattā dakṣiṇa-cittena
catuḥśīmeti bhūḥ svayam || (7*) Haṃ
17 ho bodhata bhāvi-bhūmipatayo yat tāmra-patrāṅkuram
yuṣmān-aśvanibandhi-
18 koyam-adhunā kṛtvāñjalim yācate (i*) pālyā bhūmir-iyam
na vā katipaya-droṇe-
19 na rājya sthitiḥ dhig-dānyaṃ vidhaveva sā vasumatī
yasyā laghīyān patih || (8*)
20 Sahaja-guṇa-mahimnā yadyapiyam svabhāvād-ativillasati
guptā-vamśajānām
21 prasastiḥ (i*) vimala-kula-guṇoghai(r)-gāḍham-ākṛṣyamāṇaḥ
prakaṭayati-tad-itthaṃ
22 MEDINI-EBA eṣaḥ || (9*) Śakanr̥pater-atitā abdāḥ '1141'
RANA-VAṅKA-
23 MALLA-ŚRĪ-HARIKĀLA-DEVA-PĀDĀNĀ(M)
saptadaśa-samvatsare' bhilikhya-
24 māne yatrāṅkenāpi samvvat 17 sūrya-gatyā Phālguna-dine 26'

4 Read *Jāto 'vani*, C. reads *jātānulinūyitaḥ* which makes no sense.

5 C. reads *paṭṭikevānagayyām* (P).

6 C. reads *Yuktas = tad*.

7 C. reads *Tula-dine* 29 and translates "29th of the Sun's being in the balance" (p. 406). Kielhorn has given the correct reading (*I.A.*, XXIV, 1895, No. 227).

TRANSLATION

1 In that high, unsullied family, was born the glorious, great and celebrated (person) named HEDI-EBA, of a world-wide renown, the repository of all learning, highly virtuous and an ornament of the learned—in whose pure mind played Dharma (piety) like a swan in the clear *Mānasa* lake.

2 From him was born the prince of ministers, a spotless moon among men with the collection of her digits formed by his unsullied fame; seeing whom in a contest (for beauty) the Moon in guile of waning and waxing appears dropsical as it were from the malady of shame.

3 That superior officer of the Royal Groom, initiated into the greatness of the Supreme Truth through (the teacher)⁸ AVIRAHA, and a veritable Brhaspati in the charming courses of Polity, shines in the good practices of the *Sahaja* cult.⁹

4 An ocean of charities and meditation, a prison-house unto the way-ward, an embodiment of relish and desire to the afflicted¹⁰ and how very full of kindness towards other creatures, an unequalled pleasure-house of Piety, virtuous, one great ascetic in the *Guptā* family—such was Śrī Dhadi-eba, who rose up as the one gladdening Moon on the earth.

5 The sportive acts of that crest-jewel of kings, the glorious *Raṇavaṅkamalla*¹¹ (a Hero in bends of battle), whereof he was the Groom of the Royal Horse, were also extra-ordinary, as by reason of his white renown attacking the three worlds here, there and every

8 Avirahāt meaning without desertion i.e. constantly is a bad word: it is better taken as a proper name here.

9 Sahaja-dharma-sukarmmasu is a single word, or Sahaja-dharmmasu is a separate Vahuvrihi compound:—sahajo dharmma eṣu iti.

10 Colebrooke translates this obscure portion as follows 'yet thirsting to taste by practise of austerity that which alone confines the fleeting thoughts etc.'

11 In the *Wörterbuch* Raṇavaṅkamalla is taken as an incorrect form of raṇaraṅgamalla: raṇavaṅka occurring in two different places in this plate yields a good sense 'bends or crooked turns of battle.'

where, the thousand-eyed God (Indra) even in his own palace came to be brought down to the Earth.

6 Lands measuring 20 *droṇas* were given with his own sincere heart in the village Bejakhaṇḍa, belonging to the small monastery (*vihāri*) dedicated to the goddess Durgottārā and built handsomely in the City of Paṭṭikerā, which monastery looks very much like the act of setting up a crest for Dharma. Let this very pure act of fame subsist as long as the sun and the moon along with an agriculture rich with harvest.

7 It is only just that his fame travels everywhere. For, this land with 4 boundaries was given by himself with a sincere heart.

8 Know, Oh! ye future princes, what is (written) in this copper-plate. This Royal Groom now begs of you with folded hands: This land-grant should be respected (by you). Nor does a kingdom rest on a few *droṇas* (of land). Fie on such meanness. That country is like a widow, whereof the lord is mean.

9 Though this panygeric of the descendants of the *Guptā*¹² family shines forth through the greatness of their natural virtues yet does this Medinī-eba, attracted greatly by the multitude of the virtues of this pure race, depicts it thus.

The expired years of Śaka King 1141, in the 17th (regnal) year of His Excellency Śrī Harikālaśeva, Raṇavaṅkamalla: written also in figures Saṃvat 17, 26th day of Phālguna by the sun's motion.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

12 In this verse the word *vaṃśajāṇ* stands without specification. *Guptā*, therefore, better refers to the actual name of the family and accordingly in verse 4 also we should read the same word *Guptā* making perhaps a better sense.

The Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa—A genuine Supplement to the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Śāstra

I

The *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa*, or the *Saṃkarṣaṇa Kāṇḍa* (henceforth abbreviated as *Sk.*) as it is otherwise known, is traditionally recognised as a Supplement to the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Śāstra*. It has all along remained a sealed book to modern scholars. Mr. M. L. Sandal, in the Introduction to his English translation of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Sūtras* (S. B. H. Series, Vol. I, pp. x-xii), says that *Sk.* is a spurious work. He observes:

(In the *Sk.*), there are no adhikaraṇas and the Sūtras are meagre; it is an apocryphal portion of the Mīmāṃsā, most probably palmed off by Khaṇḍa-deva as genuine.....It has a commentary called *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*, by Bhāskara, son of Gambhīra. (i).

All the writers of the Mīmāṃsā have characterised Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā as containing twelve chapters. (ii).

Strange to say that the *Sk.* is not mentioned by Alberuni and Abul Fazal. The latter has given the contents of the twelve chapters of Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā. For these reasons, I am of opinion that the *Sk.* is a spurious work. (iii).

The *Sk.* never found popularity amongst the students of Mīmāṃsā; and was, therefore, very properly consigned to oblivion. We do not find it mentioned in any ancient works prior to Rāmānuja in his *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya* or Madhusūdana Sarasvati in his *Prasthānabheda*. (iv).†

The style of the so-called Sūtras does not resemble that of Jaimini; it is so very curt and mutilated that one cannot make out anything without the help of Bhāskara's *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*. There are no adhikaraṇas which are the peculiar characteristics of Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā. (v).

The last sūtra in the fourth pāda of the fourth chapter, which is the 16th chapter in the work, ends with the word (phrase) 'यथा याज्ञ्यासंप्रैषः' which has been repeated (twice) and imitated from the final endings in the *Saṃkhyapraśaṅga* or the *Vedāntasūtras*. (vi).

It is a valuable work in Mīmāṃsā literature and is more in the nature of the *Kalpa Sūtras*. It does not criticize any general principle as is done

† Evidently, Mr. Sandal is misinformed. See the citation from the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* by Saṃkara on *Vedānta Sūtras* III, 3, 43: तदुक्तं संकर्ष—

'नाना वा देवता पृथग्ज्ञानात्' इति ॥

by Jaimini in his *Mimāṃsā*. The well-known twelve principles have been discussed in the twelve chapters by Jaimini; but, in the (present) work under description, there is a simple description of the post-sacrificial (?) minor ceremonies which really form the subject of the *Srauta* part of the *Kalpa Sūtra*. In this view, which I take of the *Sk.*, it cannot be considered a supplement of Jaimini's *Mimāṃsā*. (vii).

Mr. Sandal's observations contain, no doubt, certain truths, which, if scrutinised, would reveal that some of them are misleading.

The term *Sk.* is generally understood to stand for a clear and comprehensive exposition of Vedic propositions which are found scattered in the various recensions of the Vedas¹ or those supposed to have been lost. Naturally, then, it has no *saṅgati*² which relates together the *adhyāyas*, *pādas* and *adhikaraṇas*. It is because of this characteristic that the *Sk.* has come to be regarded as a supplement to the *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī* completing the twelve chapters of the latter by considering the topics left undiscussed therein. It is also *miscellaneous* in that it is based on both *upadeśa* and *atideśa* as are the *tantra* and the *prasaṅga* of the 11th and 12th chapters. For this reason, we cannot have strict *saṅgati* among topics in this *kāṇḍa*. This feature is therefore no argument against its authenticity. There can be traced, however, some relation (*saṅgati*) between the various parts in this *Kāṇḍa* such as *ākṣepa*, *apavāda* or *prasaṅga*. According to the printed commentary of Bhāskararāya, most of the *pādas* of these four chapters are known by different names indicative of the particular

1 Cf. सम्यक् निःशेषतया स्फुटतया च, कृष्टा आकृत्य विप्रकीर्णवेदवाक्येभ्यः सङ्गृह्य निर्णयन्ति इति संकष्युत्पत्तिः ॥

2 Bhāskararāya begins his commentary, *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*, thus: एवं द्वादश-भिरध्यायैः प्रकृतिविकृतिभेदेन कतिपयान्नवायान् संशोध्य, तैरेव न्यायैरितस्ततो विप्रकीर्णान्वेद-वाक्यार्थान्नैदपर्येण सम्यक् निष्कृत्य निर्णेतुमेवा चतुरध्याय्यारभ्यते । अतएव संकर्षेण प्रत्यधिकरणं संगत्यपेक्षा ॥ Appayya Dikṣita, in his *Kalpataru Parimala* (Nirnaya Sagar Edn., p. 50) observes: धर्मविचारार्थं द्वादशलक्षणीं कृत्वा, तत्रासूत्रितान् कश्चिन्नयाया-नालक्ष्य, तत्संग्रहार्थं द्वादशलक्षणीशेषं संकर्षकाण्डं कृतवतो महर्षिवरस्य जैमिने: ॥ Elsewhere in the same work, he characterises the *Sk.* thus: द्वादशलक्षणीयविचारितनानाविषय-न्यायविचारात्मकः तत्परिशिष्टः तन्त्रप्रसंगवदुपदेशातिदेशसाधारण्येन प्रकीर्णकः प्रवर्तितः ॥ (op. cit., p. 838).

themes discussed in them—as can be readily seen from the following tabulation:—

Adhyāya	Pāda	Subject
xiii	4	यूपपादः
xiv	1	इष्टकापादः
"	2	अवदानपादः
"	3	प्रेष "
"	4	होम "
xv	1	कालपादः
"	2	अग्नि "
"	3	ग्रह "
"	4	आर्षेयपादः वा वरणापादः
xvi	1	हौत्रकाध्याये समाधिपादः
"	2	निगदपादः
"	3	वषट्कारपादः

II

If this feature of the work had been properly understood, Mr. Sandal would not have remarked that in the *Sk.* there are no *adhikaraṇas* and that the *Sūtras* are meagre etc. Mr. Sandal complains that the *Sūtras* are "meagre." He is evidently under the impression that the *Sūtras* printed in bold type in the edition of the *Bhāṭṭacandrikā* represent the complete *Sūtras* constituting both the *pūrvapakṣa* and the *siddhānta* views in any given *adhikaraṇa*. But, the pity of it is that these are not at all complete *Sūtras* but only the first words of the first *Sūtras* generally in those *adhikaraṇas*. For example,³ in the printed text, we get the *Sūtra* of the first *adhikaraṇa*—'अनुयजतीति' but, the full *Sūtra* runs thus—'अनुयजतीत्यनुवषट्कारश्चोच्यते' which finally decides that the proposition 'सोमस्याग्रे ब्रीहोत्यनुयजति' enjoins a new sacrifice to be performed after the Soma Yāga.

Again, Mr. Sandal's statement that "it (the Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa) is an

3 For other instances see the Appendix at the end of this paper.

apocryphal portion of the Mīmāṃsā, most probably palmed off by Khaṇḍadeva" is clearly wrong. The *Saṃkarṣakāṇḍa*, as a prakīrṇaka of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra, was composed by Jaimini,⁴ the author of the *Dvādaśalākṣaṇī*. It is referred to by Bādarāyaṇa, the author of the *Vedānta Sūtras* and has been commented upon by several great writers of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra. According to Saṃkara, Rāmānuja and other Bhāṣyakāras, Bādarāyaṇa has cited in his Sūtra—प्रदानवदेव तदुक्तं (iii, 3, 43), the approval of the Siddhānta-view of the adhikaraṇa xiv, 2, 15 of the *Sk*.⁵

On the authority of the *Prapañcahṛdaya*,⁶ it appears that the famous Vṛttikāra Bodhāyana wrote a Vṛtti on the *Sk*. This Vṛttikāra is identified with Upavaṛṣa.⁷ Tradition holds that Sabarasyāmin's

4 Vide the remarks of Appayya Dikṣita quoted already under f.n. ante. Cf. also. तदिदं (मीमांसाशास्त्रं) विशत्यध्यायनिबद्धं। तत्र षोडशाध्यायनिबद्धं पूर्वकाण्डस्य धर्मविचारपरायणं जैमिनिवृत्तम्। तदन्यदध्यायचतुष्कमुत्तरमीमांसाशास्त्रमुत्तरकाण्डस्य ब्रह्म-विचारपरायणं व्यासकृतम्। *Prapañcahṛdaya*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 39.

5 Saṃkara explains *Vedānta Sūtra*, iii, 3, 43, as follows:

तस्मात्पृथगेवोपगमनं प्रदानवत्—यथा, 'इन्द्राय राज्ञो पुरोडाशमेकादशकपालम्। इन्द्रायाधिरा-जाय. इन्द्राय स्वराज्ञे, इत्यस्यां त्रिपुरोडाशिन्यामिष्टौ, 'सर्वेषामभिगमयन्नवद्यत्यच्छब्दवट्कार' मिति। अतो वचनादिन्द्रभेदाच्च सहप्रदानाशङ्कायां, राजादिगुणभेदाद्याज्यानुवाक्याव्यत्यासविधानाच्च, यथा न्यासमेव देवतापृथक्त्वात्प्रदानपृथक्त्वं भवति। एवं तत्त्वाभेदेऽपि आध्यायेयां पृथक्त्वादाध्यान-पृथक्त्वमित्यर्थः। तदुक्तं संक्षेपे—'नाना वा देवता पृथग्ज्ञानात्' इति। तत्रतु, द्रव्यदेवताभेदाद्याग-भेदो विद्यते। नैवमिह विद्याभेदोऽस्ति॥

Rāmānuja in his *Sribhāṣya* explains: प्रदानवदेव, प्रदानवदावर्तनीयमित्यर्थः × × × तदुक्तं संक्षेपे—'नाना वा देवता पृथग्ज्ञानात्' इति॥

Srikanṭha has the following explanation:

इन्द्रप्रदानवद्यथा इन्द्राय राज्ञो पुरोडाशमेकादशकपालं..... स्वराज्ञे इति गुणभेदात्पृथक् पुरोडाशप्रदानम्। नाना वा देवता पृथग्ज्ञानादिति संक्षेपे तथोक्तत्वात्।

6 तस्य विशत्यध्यायनिबद्धस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्य कृतकोटिनामधेयं भाष्यं बोधायनेन कृतं तद्गन्थादुल्लस्यभयादुपेत्य किञ्चित्संज्ञिसमुपवर्षेण कृतम्॥

7 My revered Professor Mm. Vidyāvacaspati Prof. S. Kuppasvāmi Śāstrigal in his artical—'Bodhāyana and Dramiḍācārya: Two Old Vedāntins presupposed by Rāmānuja' (III Oriental Conference, Madras) has tried to establish the Bodhāyana-Upavaṛṣa identity. If this identity is acceptable, the Vṛtti known as *Kṛtakoti*, according to literary sources, belongs to Upavaṛṣa. Hence, the passage from the *Prapañcahṛdaya*

bhāṣya covers also the *Sk.*⁸ Bhavauāsa, one of the famous Vṛtskāras has written a bhāṣya or vṛtti on the *Mimāṃsā Sūtras*, which is now unfortunately lost to us; and this also covers all the 16 chapters.⁹

Devasvāmin, probably the famous author of the bhāṣya on the *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra*, has commented on the 16 chapters of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras*. His bhāṣya is described in the *Prapañcahṛdaya* as a beautiful summary of the bhāṣya of Upavarṣa,¹⁰ and is the only ancient commentary on this Kāṇḍa, now available in manuscript. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, a reputed author in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Śāstra* and other branches of knowledge, has also written a commentary, known as *Saṃkarṣa-nyāyamuktāvali*.¹¹ Lastly, Bhāskararāya has written his *Bhāṭṭacandrikā* on the model of Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* on the *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī*. All these categorically accept the *Sk.* as genuine.

Now it is to be examined whether Khaṇḍadeva has commented on the *Sk.* If we take the opening verse in the *Bhāṭṭacandrikā* of the *Sk.*

cited above, is to be interpreted in the sense that Bodhāyana who is none other than Upavarṣa wrote a summary of his own Vṛtti and called it *Kṛtakoti*.

8 Contrary to this traditional view, the *Prapañcahṛdaya* holds that Sabarasvāmin has not commented on the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* and one *Saṃkarṣa* or *Saṃkarṣaṇa* has written a bhāṣya on it—

पुनः द्विकाण्डे धर्ममीमांसाशास्त्रे पूर्वस्य तन्त्रकाण्डस्याचार्यशबरस्वामिनातिसंक्षेपेण
संक्षेपकाण्डं द्वितीयमुपेक्ष्य कृतं भाष्यम् । तथा देवताकाण्डस्यैव संक्षेपेण (संक्षेपेण—ग. पाठः) ।
Prapañcahṛdaya, p. 39.

9 The *Prapañcahṛdaya* remarks on p. 39, भवदासेनापि कृतं जैमिनीयभाष्यं
(षोडशध्यायपरिमितं). *Devasvāmin* also in his bhāṣya on XV. II, 1, says,

अस्मिन्पादे 'अपूर्वात्तथा सोमः' इत्यारभ्यापादपरिसमाप्तेः भावदासमेव भाष्यमिति ।

10 तदपि (उपवर्षभाष्यमपि) मन्दमतीन्द्रति दुष्प्रतिपादं विस्तीर्णत्वादित्युपेक्ष्य षोडशलक्षण-
पूर्वमीमांसाशास्त्रमात्रस्य देवस्वामिना अतिसंक्षिप्तं कृतम्. *Prapañcahṛdaya*, p. 39.

It is Devasvāmin's bhāṣya and not Sabarasvāmin's, which is constantly referred to by Bhāskararāya in his *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*; and references to an ācārya and *vṛttikṛt* found in Devasvāmin's bhāṣya and the *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*, might be in all probabilities to the famous *Vṛttikāra* Upavarṣa, who has commented on this Kāṇḍa.

11 This work is noticed by Dr. Hultsch in his *Reports of South Indian Ms.*, vol. II, No. 1489,

प्रणम्य जैमिनिमुनिं खण्डदेवकृताविह ।

अनुग्रहाय मन्दानां संग्रहोऽयं विधीयते ॥

as authentic, then it is clear that Khaṇḍadeva has written a commentary on this Kāṇḍa, a summary of which has been afterwards written by Bhāskara-rāya. But the concluding verses in the *Bhāṭṭacandrikā*—

खण्डदेवकृतभाट्टदीपिका लक्षणैः कतिपयैरसंभृता ।

इत्युदीक्ष्य बुध भास्कराग्निचिद्-भारती वरिभरांभवूव ताम् ॥

अद्यावधि कृतिरेषा (आ)द्यन्तविहीनेति दीपिकाख्यासीत् ।

षोडशकलाभिरधुना परिपूर्णा भाट्टचन्द्रिकात्वमगात् ॥

give us a different idea, viz. Khaṇḍadeva has *not* commented upon the *Sk.* We have got no tangible evidence as yet to prove Khaṇḍadeva's authorship of any works on this Kāṇḍa.

Mr. Sandal observes that "Bhāskara has dedicated his work in the name of *his masters* and called it *Bhāṭṭacandrikā* after the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* of his preceptor". That Bhāskara was the disciple of Khaṇḍadeva cannot be accepted. Evidences are available to prove that Khaṇḍadeva, the Mimāṃsā teacher of Perubhaṭṭa,¹² flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, while Bhāskara-rāya, son of Gambhīra-rāya Dīkṣita lived at a later age. If he were one of the disciples of Khaṇḍadeva, he would have certainly referred to his '*guru*' in terms like '*pūjya-pāda*' as Saṃbhubhaṭṭa has done. From Bhāskara's concluding verses already cited, we are able to gather that he was a great admirer of Khaṇḍadeva and his works and as such, wrote his *Candrikā* a commentary on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* and a commentary on the *Saṃkarṣa sūtras*.

12 Khaṇḍadeva was the Mimāṃsā teacher of Perubhaṭṭa, the father of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, and not of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, as Mr. Sandal has observed in his Introduction, p. xi. The second and third verses in the beginning of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* clearly prove this view. The *yacabda* in the second verse— सर्वविद्याधरो यः goes along with '*tacchabda*' in the third verse—

तं वन्दे पेरुभट्टाख्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महागुरुम्'. This Perubhaṭṭa, the husband of Lakṣmī, as Nāgeśa's Commentary notes, is undoubtedly the father of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the author of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*, the Five Laharis, the *Bhāminīvilāsa* and other minor works.

13 It is possible that Bhāskara-rāya, the author of the *Saṃkarṣabhāṭṭacandrikā* is identical with the author of the *Candrikā* or *Candrodaya*, a commentary on

Mr. Sandal's arguments (2), (3), (4), and (5) do not contain sufficient evidences to prove that the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* is a spurious work. We have already cited six authors of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Śāstra* of whom at least five have undoubtedly commented upon this Kāṇḍa—a fact which would well prove its genuineness as a supplement to the *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī*. In the light of these, we cannot accept Mr. Sandal's conclusion which is based on the sole reason that Alberuni, Abul Fazal and Mādhava, the author of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* have not referred to it.

Mr. Sandal's sixth argument is that "the style of the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* is so curt and mutilated that without the help of the Commentary one cannot understand it' etc. All sūtras, as a rule, are curt and are not intelligible without a commentary.¹⁴ As for his opinion that they are *mutilated*, we are afraid that he is not in full possession of the sūtras. We have given in the Appendix some full sūtras which were collected and reconstructed from references.

Mr. Sandal's seventh argument supports our view. The repetition of the phrase यथा याज्यासंप्रैषः at the end of the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* clearly shows that the *Saṃkarṣa* closes the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Śāstra*; for, we do not find any such repetition in the last sūtra of the twelfth chapter. In this respect, Jaimini might have followed some of his predecessors in the field of Mīmāṃsā or some Kalpasūtrakāras. Mr. Sandal's observation that 'Jaimini has either followed the *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-sūtra* or the *Vedāntasūtra*' is baseless.

(1) There is a theory prevalent among scholars that the available *Sāṃkhya-pravacana-sūtras* are not the genuine sūtras of Kapila and they are the productions of Vijñānabhikṣu who flourished during the 14th century. Jaimini could not have any access to these sūtras.

the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*. It may also be said here that the same Bhāskararāya has composed a minor work on Mīmāṃsā—*Matvarthalakṣaṇāvicāra* and the *Vaidikakośa* in verse, both now preserved in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji Sarasvatī Mahal Library.

14 Compare:—

अल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यच्च सूत्रं सूत्रविदो विदुः ॥

(2) In the *Vedāntasūtra* there is the repetition of the word at the end of each *pāda* and *adhyāya* and the whole *sūtra* is repeated at the end of the *Śāstra*. Such a practice is not followed.¹⁵

The *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* is a valuable work in the *Mīmāṃsā* literature and is more in the nature of the *Kalpasūtras*. Unlike the *Dvādaśalakṣaṇī*, the *Saṃkarṣa Kāṇḍa* has not got any separate principle to enunciate and, therefore, is a miscellaneous supplement. It attempts at a further application of the principles already enunciated in the twelve chapters, to other examples in the *Vedas*, which may not be otherwise easily intelligible. Even within many *adhyāyas* one and the same principle is enunciated and discussed with reference to different illustrations with a view to widening the application of the rule of interpretation in question to the vast field of the *Vedas* and other texts of unquestionable authority on the eternal *dharma*. In this sense it is a *Kalpasūtra* but there is this main difference that the *Mīmāṃsā* enquires whether this particular thing is to be accepted in this particular way, while all *Kalpasūtras* are generally mere compendiums of ritualistic informations found scattered in the various branches or recensions of the *Vedas*, all of which the *Vedic* students are not allowed or have no time to study.

III

Appendix

The *Sk.* consists of four *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* being subdivided into four *pādas*, and each *pāda* again subdivided into a number of *Adhikaraṇas* or *Nyāyas* as follows:—

Adhyāya	Pādas				Total
	1	2	3	4	
XIII	15	18	24	27	84
XIV	41	18	15	30	104
XV	25	36	20	14	95
XVI	13	19	22	10	64

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15 According to *Devasvāmin's* bhāṣya on the *Sk.*, there is repetition of a word or of a phrase at the end of the second chapter (XIVth chapter) of the *Saṃkarṣa*. If this is reliable, this practice of the *Sūtrakāra* does not help us to definitely say whom he has followed.

The following full Sūtras constituting various Adhikaraṇas in the Sk. are collected and reconstructed from Appayya Dikṣita's *Vedānta-kalpataru-parimala* and Vāsudeva Dikṣita's *Adhvarmīmāṃsā-kūṭūhala-vṛtti*.

(1) Adhyāya XIII. 1.1 अनुयजतीयनुवषट्कारः चोद्यते (V.K.P., N.S. Ed. p. 838).

(2) Adhyāya XIII. 3.2 (1) सह कुम्भीभिरतिक्रामन्नाहेति न्नृकृप्रत्ययः श्रूयते
यथा पलाशस्य मध्यमेन पण्णेन जुहोति (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) दारुवात्राणि कुम्भीभिर्विकल्प्येरन् एकार्थत्वात्

(आशङ्का),

(3) प्रवृत्तस्य प्रदानस्य पात्रनिधानात् अपनयो यथा
पालीवतं पर्यग्निकृतमुत्सृजेत्, (सिद्धान्तः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, Vanivilas Edn., Sri Rangam. Madras, p. 398].

(3) Adh. XIII. 3 (1) तत्र शेषकार्याणि क्रियेरन् पात्रान्यत्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) नापनीतेषु श्रुतत्वात् तत् व्याख्यातम् (सिद्धान्तः),

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 398].

(4) XIV. 2.2 (1) तत्र देवतानामादेशो न विद्यते आन्नात्तत्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) विद्यते वा अन्यार्थदर्शनेभ्यः (सिद्धान्तः),

(3) आन्नातः प्रयाजेषु देवतादेशः, तस्य प्रतिषेधो वचनमितरेषु

(गुणसूत्राशङ्का),

(4) आन्नातो वैकेषां तद्दर्शयत्यमुष्मा अनुब्रूह्यमुं यज (गुणसूत्राशङ्का-
निरासः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 160].

(5) XIV. 2.14 (1) तेषां पृथक्कृतानां निरवदानं यथाऽन्येषां हविःपृथक्त्वात्

(पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) वचनात्सर्वेषां सह अवदीयेत (सिद्धान्तः) ।

[VKP, p. 838].

(6) XIV. 2.15 (1) तेषां पृथक्प्रदानं अवदानैकत्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) नाना वा देवता पृथक्ज्ञानात् (नाना वा पृथक् ज्ञानात् ; नाना वा
देवतापृथक्त्वात्) (सिद्धान्तः),

(3) अन्यार्थप्रदर्शनाच्च (गुणसूत्रम्) ।

[VKP, pp. 838—9].

(7) XIV. 4.1 (1) देवतासंयोगेन चोद्यमाने प्रदान आहुतिः यथा लोके ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 390].

(8) XIV. 4.2 (1) अदेवतासंयोगेन चोद्यमानेऽर्थगृहीता यथा भोजनचोदनायां मनुष्ययोगः ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 288].

(9) XIV. 4.3 (1) सूक्तवाको याज्याप्रस्तराहुतीरिध्मः प्रथम आहुतीनां हूयते इत्येतेन व्याख्यातम् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) प्रशंसा वा संस्कारः प्रस्तरस्य सन्निधानात् समिन्धनार्थ इध्मः

(सिद्धान्तः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 288].

(10) XIV. 4.27 (1) ऋताषाट् ऋतधामेति यथार्थविनिष्कर्षोऽर्थपृथक्त्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) यथा समाम्नानं वा (सिद्धान्तः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 150].

(11) XIV. 4.28 (1) षड्भिर्जुहोतीति पर्यायवादो यथा सावित्राणि जुहोति ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 150].

(12) XVI. 2.1 (1) (...) इत्यालेखनः (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) प्रकृतित इत्याश्मरथ्यः (सिद्धान्तः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 269].

(13) XVI. 4.10 (1) पशावुत्तमे प्रयाजे स्रुगादापनो न विद्यते संप्रेषितत्वात् (पूर्वपक्षः),

(2) विद्यते वा अन्यकालत्वात् यथा याज्यासंप्रेषो यथा यज्यासंप्रेषः

(सिद्धान्तः) ।

[AMK, Vṛtti, p. 838].

V. A. RAMASVAMI SASTRI

The Puṣṭi-mārga of Vallabhācārya

The *Puṣṭi-mārga* or the doctrine of grace as taught by Vallabhācārya (1479-1531 A.D.) is one of those branches of knowledge that are undeservedly ignored by the world of scholars. Some writers¹ have also done injustice to Vallabha by explaining the word *Puṣṭi* as eating, drinking and enjoying.

Vallabha's predecessors such as Śaṅkara, Bhāskara etc. have accepted three authorities, generally known as three *Prasthānas*, viz., the *Vedas* including the *Upaniṣads*, the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtras*, but Vallabha adds the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the fourth authority and remarks that in case of doubts in any of these four authorities one should try to remove them in the light of the succeeding authority.² The *Bhāgavata* thus stands on the same level as that of the *Vedas*; nay, it is the very ripe fruit of the Kalpa-tree in the form of the *Vedas*.³ The reason why Vallabha attaches so much importance to the *Bhāgavata* is, to my mind, the fact that the episode of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs is very elaborately treated in it; and it is on the strength of this episode that he tries to preach the doctrine of *Puṣṭi*.

Like his predecessors, Vallabha expresses his own opinion on *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti*, which have been regarded as the three well-known paths to liberation and which were practised only by the cultured. He discusses their significance and relative importance. He calls this *bhakti* as *śāstric* or *maryādā bhakti*, to be practised according to the letter of the scriptures and as such not useful for

1 See the article "Vallabhācārya" in *E. R. E.*; "Doctrine of Māyā" in Prof. Jwalaprasad's *Introduction to Indian Philosophy*. The remarkable exception is that of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism*, etc.

2 वेदाः श्रीकृष्णवाक्यानि व्याससूत्राणि चैव हि ।
समाधिभाषा व्यासस्य प्रमाणं तच्चतुष्टयम् ॥
उत्तरं पूर्वसंदेहवारकं परिकीर्तितम् ।

Vallabha's *tattvādīpiniḥnv*, Benares Edition, p. 12.

3 निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलम् । भागवत, I. 3.

females and members of the so-called lower classes. He is confronted with the most important question of his times, and also of our times, whether the time-honoured paths of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* can satisfy the spiritual demand, not of males of the first three classes only but of humanity in general, without any distinction of caste, creed and nationality. Vallabha remarks that the case of the females and Sūdras did not receive proper attention at the hands of his predecessors. He finds that the iron age is so unfavourable to the three paths that they cannot be practised rigidly⁴ and thus, although they were most effective in times gone by, they become out of date. In one of his works,⁵ Vallabha gives a graphic description of his own times—a description which is true even to-day. The atmosphere of the country is thus not at all congenial and does not leave any scope for *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti*. At the same time, at all times and in all countries there are souls in all classes that are anxious to be free from the bondage of the world. The prophet of the age is, therefore, required to solve the problem in a satisfactory manner, and wonderfully, Vallabha does not fail to rise to the occasion. He cuts the Gordian knot by introducing the *Puṣṭi-mārga* or the doctrine of grace.

With Vallabha, the three terms, *Brahman*, *Paramātman* and

4 कलौ भक्त्यादिमार्गा हि दुःसाध्या इति मे मतिः ।

विवेकधैर्याश्रय, 17.

5

म्लेच्छाक्रान्तेषु देशेषु पापैकनिलयेषु च ।

सत्प्रीडाव्यग्रलोकेषु कृष्ण एव गतिर्मम ॥

गङ्गादितीर्थवर्येषु दुष्टैरेवावृतेष्विह ।

तिरोहिताधिदैवेषु ॥

अहङ्कारविमूढेषु सत्सु पापानुवर्तिषु ।

लाभपूजार्थयत्नेषु ॥

अपरिज्ञाननष्टेषु मन्त्रेष्वव्रतयोगिषु ।

तिरोहितार्थदैवेषु ॥

नानावादविनष्टेषु सर्वकर्मव्रतादिषु ।

पाषण्डैकप्रयत्नेषु ॥

कृष्णाश्रय, 2-6.

Bhagavat, are synonymous and refer to Kṛṣṇa, the highest entity.⁶ Those who are not in a position to follow any of the three paths are asked to dedicate everything to Kṛṣṇa and to live on His mercy alone until they enjoy the highest bliss. The conception of *Puṣṭi* is mainly based on the well-known verse of the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*⁷ that the realisation of God is possible only through His grace.⁸ This idea further appears in many places in the *Gītā* and is nicely illustrated by the episode of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs in the *Bhāgavata*. The word *Puṣṭi* is explained in the *Bhāgavata* as the grace of God.⁹ Vallabha himself has explained the word in very clear terms. In one place¹⁰ he says that in the *maryādā mārga*, God allots fruits according to the actions of men, while in the *Puṣṭi-mārga*, He does not take into account the doings of human beings but shows favour to them in the allotment of

- 6 वेदान्ते च स्मृतौ ब्रह्मलिङ्गं भागवते तथा ।
ब्रह्मेति परमात्मेति भगवानिति शब्दयते ॥

तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध, p. 11

एको देवो देवकीपुत्र एव । Ibid.

परं ब्रह्म तु कृष्णो हि सच्चिदानन्दकं बृहत् ।

सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली, 3

कृष्णात् परं नास्ति दैवं वस्तुतो दोषवर्जितम् ।

अन्तःकरणप्रबोध, 1.

- 7 नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् ॥

मुण्डक, III. 2. 3 ; also कठ, I. 2. 22.

- 8 The idea of grace appears in कठ, I. 2. 20.

तमक्रतुः पश्यति वीतशोको धातुः प्रसादान्सहिमानमात्मनः ।

Cf. श्वेता०, III. 20 ; महानारायण, VIII. 3.

- 9 पोषणं तदनुग्रहः ।

10 फलदाने कर्मापेक्षः । कर्मकारणे प्रयत्नापेक्षः । प्रयत्ने कामापेक्षः । कामे प्रवाहापेक्ष इति मर्यादारक्षार्थं वेदं चकार । ततो न ब्रह्मणि दोषगन्धोऽपि । न चानीश्वरत्वम् । मर्यादामार्गस्य तथैव निर्माणात् । यत्रान्यथा स पुष्टिमध्य इति ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., II. 3. 42.

fruits. In another place¹¹ he distinctly says that in the *maryādā-mārga*, the liberation is possible through *jñāna* and *bhakti*, as laid down in the scriptures, which the aspirant has to try his best to acquire, while in the *puṣṭi-mārga*, nothing except the grace of God is required. The *puṣṭi-mārga* is thus meant for those who are utterly helpless and who are still desirous of getting salvation. When nothing requires to be done in the *puṣṭi-mārga*, except to throw oneself at the feet of God with complete faith in Him, it becomes quite obvious that the doors of the *Puṣṭi-mārga* are open to one and all. No distinction of caste and nationality can be admitted in this school of thought, and this is clearly borne out by the fact that the Gopīs, who were uncultured females born of a low family, surrendered themselves to Kṛṣṇa *in toto* and enjoyed the unique bliss only by force of Kṛṣṇa's grace. Illustrations of this type are also found among the well-known eighty-four disciples of Vallabha. Some of them were, no doubt, females and members of the low class.

It may be argued that the *maryādā-mārga* should be reserved for

॥ कृतिसाध्यं साधनं ज्ञानभक्तिरूपं ज्ञास्त्रेण बोध्यते । ताभ्यां विहिताभ्यां मुक्तिर्मर्यादा ।
तद्विहितानामपि स्वरूपबलेन स्वप्रापणं पुष्टिरुच्यते । तथा च यं जीवं यस्मिन्मार्गेऽङ्गीकृतवान्
तं जीवं तत्र प्रवर्तयित्वा तत्फलं ददातीति सर्वं सुस्थम् । अत एव पुष्टिमार्गेऽङ्गीकृतस्य ज्ञानादि-
नैरपेक्ष्यं, मर्यादायामङ्गीकृतस्य तदपेक्षितत्वं च युक्तमेवेति भावः ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., III. 3. 29.

Cf. (1) मर्यादापुष्टिभेदेन वरणं द्विधोच्यते । तत्र सहकार्यन्तरविधिस्तु मर्यादापक्षेणो-
च्यते । पुष्टौ तु नान्यापेक्षा ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., III. 4. 46.

(2) साधनं विना स्वस्वरूपबलेन कार्यकरणे हि पुष्टिः ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., IV. 1. 13.

(3) साधनक्रमेण मोचनेच्छा हि मर्यादामार्गीया मर्यादा । विहितसाधनं विनैव
मोचनेच्छा पुष्टिमार्गमर्यादा ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., IV. 2. 7.

(4) पुष्टिमार्गेऽनुग्रहैकसाध्यः प्रमाणमार्गाद्विलक्षणः ।

अणुभाष्य on ब्र. सू., IV. 4. 9.

(5) अनुग्रहः पुष्टिमार्गे नित्यामक इति स्थितिः ।

सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली, 18.

the males of the first three classes and the *puṣṭi-mārga* for females and lower classes, and thus there will not be encroachment on the field of *maryādā-mārga*. But in reply to this it can be said that the present times are not at all favourable to the paths to be followed by the members of the three higher classes and they, being completely helpless, have to follow the other *mārga* viz. *Puṣṭi*, moreover, when females and Sūdras can achieve their goal by following the *puṣṭi-mārga*, it is thousand times easier for the Brahmins and others to realize God.¹² It is therefore evidently in the interest of humanity to accept the doctrine of *puṣṭi* and live the life in accordance with it.

The next important question is how to translate the idea of *puṣṭi* into action. We are told by Vallabha that the Lord manifested Himself to him on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa and gave him a message that all people will be free from all kinds of sin by performing the ceremony of *Brahma-Sambandha* which connects an aspirant with Brahman.¹³ This ceremony has to be performed for initiation into the *Puṣṭi-mārga*. The practice that seems to have been introduced by Vallabha on the strength of the divine message is this. Everyone desirous of realizing God but incapable of fulfilling that desire in any other way is asked to approach a spiritual preceptor, who is always engaged in the worship of Kṛṣṇa, who is free from vices and who is a critical student of the *Bhāgavata*.¹⁴ The preceptor first of all gives him a *mantra*¹⁵ which tells him that his

12 For a full discussion of this question see Vallabha's सुबोधिनी on भागवत, II. 1.5.

13 श्रावणस्यामले पक्ष एकादश्यां महानिशि ।
साल्नाद्भगवता प्रोक्तं तदङ्गरश्च उच्यते ॥
ब्रह्मसम्बन्धकरणात् सर्वेषां देहजीवयोः
सर्वदोषनिवृत्तिर्हि ... ॥

सिद्धान्तरहस्य, I-2.

14 कृष्णसेवापरं वीक्ष्य दम्भादिरहितं नरम् ।
श्रीभागवततत्त्वज्ञं भजेज्ज्ञासुरादरात् ॥

तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध, p. 414.

15 श्रीकृष्णः शरणं मम । Cf. नवरत्न, 9.

only guide from that time is Kṛṣṇa. This is generally known as *Sarāṇa mantra*. Afterwards the Guru takes him to an image of Kṛṣṇa, gives him a Tulasī leaf, recites the mantra for initiation,¹⁶ makes him repeat the *mantra* and asks him to put the Tulasī leaf near the feet of the image. This mantra is always kept secret.

It nowhere appears in the published works of Vallabha; but it is always kept by the side of the image. There are some eleven or twelve commentaries on this mantra and the earliest commentary is of Gokulanāthaji, the grandson of Vallabha. Tradition asserts that the *mantra* was no doubt revealed to Vallabha by Kṛṣṇa. The *mantra* clearly shows that everyone entering in the *puṣṭi-mārga* is required to dedicate himself and his belonging to Kṛṣṇa and declare himself to be the most loyal servant of the Lord. It must be clearly borne in mind that the dedication is to Kṛṣṇa and not to any human being, including even the Ācārya.

After this ceremony is over, the man has to pass his time in worshipping the image of Kṛṣṇa, like Gopīs worshipping Kṛṣṇa in old days and in reading or hearing the stories of God.¹⁷ The worship of God is of three kinds viz. with body, with wealth and with mind. The first two kinds are calculated to destroy 'mine and thine', the very backbone of the whole Samsāra, and the last type, looked upon as the highest form of worship, accomplishes the realization of God. The whole life must be the life of an ideal servant of God. He must not mind anything other than the Lord. His is the life of complete self-surrender and devotion. The Lord, on his part, is sure to help such a man, who has renounced everything only for His sake.

In case, the aspirant cannot find a qualified preceptor, he is advised by Vallabha to create an image of God for himself and pass

16 This mantra, otherwise known as आत्मनिवेदनमन्त्र, runs as follows:—
सहस्रपरिवत्सरमितकालजातकृष्णवियोगजनिततापक्लेशानन्दतिरोभावोऽहं भगवते कृष्णाय
देहेन्द्रियप्राणान्तःकरणानि तद्धर्माश्च दारागारपुत्रासवित्तेहापराणि आत्मना सह समर्पयामि
दासोऽहम्, कृष्ण, तवास्मि ।

17

सेवायां वा कथायां वा यस्यासक्तिर्दृढा भवेत् ।

यावज्जीवं तस्य नाशो न क्वापीति मतिर्मम ॥

भक्तिवर्धिनी, 9.

the rest of his life in the worship of that image.¹⁸ Vallabha undoubtedly possessed all the necessary qualifications of a Guru and therefore performed the initiatory rite in all cases. Even now, the practice is that the ceremony of *Brahma-Sambandha* is performed by the descendants of Vallabha, although Vallabha has nowhere said that the ceremony should be performed by his own descendants.

Sometimes a charge of sensualism is levelled against Vallabha and his system. It is not possible to discuss the question in all its aspects within the small compass of this article, but it is sufficient to remark that Vallabha, wherever he gets an opportunity, has made abundantly clear that sensualism has no place in his system. He, in one place,¹⁹ says that God will never enter into the heart of those who are slaves of passion. When dedication of everything to God does not leave scope for man's individualism, it is impossible for him to run any risk on his own account. Some of the descendants of Vallabha have written small works in order to show that passion is most detrimental to spiritual progress.²⁰

It must have been now clear from what has been said above that *Puṣṭi* has nothing to do with eating, drinking and enjoying; and I am sure, those who care to read the works of Vallabha with an unbiassed mind are sure to be struck with wonder at the sublimity of the conception of the *Puṣṭi-mārga*. In fine, I cannot resist the temptation of remarking that some of the burning problems of the present times can be happily solved by giving a proper turn to this doctrine.

G. H. BHATT

18

तदभावे स्वयं वापि मूर्तिं कृत्वा हरेः क्वचित् ।

परिचर्यां सदा कुर्यात् तद्रूपं तत्र च स्थितम् ॥

तत्त्वदीपनिबन्ध, p. 414.

19

विषयाक्रान्तदेहानां नावेशः सर्वथा हरेः ।

संन्यासनिर्णय, 6.

20

दोषेषु प्रथमः कामो विविच्य विनिरूप्यते ।

यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तस्य नाशकः सर्वथा मतः ॥

Harirāyaji's कामाख्यदोषविवरण ।

Harirāyaji (born in 1591 A.D.) was the fifth descendant of Vallabha.

Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri

(1853-1931)

As the present number of this journal is dedicated to the memory of the distinguished Indologist, it is the proper occasion for making a survey of his writings along with references to such important biographical details as have a bearing upon his scholarship. As he devoted his whole life to the service of learning, his writings have accumulated through a period of about fifty-five years running to several thousands of pages. Many of them lie scattered in journals and pamphlets accessible at present with much difficulty. An attempt has been made in this paper to reflect within a small compass the distinctive features of his writings, pointing out at the same time the papers where important topics have been treated, and the hints and materials which they can supply for use by future workers on the same or similar lines. It is necessary for a proper appreciation of the writings to remember that many of the opinions expressed or the conclusions reached in them were done by him for the first time, or were correct inspite of the absence of evidences that happened to be acquired subsequently to confirm them.*

I

If we could have transported ourselves in imagination to the Sanskrit Collegiate School of Calcutta in 1866, we would have found in its fifth form a boy of thirteen named Sarat Nath. The transformation of his name into Haraprasad took place about this time in fulfilment of a vow to Hara for his recovery from a serious illness. At the end of one of his earliest articles published in the *Āryadarśana* (73) in 1877, we find him sign-

School &
College
career.

*The references made by the numerical figures are to the serial numbers of Sastriji's publications listed in Appendix I.

The important biographical details not touched in the body of the paper are to be found in Appendix II.

ing as Śrī Śarat. He showed signs of intellectual brilliance from this early stage. As a recognition of his merit he received a double promotion passing the Entrance Examination as a competition scholar in 1871. During his College days, he won many scholarships, and also the Holkar prize by writing a brochure in Bengali called *Bhārata Mahilā* on the ideal of womanhood as set forth in the ancient Sanskrit literature. He was a first class first in the B.A. and the M.A. in Sanskrit, winning the title of Śāstrī that used to be conferred in those days on the student who could acquire the topmost position in the M.A. together with a uniformly brilliant career in the preceding years.

Ancestry.

Haraprasad belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Naihati, a place about 24 miles north of Calcutta. The family had been noted for about a hundred years for the teaching of Nyāya to students who used to come to the place for study from far and near. Māṇikya Candra Tarkabhūṣaṇa left Jessore and settled at Naihati about 1760 A.C. He was a very learned man and a great Naiyāyika, vying with the distinguished Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, whose learning was utilized by Colebrooke in the compilation of the *Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava*, in his reputation as a scholar. Sir William Jones used to treat with great respect Māṇikya Candra's opinions on cases to which the Hindu law was applicable. Māṇikya Candra's son Śrīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra, and his grandson Rāmakamala Nyāyaratna (Sastriji's father) enjoyed a great reputation for their scholarship in Navyanyāya. Interesting details about his grandfather Śrīnātha and his maternal grandfather Rāmamāṇikya Vidyālaṅkāra a great scholar have been given by Sastriji himself (108) showing how in their lives, plain living and devotion to stern ideals were wedded to a deep learning that had its rewards in none other than the triumphs of learning.

It was his effort to publish the *Bhārata Mahilā* in a prominent Bengali monthly that led to Haraprasad's acquaintance with one, who was to influence his mind very greatly through-

out his life. He was no other than the great Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra, who was an inhabitant of Kāṭālapāḍā near Naihati, the very place where the ancestral home of the young author was situated. Failing to have his essay published in the *Āryadarśana* as the editor wanted its radical alteration, Haraprasad welcomed the good offices offered by Rājākṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya to have it accepted for publication in Bankim Chandra's *Vaṅgadarśana*. It was he who took Haraprasad to Naihati and introduced him to Bankim Chandra. The acquaintance started in this way ripened in course of time into a deep friendship (134, pp. 519-522). The feeling has been thus expressed by Sastriji in his speech on the occasion of the unveiling of Bankim Chandra's bust at the premises of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad in 1329 B.S. (1922): "He (Bankim Chandra) was my friend, philosopher, and guide during his life-time. I want him now to see from on high that this disciple of his is still attached and devoted to him in the extreme" (170, p. 608). To none other among his senior contemporaries, with whom he had occasion to collaborate in the literary field, has he expressed his obligation in such feeling terms; from which it can well be inferred that his debt to the intellectual influence of Bankim Chandra was the largest. The influence was imbibed in conversations with him at his residence lasting on holidays usually from the afternoon to 9-30 P.M.—a limit that was very rarely overstepped. The topics of these conversations were very various,—history, literature, poetry, prose, drama, and Sanskrit, Bengali, and English languages (133, pp. 563, 564). The papers published in the *Vaṅgadarśana* had to come up to a high standard. The *Bhārata Mahilā* stood this test, and impressed its editor with the literary ability of the young contributor. From this time onwards i.e. from 1876, Bankim Chandra continued uninterruptedly his encouragement to Haraprasad not only during his own editorship of the journal but also during the period it was edited by his elder brother Sanjiva Chandra. Quite a crop of papers numbering more than twenty-five (leaving out the contributions that

The Vaṅga-
darśana
and
Bankim
Chandra's
influence
on Sastriji.

appeared subsequently in a book-form) came into being within the short period of six years (1876-1882) under the warm influence of his advice and sympathy. Haraprasad, as stated by himself (176, pp. 563-565), had but two objects in view at this time, viz. to please the litterateur by his writings and to mature his ability to write. He never looked beyond these to personal name and fame at this stage, and it was for this reason that his contributions were not published over his signatures. The identity of his papers would have ever remained a matter for conjecture, if a pamphlet published in 1916 had not contained a list of the writings that saw the light through the *Vaṅgadarśana*. The cognizance of the list without any contradiction by Sastriji or any member of his family may be taken as indicative of its general accuracy. The contribution of the articles continued even from Lucknow where he remained for a year for teaching Sanskrit in the Canning College.

The four principal subjects that received Sastriji's attention.

The contributions to the *Vaṅgadarśana* touched all the three principal subjects, which along with the search for manuscripts and the preparation of their descriptive catalogues, engaged Sastriji's attention for a longer period and in a larger measure in subsequent years than any other. These three subjects are the Bengali language and literature, Buddhism and its later developments, and criticism of Kālidāsa's poetical works. The preparation of descriptive catalogues of manuscripts was initiated at the request of the veteran orientalist Raja R. L. Mitra who on account of his illness 1878 sought in Sastriji's assistance in connection with the completion of his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. He translated 15 abstracts of the larger manuscripts, which have been indicated in the Table of Contents. Thus an early beginning was made of a line of work that was Sastriji's forte. The search for Mss. brought to his notice mines of new information that enabled him to strike out fresh avenues of research for himself, and illumine for the benefit of other scholars and the public at large many a dark and unnoticed region in the domain of historical truths. The light derived

from the manuscripts discovered or handled by him exposed to his view the use of the Bengali language for writing works connected with the later phases of Buddhism in Bengal, and also the greater antiquity of the Bengali language, literature and script than had been supposed. It enabled him to supply new materials that filled up many a gap in the account of Buddhism from the emergence of Mahāyāna to the final absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism specially in Bengal. Finally, as the manuscripts dealt with by him ranged from the Vedic period to the nineteenth century, and covered a large variety of subjects, he was put to the necessity of dwelling, in the Prefaces to the *Descriptive Catalogues* and elsewhere, on the histories of those subjects and the chronology of the various works in addition to marking out the noteworthy points in the contents of the treatises.

The *Vaṅgadāśana* came into being at a time when the potentialities of the Bengali language as a pliant and efficient instrument of expression were gradually becoming patent. Various forces were being brought to bear upon it by writers of different leanings to give it a shape to their likings. The authors with a bias towards Sanskrit (of whom Rāmagati Nyāyaratna may be taken as typical) gave the language an undue measure of Sanskrit leaven, while there were others who imported into it so many colloquial words as also those of Arabic, Persian, English and such other foreign extraction that it ran the risk of losing its Bengali character. To the latter category belonged Śyāmācaraṇ Gāṅguli whose article in the *Calcutta Review* of 1877 (pp. 395-417) stimulated a discussion of the question. Sastriji has always supported in his articles published in 1878 and later the middle course (48, 65). He deprecated on the one hand the use of such Sanskritic Bengali as the following :

Sastriji's contribution to the discussions about the shape to be given to written Bengali.

“পৰ্বতাকারতরঙ্গবিশিষ্ট প্রসারিত সমুদ্র, প্রবল বজ্রাবাত, বোরতর শিলাবৃষ্টি, জীবিতাশাংসংহারক অংকম্পকারক বজ্রধ্বনি, গলয়াশঙ্কাসমুদ্ভাবক ভীতিজনক ভূমিকম্প, প্রথররশ্মি-প্রদীপ্ত নিদামমধ্যাহ্ন.....অসংখ্য-

তারকামণ্ডিত তিমিরাবৃত বিশুদ্ধ গগনমণ্ডল ইত্যাদি ভারতভূমি-স্বত্বীয় নৈসর্গিক বস্তু ও নৈসর্গিক ব্যাপার অচিরাগত কৌতূহলাক্রান্ত হিন্দুজাতীয়-দিগের অন্তঃকরণ এরূপ ভীত চমৎকৃত ও অভিভূত করিয়া ফেলিল যে, তাহারা প্রভাবশালী প্রাকৃত পদার্থসমুদায়কে সচেতন দেবতা জ্ঞান করিয়া সর্বাপেক্ষা তদীয় উপাসনাতেই প্রবৃত্ত থাকিলেন।” (65, p. 181).

On the other hand, he condemned such Anglicized Bengali as—

“আমি ল্যাণ্ডোগাড়ীতে ড্রাইভ করিতে করিতে হাওড়া ষ্টেশনে পৌঁছিয়া বেনারসের জন্ত বুক করিলাম। ফাষ্ট ক্লাশে লোরার বার্থ ভেকাণ্ট ছিল না, আপার বার্থে বোডিং শ্রেড্ করিয়া একটু স্ট্রাপ্ দিবার চেষ্টা করিতেছি, এমন সময়ে হুইসিল দিয়া ট্রেন ষ্টার্ট করিল।” (85, p. 286).

“শিজিবাসী যুবকগণ মহোৎসাহসহকারে এই কথা প্রচার করিয়া সত্যকে লুপ্ত করিবার মধ্যে আনিয়াছেন।”

“সুতরাং যদি পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা কিছু অনিষ্ট করিয়া থাকে তাহার জন্ত আমরা নিজ অদৃষ্টকেই ধন্তবাদ দিতে পারি।”

“যে যে ক্ষেত্রে তিনি কার্য্য করিয়াছেন, সেই সকল ক্ষেত্রেই প্রায় তিনি সমসাময়িকগণের বহু পূর্ববর্তী ছিলেন।” (85, p. 285).

The treatment of the subject is very humorous at places (85, pp. 286, 287). Details of these interesting discussions cannot be given here for want of space. Suffice it to say that Sastriji's opinion on the subject was very sound and may indeed be taken to be the theoretical foundation of contemporary Bengali prose.

He came to the conclusion that the language should be light or serious according to the nature of the subject-matter. The first essential of every piece of writing in his judgment is clearness and simplicity. It is unwise to cease borrowings altogether from other languages in times of necessity, as such a course would hamper the development of Bengali. There should not be any objection to the use of foreign words, if the resources of Bengali, Sanskrit or any Indian vernacular, cannot supply the need in the same effective way. A reasonable measure of Sanskritic words may be used, but in any case, the current Bengali words should not be taboo under

His opinion about the latitude to be given to Bengali for its development, and about the Bengali grammar.

the notion that they lessen the dignity of the composition. The terms of ordinary use when properly handled can evolve such forcefulness as cannot be had otherwise in particular cases. The attempt to eliminate the Persian or Arabic words from Bengali is bound to fail, because a very large proportion of them has already been naturalized in the language and because half the population of Bengal, which is Musalman, cannot agree to this elimination (85, p. 286; and 63, p. 76). The question of allowing Bengali the fullest latitude for development led him to raise his voice against the writers of Bengali grammars, of which about 250 had already appeared in 1901. The authors were writing the grammars in imitation of Sanskrit grammars, following at times the nomenclature used in the grammars for the English language (81, and 165, pp. 864-867).

The stress laid above by Sastriji on the clearness and simplicity of the language is found reflected in his own Bengali writings. All his articles dealing with easy or abstruse subjects are characterized by the perspicuity of the language in which they are couched. It was this characteristic of his style that was pointed out by the distinguished Bengali critic Akshay Chandra Sarkar in his *Sādhārāṇī* (14th July, 1881):

“পণ্ডিত হরপ্রসাদ শাস্ত্রীর মত লেখক পাইলে, বাঙ্গালা সাহিত্যের ভরসা আছে, তাহা নিশ্চয় কথা। পূর্বে একবার বলিয়াছি, ইঁহার লেখা এরূপ পরিষ্কার—পরিষ্কার কেন স্বচ্ছ—যে ভাবের আবরণ আছে বলিয়াই বোধ হয় না। আর, একটি কথা সাধু বা সংস্কৃত অঙ্কট অসাধু বা প্রাকৃত—অতএব এ দুইটির একত্র সংস্থান করা অকর্তব্য এরূপ ফলাফলের জাতিভেদ হরপ্রসাদে নাই। যে যেমন কাজ করিতে পারে, শাস্ত্রী তাহার বর্ণবিভেদ না করিয়া তাহাকে সেই কার্যে নিযুক্ত করেন।”

His pen was plied beyond the limits of historical articles. In his earlier years, he wrote in Bengali on economic topics, such as ‘exchange,’ ‘free trade and protection’ ‘the reason why the rents are paid,’ ‘the cultivation of sugar-cane’ and so forth, but this line of writing was not pursued in later times. Two sets of Bengali articles—one on the works of the great poet Kālidāsa, and another on Buddhism, would, I think, be

received on all hands as valuable additions to the Bengali literature on serious subjects. The contents of these writings have been dealt with in their proper places in this discourse.

Specimens
of
Sastriji's
prose
writings.

It would be an interesting revelation to many, who knew Sastriji merely as one absorbed in the pursuit of his dry-as-dust subjects attractive to the antiquarian and the historian, to learn that he could also wield a pen of no mean power as a novelist. His mind was keenly sensitive to the inspiration of the Muse of poetry, and he even tried once (see *Kalpanā*, 1880) to write poems as evidenced by a specimen called *Mohini* recently published in a collection of some of his writings. But portions of his prose writings in the *Vālmikīr Jay* (2), *Kāñcanamālā* (4), *Meghadūta* (3), and *Bener Meye* (5) and some passages in his articles on Kālidāsa are replete with poetry. A few specimens may be given by this opportunity :

(a) The following is a passage from the *Vālmikīr Jay* on the fascinating power of the song sung by the R̥bhus at the time of their descent to the earth—

“গানে মুগ্ধ কে নয় ? যখন সাগাথ মনুষ্যগায়ক তান ছাড়িয়া গায়,
তখন কে না মুগ্ধ হয় ? তাহা অপেক্ষা যখন অন্তরের উল্লাসে প্রাণ খুলিয়া
গিয়া গান বাহির হয়, তখন আরও মধুর হয়, যে গীত বুঝে, সে আরও
মুগ্ধ, যে গীতের ভাব বুঝে, সে আরও মুগ্ধ হয়, গীতে যদি শুধু কাণ না
ভরিয়া মনও ভরাইতে পারে, তাহা হইলে সে গীতে লোকে উন্মত্ত হয়।
আজি ঋতুগণ গায়ক, জন্মভূমিদর্শনে পুলকে পুরিত হইয়া গাইতেছেন, হৃদয়
উল্লাসে ভরিয়া উঠিয়াছে। বশিষ্ঠ, বিশ্বামিত্র ও বাম্বীকি শ্রোতা, তাঁহারা
শুনিতেন। বুঝিতেছেন, ভাবগ্রহ করিতেছেন। কাণ, মন, প্রাণ
ভরিয়া উঠিতেছে। বাহির ইন্দ্রিয় কাণে প্রবেশ করিয়াছে। মন ও প্রাণ
কাণে উঠিয়াছে। জ্ঞান, চৈতন্য হত। তাঁহারা গায়কে মুগ্ধ, গায়কের
ভাবে মুগ্ধ, গানে মুগ্ধ, স্বরে মুগ্ধ আর স্বরের ভাবে আরও মুগ্ধ।

স্বর যত জমিতেছে, কেবল যেন বলিতেছে ভাই ভাই ভাই। ঋতুরা
যেন বাহুপ্রসারণ করিয়া স্থাবর, জঙ্গম, ভূচর, খেচর, জলচর সকলকে
ডাকিতেছে—এস ভাই ভাই, এস ভাই ভাই, এস ভাই ভাই ভাই—
সবাই ভাই। স্বর জমিতেছে, যেন আরও ডাকিতেছে, ভাই ভাই
ভাই।”

(b) The language of this extract from the *Kāñcanamālā* is as light and playful as the dancing flowers striking one another with their delicate petals under the influence of the fragrant breeze—

“তুইটি ফুল, সগান ফুটিয়াছে, সগান হাসিতেছে, গন্ধে চারিদিক্
আগোদিত করিতেছে। পাশাপাশি ফুটিয়া দেখাইয়া দেখাইয়া গন্ধ
ছড়াইতেছে, আর হাসিভরে একবার এ ওর গায়ে পড়িতেছে, একবার
ও এর গায়ে পড়িতেছে। একবার এ উহাকে পাঁপড়ী দিয়া মারিতেছে,
ও আবার তাহার শোধ দিতেছে। বাতাস ইহাকে উহার গায়ে ফেলিয়া
দিতেছে। বাতাস থামিলে ও আবার ইহার গায়ে পড়িয়া সরিয়া
বাইতেছে। কেমন সুন্দর! একপ সমবিকসিত, সমপ্রস্ফুটিত, সম-
গন্ধাগোদিত, সগান কুসুমদ্বয়ের মিলন কেমন সুন্দর।”

(c) A few lines from the *Meghadūta* bear testimony to the adroit way, in which a charming Sanskrit description from Kālidāsa can be kept equally charming in its Bengali garb—

“শ্যামা—কাল নয়—তপ্তকাঞ্চনবর্ণাভা—কাঁচা সোণার মত রঙ।
শিখরিদশনা—মল্লিনাথ অর্থ করিয়াছেন কোটিযুক্তদশনা অর্থাৎ ইঁদ্রদাঁতী।
টোলের ভট্টাচার্য্য মহাশয়েরা অর্থ করিতেন, দাড়িধবীজের স্তায় দশনযুক্ত,
যাহার দাঁতগুলি দাড়িম দানার মত। পক্ষবিষাধরোষ্ঠী—পাকা তেলাকুচার
মত ছুঁটি ঠোঁট। মধ্যে ক্ষামা—কোমরটী সর।
চকিতহরিণীপ্রোক্ষণা—হরিণের চোখ মুখের তুলনায় খুব বড়, পটলচেরা,
আর তার উপর ঢলঢল করিতেছে; মানুষের চোখের যে অংশ সাদা, হরিণের
সে টুকু জলের মত, কেমন ঢল ঢল করে। তাহার উপর যখন আবার সেই
হরিণ ভয় পায়, তখন সেই ঢলঢলে চোখ আরও ঢলঢলে হয়; যক্ষপত্নীর
চোখছুঁচী তেমনি।”

(d) The following is a beautiful delineation of the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna bathed white in moonlight—the latter with its blackish waters looking white, the former with its greyish stream looking doubly white—and the spacious marble palace on the bank also tinged white, casting on the waters its shadow appearing equally white, though a shadow. This was the palace of Purūravas and it was from here that Urvaśī made her final exit to heaven (see 113, p. 249)—

“প্রয়াগে গঙ্গা ও যমুনার সঙ্গম। একদিকে গঙ্গার শাদা জল তোড়ে আসিতেছে, আর একদিকে যমুনার কাল জল বেগে আসিতেছে। যেখানে দুইয়ে মিশিয়াছে, সেখানকার অপূর্ণ শোভা কালিদাস একদিন মহাকবির চক্ষে দেখিয়াছিলেন। তিনি তাহার যে বর্ণনা করিয়া গিয়াছেন, তাহা তুলনার অতীত, কিন্তু সে বর্ণনায় আমাদের আজ কাজ নাই। ভাদ্র মাসের ভরা গঙ্গা পাড়ের উপর আসিয়া পড়িয়াছে, ভরা যমুনাও পাড়ের উপর আসিয়া পড়িয়াছে; যেখানে এ দুইএর মিলন হইয়াছে, সেইখানে একটি সাত তলা প্রকাণ্ড শাদা মারবেলের রাজবাড়ী—এমন পালিশ করা যে, দিন রাত যেন চক্-চক্ করিতেছে—বক্-বক্ করিতেছে। সেই সাত তলা বাড়ীটিই আজ আমাদের বর্ণনার বিষয়। আজ আকাশে মেঘ নাই, পূর্ণিমার রাত্রি। চাঁদ পূব দিক্ হইতে উঠিতেছে আর যেন নির্জলা ছধের মত শাদা আলোয় পৃথিবীকে ডুবাইয়া রাখিয়াছে। ভরা গঙ্গার শাদা জলের উপর দুধ্ ঢালা—যমুনার কাল জলের উপর দুধ্ ঢালা। যমুনার কাল রং ডুবাইয়া দিয়া যেন শাদা রংয়ের চেউ উঠিতেছে। মারবেলের বাড়ীর উপর চাঁদের আলো পড়িয়াছে—যেন সব বাড়ীটিকে ছধে নাওয়াইয়া রাখিয়াছে। মারবেলের ছায়া গঙ্গার জলে পড়িয়াছে, ছায়া হইলে কি হয়, সেও যেন শাদা হইয়া গিয়াছে। এইরূপে শাদার উপর শাদা, তার উপর শাদা, এক অপূর্ণ শাদা রঙের সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে। আর সকলের উপর একটা চক্চকে বক্চকে ভাব সকলেরই মন হরণ করিতেছে।”

(e) *The Bener Meye* (Merchant's Daughter) is a realistic novel presenting a picture of the Buddhist and Hindu community of the 11th century living side by side, and coming into contact with each other in the alternations of conflict and co-operation. Sastriji's intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the period together with the historicity of some of the principal figures introduced into the fiction has enabled him to create in the mind of the reader a delusion in which he feels as if sensing a real world. The details about the procession of the Buddhists at Saptagrāma, their festivities on the occasion, their monasteries, their beliefs, and mode of worship and sādhanā under the instruction of the Siddhācārya named Lui, the Nālandā University, the Hindu inhabitants of Saptagrāma with their leaders Harivarmadeva and his minister Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, their attempts to foil the designs of the

Buddhists to entice the widow into the Buddhist fold with all her properties, the ultimate fight between the Buddhists and the Hindus and the former's defeat, and the way in which the villages acquired through the fight were redistributed, giving an insight into the way in which the Buddhists were ousted or absorbed by the Hindus—all these together with the manner of putting them invest the novel with the marks of a production that can only be the outcome of a vivid historical imagination.

The extract quoted below will give the reader an idea of the way in which he could handle the commonplace incidents with a skill that made them attractive—

“ভোর হইতে না হইতেই তারা পুকুরের মাছ-ধরার সরঞ্জাম সব প্রস্তুত । পুকুরটি যতখানি চওড়া, ততখানি লম্বা । একখানি জাল, জালের স্থতাগুলি বহুকাল ধরিয়া গাবানতে এমন শক্ত হইয়াছে যে, মাছের মাধ্য কি উহা ছিঁড়িয়া পালায় । জালের তলার দিকে ইট ও পাথর বাঁধিয়া দেওয়া হইয়াছে । উপরে গোছা গোছা সোলার ফাতনা ভাসিতেছে । দুই পাড়ের ধারে দুই নৌকায় জেলেরা জালের দড়ি ধরিয়া বসিয়াছে । নৌকা চলিল, সোলার ফাতনা চলিল, জালের দড়ি চলিল, পাড়ের উপর অগণ্য মাছুষ চলিতে লাগিল । বড় বড় মাছ বাই দিতে লাগিল, এক একটা মাছ পনের হাত লাফাইয়া উঠিয়া আবার জালের মধ্যে পড়িতে লাগিল । এক একটা বাইয়ে জল তোলপাড় হইতে লাগিল । বাইয়ে ঢেউগুলি গোল হইয়া ক্রমে বড় হইতে হইতে ডাঙ্গায় আসিয়া পড়িতে লাগিল । ক্রমে জাল তারা পুকুরের মাঝামাঝি পৌঁছিল । তখন স্বর্ধ্যদেবের রাক্ষা কিরণ আসিয়া তারা পুকুরের জল সোনার রঙ করিয়া দিল । কিন্তু এক কি ? জাল যে আর টানা যায় না । জালের তলায় এত মাছ পড়িয়াছে যে, দুই নৌকায় জেলেরাই জাল টানিয়া উঠাইতে পারিতেছে না । তখন জালের দড়ি নোল করিয়া দেওয়া হইল । কতকগুলি মাছ বাই দিয়া লাফাইয়া জালের পিছনে গিয়া পড়িল । তাহারা যখন লাফায়, তখন বোধ হইতে লাগিল যেন, রূপার মাছ-বৃষ্টি হইতেছে । মাছগুলি রূপার মত সাদা, মাজা রূপার মত চক্চকে, একটার পর আর একটা পড়িতেছে । চক্চকে রূপার রঙের উপর স্বর্ঘ্যের সোণালি রঙ পড়িয়া গিয়াছে । সে রঙের মেশামেশিতে এক অপূর্ব শোভা ।”

The adoption of Bengali as the medium of instruction in colleges was advocated by him emphatically as early as 1880 in

The adop-
tion of
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instruction.

his article (59) in the *Vaṅgadarśana*. Since the thirties of the nineteenth century, it became the settled policy of Government to promote the knowledge of 'European literature and science' among the people of this country through the medium of the English language. The policy was formulated in the light of Lord Macaulay's Minute (1835) which brought to a close the heated controversy between the 'Orientalists' and the 'Anglicists' and led the Government to direct its patronage mainly to the promotion of English education.¹ The advantages of the spread of knowledge of the European literature and sciences are no doubt many, but the harmful effects of the teaching of the various subjects through the medium of a foreign tongue became gradually perceptible. The establishment of the Calcutta University presented the opportunity for a full application of the policy and for a scrutiny of its advantages and disadvantages. The harmful effects were being observed by some interested in the welfare of the country. Among them may be mentioned Rev. J. Long, who expressed in 1860 his opinion on this point in the course of an Address delivered by him at the Family Literary Club, Calcutta: "The study of English should be restricted in most, if not in all the junior classes, to the critical examination and acquisition of the grammar, construction and idiom of that language. It may be argued that by reading history in Urdu, where now it is read in English, you diminish the school-boy's opportunities of familiarizing himself with English; but, *under the present system, the boy learns neither English nor history* In other words we should have a separate department for literature and science, including, under the latter head, the Sciences of Mathematics, History, Geography, and Political Economy. We should adopt that medium of communicating knowledge, through which the largest amount of knowledge may be most speedily and accurately acquired. Science is intrinsically the same whether clothed in Arabic, Sanskrit,

¹ Stark, *Vernacular Education in Bengal* (1813 to 1912), pp. 21-24.

English or Urdu. But why dress her up in disguise? Are the difficulties of arithmetic decreased by the rules of addition and subtraction being explained in a strange and unfamiliar tongue? *The native scholar would learn, and thoroughly too, ten chapters of history and geography in Urdu or in Hindi in the time he would take to make himself intelligently acquainted with the facts recorded in one chapter of an English work.*"¹

Twenty years after, the same state of things continued without any remedy, as the following gist of the protest made by Sastriji will show: 'If education be imparted through the mother tongue, it facilitates the work. We are taught, instead, through the difficult language of a people living so far away. It is not easy for a boy to have a fair knowledge of the language, even though labours continued for eight years. If it be conceded that, as English is the official language, it should be learnt by all, there is no reason why it should be necessary for the sixty-six millions of people of this province of Bengal to learn arithmetic, history, and the sciences through English. Why teach English without using the vernacular for explaining its intricacies? Why teach the Śāstras and even Sanskrit through a foreign tongue? The method involves labours out of proportion to the gain. It is not calculated to awaken the student's interest in the subjects taught to him. He tries somehow to pass the examination, after which he unlearns most of what has been crammed into his brain.' (59, pp. 212, 213). It was in 1891 when Sir Gurudas was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University that Bankim Chandra attempted to secure for Bengali a greater scope for its use in the examinations. Sastriji joined in these efforts along with Sir Asutosh. A motion was tabled by Sir Asutosh at the Senate meeting with this object in view, but the result was very meagre (170, p. 604). It was not until 1910 that Bengali became an independent subject of study in the M.A., but it

¹ *The Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club* (1860), p. 16.

is even now far from what it should be as a medium of instruction in the colleges. Absence of literature on particular subjects of study is pointed out as an obstacle in the way of making it such a medium, but it should be remembered that the University can do much towards fostering the growth of such literature by announcing its intention to select the best vernacular books on particular subjects from among those that might be available after a number of years to be specified by itself. It is necessary to stimulate the development of such literature for the benefit of the people instead of leaving it to be created by the people themselves through their unaided initiative.

Collection of evidences regarding the antiquity of the Bengali script and language.

In the seventies of the last century, none had the idea that the Bengali script and the Bengali language were as old as the evidences, many of which were brought to the notice of scholars by Sastriji, proved them to be. In 1867, Raja Rajendralal was much delighted to find out the manuscript of a work, in Bengali character, called *Setubandha* copied in the 13th century A.C. In 1883 Prof. Bendall brought out the facsimile of half a leaf of the *Hevajratantra* in the Bengali script bearing the date 1198 A.C. But these manuscripts could not take us to the period before the advent of the Musalmans in Bengal. Sastriji was responsible for the discovery of the following eleven Mss. in the Bengali script belonging to times before the Musalman period (90, p. 9):

(1) A Buddhist ms. (which was a commentary on a *Kālacakrayāna* text) copied in Jessore during the reign of Hari-varmadeva (about the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th c.).

(2) *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (of the same period).

(3) *Vajrāvalī* of Abhayakaragupta (about the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th c.).

(4) *Kālacakrāvātāra* (of the same author) copied 1125 A.C.

(5) *Caryāgītī* (copied at the beginning of the 12th c.).

(6) *Kuṭṭanimata* of Dāmodaragupta (copied 1172 A.C.).

- (7) *Hevajratantra-ṭīkā* (copied 1198 A.C.).
- (8) *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandin (12th c.),
- (9) *Rāmcarita-ṭīkā* (12th c.),
- (10) *Dohākoṣa-pañji* of Advayavajra (12th c.), and
- (11) *Apohasiddhi* of Ratnakīrti (12th c.).

Through the help of the scripts in these mss., specimens of the Bengali alphabet were traced back to the 10th century. The script must have emerged earlier, because Luipā who introduced the Sahaja cult among the Buddhists, flourished, according to Sastriji in the 10th century A.C.¹ (93, p. 44; 21, pp. 15, 16). As he wrote in a language which was essentially Bengali, the Bengali script is necessarily as old as his writings, though of course nothing can be said about the forms of the characters in the absence of specimens. To find out Luipā's date, Sastriji depended upon the fact that he and Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna composed the Sanskrit work called *Lui Abhisamaya*. As the latter left the Vikramaśilā monastery in 1038 A.C. at the age of 58 years (i.e. was born in 980 A.C.), Luipā being his elder contemporary has been assigned to the 10th century. Sastriji could not have this conclusion about the date of Luipā confirmed by the evidence of the succession lists of Siddhācāryas available in the monasteries in Nepal (93, p. 47). It is a matter for gratification that his son Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the learned general editor of the Gaekwad Oriental Series, has taken up this unfinished work as he has done many of his suggestions, and examined two of these genealogies. His conclusion is that Luipā ought to appear on the list about 669 A.C., assigning an average of 12 years to each succession.²

The evolution of the Bengali script through the various centuries after the advent of the Musalmans into Bengal has

¹ It is mentioned as the 8th century in 85, p. 45, and as the 9th in 21, p. 16.

² *Sādhanamālā*, II, xli-xliii.

been traced by Sastriji through the specimens of the Bengali characters in the following manuscripts (90, pp. 9, 10):—

Subhāṣitasamgraha (12th c.).

Pañcarakṣā (13th c.).

Dharmaratna of Jimūtavāhana (14th c.).

Kṛṣṇakīrtana (14th c.).

Kuṣumāñjaliprakāśa 1st part (15th c.).

Bodhicaryāvatāra (15th c.).

Kāśidāsa's Mahābhārata, ādiparva (16th c.).

Aṅgadārāyavāra (17th c.) and

Jaiminibhārata (18th c.).

Sastriji's
contribution to
the
materials
for the
history of
Bengali
literature.

Sastriji's contribution to the materials for the history of Bengali literature, specially in its earlier stages, is valuable. It was he who drew the attention of the public to the extensive Vaiṣṇava literature which had an important bearing not only on the history of the vernacular literature but also on the philology of the Bengali language, and the general history of the province. He himself became aware of the existence of this large literature after his appointment as the Librarian of the Bengal Government Library in 1886 (21, Preface, p. 1). In his dissertation (9) on the subject at the Cumbuliatola Reading Club in 1891, he cited the names of 114 composers of Vaiṣṇava songs, some of whom had to their credit a large number of them ranging up to 458. Moreover, 287 songs were anonymous. A large number of these compositions had been in print, but, as Sastriji points out (21, Preface, p. 1), the Smārta Brāhmaṇas and the Naiyāyikas (who were usually Śāktas) took no notice of them on account of their hateful attitude towards the Vaiṣṇavas, specially the followers of Caitanya. Details about the life and works of the poets were also given in the dissertation. It opened the eyes of the educated to the existence of an extensive literature of which they had been unaware in spite of the fact that many of the works had been printed.

To these Vaiṣṇava works should be added the songs and

other kinds of literature written by the 84 Siddhas in a language that has been shown to be essentially Bengali. The names of their Bengali works have been given in the accounts of the composers of *padas* in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* (pp. 21-36).

In the *Vaṅgadarśana* of 1880 (62), he has given within a short compass the history of Bengali literature from Raja Ram-mohan Roy up to the time of publication of the article, tracing the development of both prose and poetry and offering his criticisms on the writings of about twenty prominent authors. In subsequent writings, he has not attempted to write the history of Bengali in a systematic way but occasional glances at the literary productions of a particular period are found in some of his articles along with his opinions about their merits or demerits (cf. 84 and 189).

2

Sastriji had a keen sense for the appreciation of beauty. There are beauties in the arrangement of thoughts, colours and sounds that require no training for their appreciation, but in their higher flights a training is necessary. Sastriji's natural power for this appreciation was sharpened by his intensive study of the Sanskrit poetics without which the delicate beauty of many Sanskrit passages is sure to be missed. He has interpreted in Bengali the beauty in the poetical works of Kālidāsa in a large number of articles (47, 51, 66, 110-121, 123, 125, 126, 128-133, 313) numbering more than twenty, and in his *Meghadūta* (3). Of these, three were written between the years 1878 and 1882, and the rest in 1915-1919, covering more than 200 pages. This cluster of articles along with the *Meghadūta* constitutes a valuable contribution to the Bengali critical literature. His pamphlet on *Mālavikāgnimitra* in English (12) treats of the beauty, plot etc. of the drama. Sastriji also wrote a few English articles on Kālidāsa, and one or two Bengali articles, directed to the elucidation of the date etc. of the great poet and not to the interpretation of the beauty of his writings.

His Bengali articles in appreciation of the beauty in Kālidāsa's works.

After a study of the poetical works of both the world-

Kālidāsa
and
Shakes-
peare,

renowned poets Kālidāsa and Shakespeare, Sastriji at an early age felt inclined to analyse the greatness of each and indicate the spheres in which the one excelled the other. A striking feature of Kālidāsa's writings, says he (47), lies in the fact that in the depiction of characters in his dramas and other poetical works, he has always shown a partiality towards the pretty, the handsome, and the beautiful, unlike Shakespeare who has through his magic pen brought into being a large variety of men and women ranging from the meanest to the noblest, from the satanic to the divine. Kālidāsa has peopled the world of his creation by the self-effacing Auśinārī, the fascinating Mālavikā, the exquisite Śakuntalā, the dignified Kaṇva, the outspoken Śārṅgarava, the heroic Raghu, the loving Aja and the conscientious Duṣyanta and such others but we look for in vain in his writings for characters like the grasping Lady Macbeth, the designing Cleopatra, the extortionate Shylock and the revengeful Prospero. In the painting of struggles between conflicting emotions, in the depiction of the deepest sentiments, in the play upon the whole gamut of human feelings and experiences, Shakespeare ranks much higher than Kālidāsa; but Kālidāsa stands supreme in his artistry as a painter of Nature, in his skill in the weaving of the subtle and the delicate into the finest gauze of imagery. The description of the changing landscapes as seen by both Rāma and Sitā from their aerial car on their way back from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā in the 13th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* has scarcely a parallel. The foaming blue ocean with whales spurting water through nostrils, the sandy coast with huge snakes risen out of their watery lairs for airing themselves, the green forests along the sea looking like the rusty rim of a wheel, the hills, rivers, and hermitages lying along the route up to the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna mingling their grey and blue waters, make up the beautiful panorama, upon which the poet fabricated his verses of unique beauty (47, pp. 36, 37). He has also evinced his skill in the handling of the brush in the portrayal of the seasons. The spring being the strongest in its

appeal to the human emotions, it has been adverted to by the poet in several places in his writings viz., the *Rtusamhāra* (VI), *Mālavikā* (III), *Kumāra* (IV), and *Raghu* (IX). It is remarked by Sastriji (110) that the delineation of the season becomes shorter but sweeter in intensity in the order of the poetical pieces named above. In the first and the second, stress has been laid on the beauty of Nature; in the third, the beauty of Nature shares his attention equally with the emotional changes caused by the spring, while in the fourth, these sentiments receive prominence as against the beauty of Nature. In all these descriptions, a keen power of observation of the minute details about men and things is in evidence.

Kālidāsa points out the beautiful features of the heroines in his *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakas* through dexterous delineation and skilful presentation. The beauty of Yakṣa's wife in the *Meghadūta*, and of Indumatī in the *Raghu* has been brought out in a masterly way through only a few strokes of the brush, as only one stanza has been sufficient to conjure up before the mind's eye the beautiful likeness of the former, while the latter has been painted in all her completeness through only nineteen qualifying epithets. The beauty of Pārvatī in the *Kumāra*, however, has received a more elaborate treatment, as nineteen stanzas have been used to mirror it (313, pp. 1096, 1097). Of these stanzas to which Sastriji refers, I am quoting two by way of specimen from Ryder's effective rendering:—

As pictures waken to the painter's brush,
Or lilies open to the morning sun,
Her perfect beauty answered to the flush
Of womanhood when childish days were done.
Suppose a blossom on a leafy spray;
Suppose a pearl on spotless coral laid;
Such was the smile, pure radiantly gay,
That round her red, red lips for ever played.

In Kālidāsa's dramas, the heroine is brought to the view

of the hero and the audience in a charming manner. Mālavikā is brought upon the stage of the theatre hall in the royal palace to exhibit her skill in dancing (110, p. 1098.) Urvaśi chased by a demon had fallen into a swoon. She had not recovered from the effects of the shock, when she was introduced in the play, still quivering (119, p. 1100). Śakuntalā first appears before the audience along with two companions of almost the same age and beauty and engaged in watering the plants. Her tender feeling for the plants as a trait of her tender heart is made manifest through the very first words addressed by her to one of her companions, while the charm of her beauty is shown to advantage by her movements to keep off the bees attracted by the lotuslike loveliness of her face (110, pp. 1101, 1102).

The
exposition
of the
*Megha-
dūta*.

The exposition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* made by Sastriji is noteworthy. He had been equipping for years through visits to the places mentioned in the poem for getting an insight into the inner meanings, if any, of the passages, and visualizing to himself those localities with all their natural beauty. As an example of the way in which he draws out the inner meaning, the following may be pointed out: The separation of the Yakṣa from his wife caused him an intense pain. He was banished by Kuvera to Rāmagiri, which contained various spots with which the movements of Rāma and Sītā during their banishment were associated. Kālidāsa only hints at these associations. Sastriji points out the implication that the pangs of separation felt by the Yakṣa were meant by Kuvera to be further intensified by the sight of the spots, which reminded him, by way of contrast to his own misery, of the conjugal happiness enjoyed there by Rāma and his consort (3, p. 10).

The
chronology
of Kālidāsa's
works.

At places, the interpretations were too candid in their expositions of the amorous feeling running through the whole poem, to which exceptions were taken by some reviewers on the ground of refined taste. Sastriji revised the work but pointed out that tastes vary in the different epochs, and for that reason, what he had written might not be quite in conso-

nance with the present day conventions, but might not have been offensive to taste in Kālidāsa's time (3, p. iv).

Sastriji has suggested (282) three chronological stages to which Kālidāsa's works can be assigned. These stages can be settled by keeping in view the following principal criteria :

(1) The poet's preference for the beauty of Nature to the beauty of the fair sex; and

(2) the adoption of a theme centering round human, divine, or semi-divine beings.

By following this method, Kālidāsa's works have been arranged in the following chronological order :

I. (1) As the delineation of Nature occupies the greater part of the *Ṛtusamhāra*, relegating the beauty of women to a minor place in the poem, it is the earliest literary production of Kālidāsa.

(2) In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the same preference of the beauty of Nature to that of the fair sex is discernible in such appreciations of Nature's beauty as 'the movement of the tender shoots of flowering plants leaves the dancing girls far behind,' though feminine beauty receives also a considerable measure of attention.

(3) The *Meghadūta* shows that Kālidāsa is as attentive as before to the delineation of Nature. His language is more polished than before, and he turns his eyes far beyond the limits of Malwa, because with the advance of his age, he has acquired knowledge of other lands.

II. (4) The *Vikramorvaśī* marks a change in the components that have hitherto made up the themes of his writings. A divine beauty is introduced as the heroine of the drama. The description of Nature received the same amount of attention as before.

(5) In the *Kumārasambhava*, almost all the figures are divine. As regards the treatment of the beauty of Nature and feminine beauty, the poet's attention is equally divided between them.

III. (6) After treating of things human and then of things

divine, Kālidāsa turns to a mixture of the two, as the former was not regarded as very elevating, while the latter was too high for the ordinary mortals to follow. In Śakuntalā was blended the human and the divine, as she was the daughter of a celestial being brought up on the earth under the care of Kaṇva. In this drama, Nature's beauty is used as a foil to feminine beauty which is thus given a higher position.

(7) The *Raghuvamśa* belongs to the same category as the *Śakuntalā* as far as the blending of the human and the divine is concerned. It treats of the descent of the God-head himself on the earth in human shape. According to Sastriji, this is Kālidāsa's greatest work. "From the fanciful appreciation of Nature in the *Ṛtusamhāra*, the poet rose by steps to the highest conception of God-head and the highest conception of the relation in which man stands to his creator." "He makes his Rāma the embodiment of all perfections that human mind could conceive, but in the background, he keeps his ancestors and his successors who represent not all but one or two qualities in perfection. Dilīpa represents the perfection of obedience, Raghu of prowess, Aja of love, Daśaratha of kingly virtues and these usher in Rāma embodying the perfection of all the virtues represented in his ancestors (282, p. 182). The epic character of the *Raghuvamśa* has been defended by Sastriji on the ground that its hero is Rāma, occupying the apex of the pyramid, on one side of which are arranged his virtuous ancestors, and on the other his descendants of declining virtues ending with Agnivarṇa (see 125, pp. 642, 643 and 126). Moreover, the *Raghuvamśa* contains indications which mark it out as the product of a mature mind. The treatment of the points is short but masterly (127).

The treatment of love by Kālidāsa.

Love being the principal material drawn upon by the poets of all lands and all ages occupies a large place in the writings of Kālidāsa. The poet has given us different pictures of love in his various works. From the *Ṛtusamhāra*, which only reminds one of the feelings awakened in the minds of lovers by the various seasons, we find him painting in the *Mālavikā*

the fitful love of a king turning from one beauty to another and achieving its object through intrigue overcoming the obstacles put in its way by jealousy (111, 122, 123, and 12); while in the *Meghadūta* he delineates the love of the pining Yakṣa for his wife left behind in his far off home (3). In both the love is sensuous, but it is deeper in the *Meghadūta*. In the *Vikramorvaśi*, the love of Purūravas for Urvaśi was very deep and its depth became manifest by their separation. The description of his anxious search for the beloved in the garden of Kumāra in the Himalayas lays bare the intensity of his feeling reaching a stage verging on madness (113, 114). The love of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā is a passion in its first stages, but is found to be purified of its dross through the fire of separation brought about by Duṣyanta's forgetfulness (282, p. 181). The love depicted in the *Raghuvamśa* is very much subdued. Aja's love for Indumatī was very intense as evidenced by his wailings after the latter's sudden decease, but these wailings are much restrained in comparison with those of Purūravas for Urvaśi in the *Vikramorvaśi* and of Rati for Madana in the *Kumāra* (128). This subdued tone pervades the whole of the *Raghuvamśa*. Rāma's lamentations for Sītā in the Daṇḍaka forest could have been given a more lurid colour and a larger space in the epic, but the poet refrains from doing so probably under the idea that this will not fit in with the awe-inspiring character of Rāma and Sītā as the incarnation of the divine. He has therefore taken to the device of merely referring to these wailings through Rāma speaking of them to Sītā on his way back to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā. The reader is thus left to supply much through his imagination with the help of this reflection of the distant reality in Rāma's conversation with Sītā (132, 133).

In the depiction of Pārvatī's love for Śiva in the *Kumāra*, Kālidāsa reaches the highest height that love can reach in human conception. "Love is here an absolutely divine sentiment, and no passion. Pārvatī wants to be united to Śiva, not a union of the flesh but a union of the spirit. Such an idea

of lofty spiritual love is unknown in the literature of any country" (282, p. 181; 112).

Kālidāsa's
home and
age.

Sastriji has written two articles regarding Kālidāsa's home and age (280, 281). In the descriptions of the natural scenery he evinces a partiality towards that of Malwa as indicated by a detour in the route of the Cloud Messenger towards Ujjain. He does not describe any other part of India with such details. The limits of the area within which the poet had his residence can be further narrowed down to Dasapura fifteen miles from the right bank of the Chambal or some place near Dasapura. The temple of Skanda mentioned in the *Meghadūta* has been identified with that of Khanderas (Skr. Skandarāja) on the river Gambhīrā near Dasapura. Among other arguments in support of his view, he states that the flora, fauna and other objects (of which a list has been made by him) mentioned in the *Ṛtusamphāra* are found nowhere *in toto* except in Malwa.

Many evidences have been adduced by Sastriji in favour of his view that Kālidāsa flourished in the latter half of the period between 404 and 533 A.C.

An interesting statement has been made that the expression 'utsavaśaṅketān' found in the *Raghuvamśa* (iv. 78) may be analysed into UTschang (Chinese name for two provinces of Tibet bordering on China), Bostan, and Khotan (281, p. 36).

3

Sastriji's
activities
re. search
for mss.
and
making
their
catalogues.

The appointment of Sastriji by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891 as the Director for conducting the operations in search of Sanskrit and Vernacular Manuscripts brought him into a field of investigation that has been fruitful of results of far-reaching importance. As already stated, a beginning had already been made in the preparations of the *Descriptive Catalogues of Manuscripts* at the request of Raja R. L. Mitra. But this appointment as Director for the search of Manuscripts after the demise of the Raja put him into contact with rich mines of information, which, on the one hand, supplied him with the materials for establishing his theses in connection with the Bengali language

and script, and enabled him, on the other, to extend further the limits of our knowledge in connection with Buddhism, specially Mahāyāna and its later developments in Bengal. The zeal with which he carried on his work in this sphere is indicated not only by the large number of manuscripts collected under his supervision and described in his *Notices* and *Catalogues* (the mss. numbering more than 10000) (see 32, 33-41) but also by the fact that he did not hesitate to undertake the arduous journey to Nepal for the fourth time in his 69th year for carrying on his investigation in the Darbar Library. The search for mss. presents such a vast field for work that though many thousands of mss. have been collected by the efforts of scholars in both India and Europe, and Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* contains the names of at least forty-thousand mss., only a small fraction of the investigation has been completed, considering the long way that yet remains to be covered. To quote Sastriji's own words (279, p. 62): "In the Darbar Library of Nepal itself there are 16,000 Sanskrit mss., not to mention the entire Kanjur-Tanjur collections of the Tibetans and the entire Chinese Tripiṭaka. Of these 16000 mss., only a thousand, mostly of palm-leaf, have been catalogued, bringing to light a whole literature of different schools of Buddhism and Tantra, some written in old Bengali, old Hindi and other vernaculars of North Eastern India. In the valley of Nepal there are still vast numbers of palm-leaf mss. brought there by fugitive monks and Paṇḍits fleeing before the first onslaught of the fury of the Muhmmadan conquest. In the district of Puri, there are thirty-two Śāsanas or villages granted to Brahmanas in perpetuity by the Hindu Rajas of Orissa. In 1908, I went there with Prof. Macdonell, and we calculated that the number of palm-leaf mss. (for all Orissa mss. are written on palm-leaves with a style) in these Śāsanas is nearly two lakhs." It is found from Sastriji's interesting account of the search of Mss. and preparation of their *Catalogues* (279) in India that though Sir William Jones' *Catalogue* of his manuscripts was published in 1807, and H. H.

Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie collection was the first to be published in India in 1928, the Government of India did not include the work within the ambit of its patronage until the time of Lord Lawrence. He took up the suggestion of Paṇḍit Radha Kissen, the priest of Ranjit's court, contained in a letter addressed to the Viceroy emphasizing the need for a systematic search of mss. A grant of Rs. 24000/- was sanctioned by the Government and the work was commenced in right earnest in 1870. With this financial aid, the provincial Governments collected up to 1915 the following totals of mss :—

Bengal 11000, Madras 15000, Bombay 9000, and the United Provinces 8000. (See 279, pp. 59, 60).

It was the indefatigable scholar Brian Hodgson who initiated the collection of Buddhist Mss. in Nepal and gathered much information about Northern Buddhism through his own studies and through the assistance of his Buddhist Munshi Amṛtānanda who was induced to write a book called *Dharmaśāstra Saṃgraha* to explain the form of Buddhism current in Nepal. The manuscripts collected by Hodgson were distributed as follows :—85 bundles containing 144 works to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society, 30 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian Library and 174 to the Société Asiatique and M. Burnouf, now deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These, together with the Wright collection catalogued by Bendall containing about 172 separate works and the H. P. Sastri collection comprising 125 such works, constitute altogether 250 Buddhist treatises, rejecting copies of the same book and fragments. (See 302, pp. 19, 20, 201, 202). It was at the repeated requests of Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal to make a descriptive catalogue of the collection in its possession that Raja R. L. Mitra was appointed to do the work with two paṇḍits. When he fell ill in 1878, Sastriji was asked to help him and after a labour of five years, the *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* came out in 1882. Though Sastriji was appointed as the Director for conducting the search for Mss. under the auspices of the

Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891, he had been preparing the Xth volume of the *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 1st Series, in continuation of R. L. Mitra's labours, which took it up to the IXth (32). The Xth volume commenced to appear in parts from 1890 till its completion in 1892. It was followed by the publication of twelve volumes of *Notices* and *Descriptive Catalogues* of Sanskrit, Buddhist-Sanskrit, and Vernacular manuscripts till 1931 leaving out of account the Index volume (Xth) of the *Notices*, 1st series, and the *Descriptive Catalogue* of Kāvya Mss. (Vol. VII) now in the press (see 32-41) and of course, the several unpublished volumes of the *Descriptive Catalogue* upon which he spent much labour. All these volumes alone are enough to represent a fairly large amount of labour that can well earn, for the life of a scholar of average capacity for industry, a recognition as useful. But Sastriji was made of a much sterner metal. He could spare both time and energy to pursue his work in other directions in addition to his favourite but arduous task of carrying on the search for Mss. and preparing their descriptions. The Mss. were on various subjects relating to the various periods from the Vedic to the modern, and belonged to the various classes of literature by reason of the differences in the nature of the subject-matter and the language in which it was couched. Sastriji's mental equipment was such as could do justice to an exacting work of this description. The elaborate *Prefaces* to some of his catalogues running even to more than 300 pages present an historical background which helps the reader to view the Mss. on a subject in their right chronological bearings and assess their relative values. The connected accounts of the Sanskrit grammatical literature or the *alaṅkāra* literature in the *Preface* to his *Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. VI (1931) may be mentioned as two only among several such instances. To Indologists the importance of the details about the several thousands of Mss. furnished by the catalogues cannot be overrated. Delving deep into the contents of manuscripts to bring to light the facts buried in them is comparable in

Some mss.
discovered
and
edited by
Sastriji.

value to the difficult but very useful task of excavation for laying bare the materials that contribute to the knowledge of the past, and illumine the highways and byeways of the bygone periods. Without the careful salvage of these important sources of historical information from the ravages of the white ants and the climate in their obscure places of deposit in the lofts of muddy huts in the villages, or on the shelves of people who kept them on without knowing their utility, the loss to the art of reconstructing the past would have been immense. The reports of tours [42 (a), (b), (c)] for the search of manuscripts submitted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sastriji testify how the large and small collections of Mss. in the villages and towns in several districts of Bengal and some neighbouring areas were ransacked with the result that some very valuable Mss. were acquired for the Society. The *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākara Nandin written in a'most the same script as the Tantra Mss. of the 12th and the 13th century may be mentioned as an example. It was composed before the advent of the Musalmans into Bengal. After his accession to the throne in 1880, the hero of the work Rāmapāla set out to quell the rebel chief of the Kaivarta caste named Bhīma Dīboka and drove him out of his territory. The author of the book was the son of Rāmapāla's minister of Peace and War. A portion of the commentary on the treatise was also to hand [42 (a), p. 7]. Both the text and the commentary have been edited by Sastriji. Many other manuscripts, some of which were edited by him subsequently, were procured in the course of the searches conducted by him or made by him personally. They relate to diverse subjects such as tantra, smṛti, astrology, medicine, dhanurveda, dramaturgy, architecture, philosophy, Buddhism etc. Some very interesting among them have already been named in connection with the evolution of the Bengali script. A few more may be added viz. *Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā* and *Cittaviśuddhiprakāraṇa* [see 42 (a), pp. 19, 20], *Dākārṇava*, *Kirttilatā* by Vidyāpati, works relating to the Dharma, Manasā, and Maṅgala Caṇḍi cults, a life of Caitanya

by Jayānanda [42, (a), p. 24]. Sastriji makes a special reference to two Mss. of the *R̥gveda*, because many portions of them were copied in the 16th century while those collated by Max Mueller for his edition of the Veda were copied in the 17th and the 18th [42 (b), p. 2]. One of the Mss. acquired at a small town at the northern extremity of Nepal has been pointed out as important by Sastriji in view of the fact that it contains the statement that the great astronomer Varāhamihira lived at Kānyakubja on the Ganges [see 42 (a), p. 2]. The four visits to Nepal to examine and collect originals or copies of Mss. from the Darbar Library and elsewhere within the territory have borne the most important results. It is not possible to name all the important Mss. that have been acquired, studied, and catalogued by him in the two volumes of his *Catalogue of the Palm-leaf and selected Paper Mss.* (from Nepal) which are so rich in manuscript materials. A glance through the volumes can make it patent to the reader that the manuscripts described in them offer a vast field for research, and can be utilised to light up many a dark corner of the past. An idea of the labour involved in the acquisition of Mss. can be made from a passage in one of the Reports which runs thus [42 (b), pp. 1, (2 1906)] :

"Though I have not been able to publish much, I have collected materials for two more volumes of the *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* and acquired 1572 Mss., and, for the purposes of this acquisition, examined at least ten times as many. I have also examined and acquired a Jaina Bhāṇḍāra with 1335 Mss., for which the Government of India has been pleased to make a special grant of 5000 rupees." But this arduous work must not be regarded as altogether denuded of hours of elation brought about by successes. Such hour came when Sastriji became triumphant in a difference of opinion between him and Prof. Bendall as to the date of a palm-leaf Ms. of the *Skānda-Purāṇa* in later Gupta character. It was then believed that the *Skānda-Purāṇa* was a myth and existed only in Khaṇḍas and Māhātmyas. "Prof. Bendall," says Sastriji,

bearing of
the ms. of
the
Skānda-
Purāṇa on
the anti-
quity of
the Purāṇa
literature.

"was very unwilling to admit that the Ms. was so old, and we often talked on the subject and I maintained that the Ms. belonged to the 6th century and that the writing resembled that of the Horiuzi Ms. kept in the Horiuzi monastery in Japan where it has been lying since 609 A.D. But Prof. Bendall stoutly maintained that it was written in the 9th century. Finding that we were quarrelling on these facts for several days, Mrs. Bendall one day told us both to bring all the materials on which we held our opinions and to decide the question once for all. She very kindly consented to be our umpire. So one day we three sat on the verandah of the College Library (Nepal) and brought all the Mss., charts, and drawings and began to show them to Mrs. Bendall. Prof. Bendall had a theory that a Ms. is old in the inverse ratio of the mātrās or the top lines of letters. I readily acceded to this theory. It was however found that Bendall's Ms. of the *Pārameśvara-mata-tantra* copied in 859 contained many more mātrās or top lines than the *Skanda Purāṇa* discovered by me. Prof. Bendall had to admit that the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was at least 200 years older than the *Pārameśvara-mata-tantra* i.e. the *Skanda-purāṇa* was written in 659 at the latest. The umpire gave her verdict in my favour. We worked from 11 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the verdict was passed and we all came well satisfied with our work. The antiquity of the *Purāṇas* was set back by several centuries and the discovery of the unique Ms. of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was regarded as a great event in the history of the *Purāṇic* literature." (302, pp. 27, 28).

The
Abhi-
samayā-
lankāra.

The account of how the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* eluded the search of two scholars like Raja R. L. Mitra and Prof. Bendall for nearly 30 years is interesting. In noticing the Ms. of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, the former could not find that another work was embodied in it, while the latter noticed it but thought it was an introductory work, not realizing that it was according to this small treatise that the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* had been recast. Prof. Stcherbatsky during his visit to Calcutta in

November 1910 told Sastriji that he had discovered the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* five years ago. This had also been discovered by Sastriji at Khatmandu in Nepal in the summer of 1907 independently of Prof. Stcherbatsky [42 (c), p. 5].

Special references to four interesting works found in Nepal have also been made by Sastriji. The first is the *Ādikarmavidhi* on Buddhist rituals by Tatakara Gupta about the 9th century A.C. Tatakara informs us that (1) in his time there were married monks known as Āryas, (2) any one who took refuge in the Tri-ratna was a Buddhist, (3) the castes that made a living by killing animals were not admitted into the Buddhist community unless it was given up and (4) the Buddhists like the Hindus made use of the monosyllabic Tantric formulæ in the performance of every act of their daily life [42 (c), p. 3].

The discovery of four important mss.—*Ādikarmavidhi*.

The second work is entitled *Viśvapradīpa*,—an encyclopædia, of which only one part on music was found in the Nepal Darbar Library, and another part on Jyotiṣa has been described by Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the India Office Library*. The author of the work was Bhuvanānanda who was patronized probably by Sher Shah [42 (c), p. 3].

Viśvapradīpa.

The third treatise is a Sanskrit geographical work called *Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga*. It seems to be part of a Tantra and references are made in it to temples and places of pilgrimage as the landmarks of 56 places including China and Tibet [42 (c), p. 10].

Ṣaṭpañcāśaddeśavibhāga.

Another important Ms. was acquired from Mithilā. It is the *Varṇa(na)ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācārya who lived in the early part of the 14th century. It is in the Maithili character and its language is Maithili. Apart from its philological importance, its value lies in the fact that it gives descriptions of town, royal court (including officials) etc. in its seven chapters [42 (a), p. 23 and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee's article in the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference*, vol. 2].

Varṇa(na)ratnākara.

The appointment of Sastriji to the post for carrying out the scheme for searching the Mss. of bardic chronicles in Rajputana and Gujerat gave a new turn to his activities for

the collection of information about Mss. and their acquisition. Since the initiation of the plan for the collection and publication of the manuscripts of bardic chronicles at the request of Sir George Grierson to Lord Curzon in 1904, four years elapsed in fruitless negotiations until Sastriji was called to take up the work in 1909. He writes in his Report, "I have made three tours in Rajputana visiting some of the capitals and ancient towns therein and in Gujerat. I have submitted four Progress Reports since 1909 to the Society, and I am now submitting a General Report of my work for the last four years. In the first year I visited Jaipur, Jodhpur and Baroda. In the third year, I visited Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikanir, and in the fourth, I visited Bharatpur, Bundi, Ujjain, Mandasore, Ajmere, Jodhpur and Bilāḍā" [42 (d), p. 2 (1913)]. There are twelve appendices in the Report. The most important of these have been indicated by Sastriji himself: In the 1st Appendix, he answers the question whether the Bhāṭs and Cāraṇs only are the bards by stating that various castes wrote bardic poetry but the Bhāṭs and Cāraṇs made their living by writing these chronicles alone. In the IInd Appendix, he treats of Piṅgal and Ḍiṅgal, the language of bardic poetry, while in the IIIrd, he speaks of the rewards and remunerations given to the bards. The IVth throws light on the genealogies of the chiefs by comparing Todd's catalogue of the 36 royal races of Rajputana with a newly found genealogical work of the 36 Kṣatriya races. The result of the comparison shows that what Todd calls the Scythic element among the Rajputs does not exist among the Kṣatriyas. A short history of the family of Sardul Singh of Northern Sekhāvati adequately dealt with by Todd is found in the VIth Appendix, while the VIIth gives information about a very interesting sect of flame-worshippers who have kept alive the flame from 1464 A.C. at Bilāḍā in Marwar [See 42 (d), p. 4].

The objects of the visits to the various chiefs in Rajputana and Gujerat were not merely to have access to their libraries to examine the Mss. but also to enlist their active co-operation

in the collection and publication of the chronicles by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as well as on their own account. The sympathetic response made by several chiefs—specially Jodhpur, Jaipur, Baroda, Bikanir, and Bundi, and Thakur Sahib Kesari Singji of Acrol (Jaipur), went a great way towards making a good beginning for a successful prosecution of the difficult work which devolved on Sastriji and the Asiatic Society [see 42 (d), pp. 2, 3 and 42 (e), pp. 2, 6].

The difficulty of the task of collection of the Ms. chronicles lies in the fact that the greater portion of them is still being handed down orally. The written literature is less than a third of the oral. The portion existing in writing is difficult to understand as the bards are bad calligraphists. The area to be explored is also very large as it extends from Delhi to the Kṛṣṇā, and from Behar to the Indus. It is also probable that the chronicles are available beyond these limits. Besides the Bhāṭs and Cāraṇs, there are the Bāḍoās who keep the genealogies of all castes and write songs in praise of their clients while the Ḍhulis or Drummers also write historical songs. A large number of Bhāṭs were either forcibly converted to Muhammadanism or embraced Islam of their own accord. They are following their occupation all the same, and singing the praises of the Hindu and Musalman rulers alike [42 (e), pp. 3, 4; 42 (d), p. 10].

The importance of the Bardic chronicles lies not only in the information supplied by them for the reconstruction of the history of Rajputana but also for the mutual checking of the historical materials derived from the Persian, Hindu and other sources. For the ensuring of accuracy in the narration of events relating to Rajputana, or other places that had anything to do with Rajputana, an important source of evidence like the bardic chronicles cannot be ignored or neglected. Sometimes, for the history of Rajputana, the chronicles are the only available and dependable source of information. Sastriji has himself demonstrated the value of these chronicles by his very interesting Bengali article on the light that can be thrown on the reign

of Aurangzeb from the non-Moslem sources (86). As space does not permit me to reproduce all that has been said in the paper, I am giving here the bare outline : Raja Yasovanta Singh of Jodhpur had a prime minister named Muhnot Nayan Singh. The *Khyāt Nayan Singh* (Khyāt=prose history) written by him is looked upon by the Rajputs as an authentic history of the province [86, p. 291; also 42 (d), p. 46]. It has however been found to be dependable up to about 200 years before the time of its composition. Beyond that limit, it shows some discrepancies as compared with the inscriptions. The author also wrote a statistical account of the Rajput States during the middle of the 17th century. It is still found in the archive of the family at Jodhpur.

Within 20 years of the death of Aurangzeb, Raja Abhaya Singh became the Subahdar of Gujerat. A Pokaran Brāhmaṇa who was put in charge of the accounts of the Subah preserved many papers in his residence. They can yield statistical information about a region which formed part of the Mughal Empire.

The two epics *Ajitodaya* and *Abhayodaya* deposited in the library at the Jodhpur Fort can also furnish historical materials. The former relates the attempts of Ajit Singh to thwart the designs of Aurangzeb against him almost the whole of his life. The account of the clever way in which Durgadas Rathor with the help of Mukunda Khicī disguised as a snake-charmer took away Ajit and his brother surreptitiously from the prison by concealing them in baskets for carrying serpents is very interesting.

The chronicles preserved by the Bhāṭs and Cārāṇs relating to every State in Rajputana contain more or less information about Aurangzeb. Anūp Singh, the chief of Bikanir, was Aurangzeb's general at the time of his invasion of the Deccan. When Adoni in the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency capitulated, the Brāhmaṇas of the place were about to throw the manuscripts in their possession into the river when Anūp Singh made the request to make over the manuscripts to him

instead of destroying them. They acceded to the request. The manuscripts were deposited in the Bikanir Fort, forming the largest collection in Rajputana. He caused a big *smṛti* work called *Anūpa-vilāsa* to be compiled by several paṇḍits while a commentary on the *Śivatāṇḍava Tantra* was written under his auspices. The chronicles relating to Jay Singh, the Maharaja of Jaipur, contain information about Aurangzeb because he was a commander of the Emperor. The *Vaṃśa-bhāṣkara*, a comprehensive history of the Hāḍā Cauhān family of Bundi, can also yield similar historical materials, as the chief of Bundi of the time was a commander under Aurangzeb. The Sanskrit work *Śatruśālyacarita* is a biography of Śatruśālya of the same family. As regards the Rāṇās of Udaipur, Todd takes note of their continual feuds with Aurangzeb, but does not speak of many details of which he was not aware. With the efforts of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śyāmalān, an elaborate history of Udaipur was composed and printed, but its publication was stopped by the reigning Rāṇā. Though it is now kept under lock and key in a small room, portions of the work are found in handwriting or print all over Rajputana. The chronicles relating to the Deoḍās and Solāṅkis of Sirohi, and the *Vacaniḱā* about Ratan Singh of Ratlam may also be cited as sources of materials for the Mughal history.

The chronicles current among the Sikhs, the *Povāḍās* recited by the Gandhālīs,—Cāraṇs of Mahārāṣṭra, and the historical accounts available in the monasteries and temples of the Satnāmīs and Vallabhīs persecuted by Aurangzeb, as also the *Rāsās*, *Ḍhālās*, and *Sijhālās* preserved in the Jain monasteries in Kathiawad, Marwar, Udaipur, Gujerat etc. have also been mentioned as sources of information, but as they fall outside our purview at the present moment, I refrain from giving the details (86).

A very interesting class of Sanskrit works has been pointedly brought to notice by Sastriji viz. the Sanskrit Gazetteer literature. Four such Gazetteers have been found but they are all incomplete. These in chronological order are (1) Vidyāpati's

The
Sanskrit
Gazetteer
Literature.

Bhūparikramā (15th c.); (2) the *Vikramasāgara* written at the request of Vikrama, a member of the Vaijala family holding jagirs near Patna; (3) Jagamohana's *Deśāvalivṛti* (17th c.) composed with the patronage of Dulāla Vaijala, a descendant of Vikrama Vaijala just mentioned; (4) Rāmakavi's *Pāṇḍava-digvijaya* composed with the patronage of a Raja of Pañcakot (18th c.).

It is found from the contents of the mss. and their dates that for the last four or five hundred years, the Hindus have been trying hard to collect useful information about a large number of places. The number varies in the treatises. In the *Bhūparikramā* it is 65, while in the *Deśāvalivṛti* and the *Vikramasāgara*, it is 56. The *Deśāvali* is the most interesting in view of the fact that it has discarded the Purāṇic mould in which such works are usually cast e.g. the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, which is supposed to have been composed by Vyāsadeva at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga though in fact it is so modern that it embodies the story of Vidyā and Sundara at Burdwan, popularized by Bhāratacandra's poem completed in 1753. It is also valuable inasmuch as it contains information about 'trade, commerce, manufacture, agriculture, history, geography etc.' of the localities dealt with, though the holy places receive the greatest attention. The salt trade of Tamluk in the 19th century, the manufacture of cloth at Candrakona and other places in the district of Midnapore, the foundation of Midnapore by Medinikara,—the author of the *Medinikoṣa*, the descriptions of the forts, details about the population of different localities, and descriptions of the articles of trade are some of the topics dwelt on in the treatise. The contents of the other three works are equally interesting but it is not possible to dilate on them here (see 287 pp. 14-25; 16, pp. 130-133).

It was on account of his long experience in connection with the search of Mss., and his knowledge of the various indological subjects that he was requested by the Government to help Prof. Macdonell by his advice and explanations during his

visits in 1908 to temples, museums, libraries, and excavated sites in various places in Northern, Central and Southern India. Also "the experience of so many years" writes Sastriji in his report [42 (a), p. 2] "has given me some knowledge of where valuable mss. are to be found. . . . Large collections can now be purchased, and several such collections have come to my knowledge. One of these containing 6600 and odd manuscripts was offered to me, but I could not find funds for it. Prof. A. A. Macdonell, however, to whom I showed the Mss. in February, 1908, applied to Lord Curzon as the Chancellor of the Oxford University, and he wired to Maharaja Sir Chander Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana, who supplied the necessary funds and requested me to purchase the collection, which he then presented to the Bodleian Library."

I shall close this brief survey of Sastriji's activities in connection with the search of Mss. and the preparation of their descriptive catalogues by inserting here an informing extract from his Preface to the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Vol. I (1917): "This is the first of a long series of volumes of a descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., belonging to the Government collection in the Asiatic Society's rooms—collected since the institution of the search of Sanskrit mss. under the order of Lord Lawrence's Government in 1868. The number of the collection stands at present at 11,264; of these 3156 were collected by my illustrious predecessor Raja Rajendralal Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E., and the rest by my humble self. Besides Sanskrit, it has Mss. in Prakṛt, Hindi, Mārṇārī, Marhāṭṭī, Newārī, and Bengali. But these form an insignificant part of the whole. The works relate to various schools, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Tāntrism and other systems of sectarian Hinduism. The various branches of the knowledge of the Hindus are well represented in this collection. Manuscripts are written in various scripts,—Bengali, Devanāgarī, Uḍiyā, Mārṇārī, Kāśmīrī, Newārī—both ancient and modern. Some of the ancient Mss. go so far back as the 9th century A.D. There is one unique ms. in the ancient Bengali hand, copied undoubt-

edly in the last years of the 10th century. There are numerous mss. dated in the 11th century. The subsequent sections are well represented..... Besides unique Mss. which open up vast vistas of research in history, religion, and sciences of ancient India, whole literatures are revealed in the collections. For instance, there are numerous works of Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna, Kālacakrayāna to be found here, which throw a flood of light on those later phases of Buddhism which developed out of the Māhāyāna system. But for these works, these phases of the religion would have remained only a name."

4

Sastriji's
contribution in the
field of
Buddhism.

The fourth principal subject that received attention in his investigations and writings is Buddhism. During his visits to Nepal as also in the course of his searches for Mss., he came across treatises in Sanskrit as well as in early Bengali devoted to the Buddhistic themes. In Nepal as also in various places in and outside Bengal, he had numberless opportunities to study Buddhism in its relics and remains or through the explanations of its exponents, Buddhist or otherwise. The Southern Buddhism, known in the 16th century to the Portuguese when they came into contact with Ceylon, Burma, Southern China and the Indian Archipelago, began to be studied after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and its literature became well-known in the 19th century specially through the activities of the Pali Text Society. But the Northern Buddhism did not receive in India and Europe the same amount of attention as the Southern. In the last quarter of the century a wider interest was roused in its literature through the publication of R. L. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* (1882) and Bendall's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Mss. in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883). These two catalogues dealt with the collections of Mss. made by Hodgson and Wright respectively. It became at this time possible to trace the originals of some of the Tibetan translations (about ten thousand) of

Sanskrit works written in India on Buddhism, brought to light by the Hungarian scholar Csoma de Koros. Burnouf, Hodgson, and Vassilief may be mentioned as the principal writers whose labours served first to give an insight into the nature of Northern Buddhism towards the middle of the 19th century. The translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* with copious notes by the first named scholar, and the works of the other two viz. *Le Bouddhisme*, and the *Essays* dealing *inter alia* with the literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet are a landmark in the history of the discovery of Northern Buddhism. They were followed by the publication of a number of important texts such as the *Lalitavistara*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*, *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha* until Sastriji came in with his *Bṛhat Svayambhū-purāṇa*, of which the first instalment appeared in 1894 and the last in 1900. 'It is the only Purāṇa of the Buddhists, giving the topography of one of the most important places of pilgrimage in Nepal, with all its shrines and monasteries and stūpas' (302, p. 25). His visit to Nepal in 1897 gave him the desired opportunity of identifying the places etc. mentioned in the work and the opportunity was also utilized to some extent for the purpose; but the Darbar Library gradually absorbed all his attention. It came into existence some time after Bendall's visit to Nepal in 1884. The scattered collections of Mss. at Khatmandu were sought to be brought into the library by Sir Bir Samser Jung Rana the Prime Minister. It was at last located in the spacious hall with a clock where it is continuing. Just as on the one hand Sastriji valued his opportunity to utilize this mine of information, so on the other, he regarded it as a good fortune to come into contact with Indrānanda from whom he received much of his information. He was a descendant of Amṛtānanda—the scholar who supplied Hodgson with so much of Buddhist lore. It is stated by Sastriji, 'He gave me light on the history of Buddhism which I found nowhere in printed books and Mss.' (302, p. 30). The value of the Darbar Library of Nepal, as already stated, lies in the fact that when the Buddhists fled a few centuries ago

The
Buddhist
works
edited by
Sastriji :

*Brhat
Svayambhū-
purāṇa.*

*Citta-
viśuddhi-
prakāraṇa.*

*Catuḥ-
śatikā.*

*Saundara-
nanda.*

*Six
Buddhist
Nyāya
Tracts.*

from Behar and Bengal to be away from the onslaught of the Musalmans, a large number of them took refuge in the Valley sequestered in the Himalayas. It became in this way the repository of very valuable Buddhist treatises brought here by these refugees. The cataloguing of the many manuscripts discovered there constitutes a story that has been told already. The Buddhist manuscripts found there and edited by him as also the use of the materials culled here or from the treatises discovered here for writing on the various topics comprised in Buddhism come within our purview at the present moment. Over and above the *Brhat Svayambhū-purāṇa* mentioned above, he edited the following :

(a) The *Cittaviśuddhiprakāraṇa* (see *JASB.*, 1898, pp. 175 ff.). While speaking of the means of spiritual elevation it attaches more importance to the purity of heart as against the external purity and mere form of worship.

(b) The *Catuḥśatikā* (1914) of Āryadeva. This ms., available incomplete, deals with the removal of viparyāsas, non-eternality of things, non-reality of Ātman, wrong views, etc.

(c) The *Saundarananda Kāvya* (1910) of Aśvaghoṣa delineates how Buddha weaned his stepbrother Nanda from a life of enjoyment and led him gradually into a saintly life. "The doctrines" found in it are, according to Sastriji, "those of Northern Buddhism but not yet of Mahāyāna. Buddha speaks to Nanda, 'You have done your duty, you are emancipated, now go and preach and save others',—exactly what the *Mahāvastu* speaks of. It is not Southern Buddhism, for no emphasis is laid on discipline and the regulation of conduct" (302, p. 210).

(d) *The Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts* in Sanskrit (1910) comprise Ratnakīrti's three tracts (1) *Apoḥasiddhi*, (2) *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi* (by affirmative argument) and (3) *Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi* (by negative argument), Paṇḍita Aśoka's two tracts, (4) *Avayavinirākaraṇa* and (5) *Sāmānyadūṣaṇadik-prasāritā*, and (6) Ratnākara Śānti's *Antarvyāptisamarthana*. The theory

that is advocated in the first tract is that a term denotes something positive, differentiating it from all other, and that assertion and negation are simultaneous and not consecutive. The theory of the momentariness of the world is sought to be proved in the second and the third tracts as against that of the Naiyāyikas that momentariness includes three moments of production, duration, and dissolution. A stand is taken in the fourth against the theory of the Nyāya Śāstra, support being given to the position that the whole is but a collection of parts, having no separate existence, and the supposed eternal relation between the whole and the parts is a myth. In the fifth, the Naiyāyika theory of generality as an eternal category of knowledge is opposed, while in the sixth, the attempt is made to prove that though an example cannot be pointed to as a premise in the argument to establish the momentariness of the world, yet it can be proved on the strength of the 'internal inseparable connection' between the thing to be proved and the thing by which it is to be proved.

(e) *The Bauddha Gān O Dohā* (1916) contains the songs (in the Kīrtana form) of Siddhācāryas in the vernaculars of Eastern India, mostly in old Bengali. The Sanskrit commentary accompanying the text explains them according to the doctrines of the Sahajiyā cult (35, p. xi). Bauddha
Gān
O Dohā.

(f) *The Advayavajra-saṃgraha* (1927) containing twenty-one tracts and a few verses dealing with the philosophy, rituals and mantras of the Vajrayāna school. And lastly, Advayavajra-
Saṃgraha.

(g) *The Śrīdharmamaṅgala* containing songs in praise of Dharma Ṭhākura's greatness. Dharma Ṭhākura has been shown to be a later form of Dharma of the Buddhist Trinity. Śrīdharma-
maṅgala.
We shall have occasion to turn to this point later.

The manuscripts of all these works with the exception of the last were acquired in Nepal. The edition of these treatises drew his attention to the history of Buddhism in India, specially in its Mahāyāna and later phases. His earliest writings that dealt with some aspects of Buddhism came out as early as

1877 in the *Vaṅgadarśana* in the articles 'Two Periods of our Glory' (43) and 'Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas' (44). Then we find his contribution (69) to the *Vibhā* in 1887 on the valuable acquisition of the hitherto unrecovered portion (avadānas 1-50) of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānaśālaṅkāra* from Tibet by Sarat Chandra Das. From this time onwards, many papers on various topics relating to Buddhism, or on particular Buddhist relics, appeared in both English and Bengali journals. The largest number of these was published in the *Nārāyaṇa*, a Bengali monthly edited by the great Deśabandhu C. R. Das, at whose special request (170, p. 492) Sastriji commenced contributing papers including those on Buddhism. The subject-matter of these articles has not been given an English garb, though Sastriji has done so in regard to some of his writings. If he had done so in regard to this group of papers, its usefulness would have reached a much wider circle of readers. However, in taking a note of the information or opinion given by him on important topics or aspects of Buddhism, his articles both English and Bengali will be taken into account.

The
atmosphere
congenial
to the rise
of Buddhism
in Eastern
India.

Any one who turns his thought to the history of Buddhism and the emergence of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna will naturally be inclined to ask the question—Whence arose originally the atmosphere congenial to the growth of thoughts, beliefs and practices which constituted Buddhism. The answer given by Sastriji is that it resulted from the impact of the culture of the three civilized tribes Vaṅgas, Vagadhas, and Ceras, mentioned in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* as inhabiting Eastern India upon that of the Aryans (145, p. 398). The place where it developed was between the eastern limit of the region occupied by the Aryans and the western limit of the tract of land peopled by the three tribes. The Thāḍus living near Kapilavāstu may be a branch of the Ceras while the Vagadhas may be Magadhas. Be that as it may, the reference to these people by the term 'vayāmsi' in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II, 1, 4, 5) points to the fact that they were looked down upon by the Aryans, as betokened by the similar epithets—monkeys,

bears, rākṣasas etc. applied by them to people not held in favour or esteem by them (145, pp. 459-461). The existence of the Vṛātyas in Eastern India was another factor that made the region favourable for the origin and development of thoughts and beliefs independent of or opposed to those of the Aryans towards the west.

The Vṛātyas were of the Aryan stock but were considered degraded for their unapproved deeds. They could however be taken again into the Aryan fold on equal terms by some purificatory ceremony. The question of the identity of the Vṛātyas has been discussed in detail by Sastriji in several places in his writings (16, pp. 1-21; 18; 201; 145, pp. 459 ff.). The Vṛātyas who were taken back into the Aryan society as well as those of them not so treated constituted a source for the emanation of ideas not fitting the traditional Aryan groove. It was for these reasons that Magadha was specially suitable for the development of thoughts and religious doctrines of a heterogenous nature, and, in fact, Buddhism had been preceded here by the philosophico-religious speculations of the Jinas, Ājivikas etc.

Sastriji refers to some current opinions about Buddha and his doctrines e.g. (1) Buddhism stood for a movement, the sole object of which was to prevent the slaughter of animals in the Vedic sacrifices, (2) it was the monistic doctrine of the Upaniṣads in a different garb, (3) it was based on the original Sāṃkhya philosophy, (4) Buddha belonged to the Śaka tribe and therefore it is likely that the religion preached by him came from the Scythians. Regarding the first view cited above, he states that it cannot be shown from the biographies of Buddha such as the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Buddhacarita* or any other dependable passage that the prevention of the slaughter of animals was the sole object of Buddhism. The second view is opposed by him on the ground that the doctrine of Sūnyatā, which resembles, to a great extent, Advayavāda of the Upaniṣads, found a place in the philosophy of Buddhism after the Christian era. About the fourth, he states that if the

original Sāṃkhya philosophy be taken as the basis of Buddhism, then his position that Buddhism came from sources unorthodox from the Aryan viewpoint, or was influenced by people non-Aryan in their stock or outlook finds support. As regards the fourth view cited above, he points out that the derivation of the word Śākya from Śaka a kind of Śāla tree as indicated by Aśvaghoṣa is quite acceptable. Trees called Sakiya Śāl are found in the Nepal Terai even now. As the ancestors of Buddha lived in places, surrounded by these trees, they were called Śākya. Hence, the conjecture regarding the Scythian ancestry of Buddha is altogether baseless (see 145 for the treatment of all the points).

The
emergence
of
Mahāyāna.

Sastriji has given a detailed account of the way in which Mahāyāna came into existence (147) and has pointed out the grounds on which it claims a higher position than Hinayāna (146). In the former article, he states *inter alia* that though Mahāyāna is considered to have been full-fledged with the composition of the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* by Nāgārjuna, the 'rescue of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* from the nether world' by him and the propagation of its doctrines by his disciple Āryadeva, it had an earlier beginning. This is evidenced by the previous existence of the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpādasūtra*, and also the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* which are interspersed with Mahāyāna ideas. These had been preceded by some Mahāyāna Sūtras, e.g. the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Hence the origin of Mahāyāna is earlier than is usually supposed.

Mahāyāna is the outcome of the dissatisfaction of the younger Buddhist monks at the strict application of the stringent rules of discipline initiated by Buddha. These monks wanted a relaxation of the discipline on ten points. These have been explained by Sastriji in 154. Two of them may be mentioned, such as the storing of some salt in a horn for use at need, and the prohibition of meals after noon. This conflict between the sthaviras and the monks wanting more latitude resulted in the secession of a very large number of bhikṣus who came to be known as the Mahāsāṅghikas. They began

to preach their views with a great zeal and turned *loṇṭṭara-vādins* from the very outset. In other words, they preached the doctrine that Buddha was not an ordinary mortal but a being with uncommon powers. Though he has attained Nirvāṇa, he was immanent in the universe in the form of a subtle influence that is inspiring millions of people to regulate their activities in the light of his teachings (147, p. 946). It was they who commenced setting up images of Buddha for worship (155, p. 206). The *Mahāvastu Avadāna* of the Mahāsāṅghikas refers to the Daśabhūmis and the possibility of the attainment of Buddhahood by the Buddhist sādhakas, but not to Bodhisattvavāda i.e. not resting contented with one's own salvation but working for the salvation of others postponing his own. The *Laṅkāvatāra* contains this teaching in a less developed form but the *Saundarananda* has it full-fledged. The basic doctrines of Mahāyāna are thus found to be gradually growing into their full stature through their early form in the doctrines of the Mahāsāṅghikas (147, pp. 950, 951).

Doctrines
of the
Mahā-
sāṅghikas.

The doctrines of the full-fledged Mahāyāna present in some respects a striking contrast to those of Hīnayāna. The Mahāyānist attached no importance to the śīlas as a means of salvation, but they were looked upon by the Hīnayānist as important steps to the gradual spiritual uplift of a monk to Arhathood. They strove for *bodhicittotpāda* (the formation of the resolution to attain *Bodhi*) after taking refuge in the Triratna by uttering the set formula, making a confession of his sins (*pāpadeśanā*), and developing the mental attitude to approve others' meritorious deeds (*puṇyānumodanā*). Then comes the fulfilment of the six *pāramitās*. Incidentally, it is mentioned that the derivation of *pāramitā* is to be sought not in *pāramitā* (i.e. one who has gone over to the other shore, i.e. has attained perfection), but in *paramasya bhāvaḥ* = *pāramyam* = *pārami* (in Buddhist Sanskrit) + *tā* = *pāramitā* i.e. the state of perfection (146, p. 792). The Mahāyānist turned out to be energetic, aggressive, and full of exuberance as

The
doctrines of
Hīnayāna
and
Mahāyāna
contrasted.

evidenced by the ideals placed before them for realization. One of the *pāramitās* is *virya-pāramitā* i.e. manifesting energy in the highest degree through some act. Their resolutions were not for performing negative virtues such as refraining from some sinful acts but for doing positively and aggressively meritorious deeds, leaving the negative virtues to follow in the train of such deeds. The postponement of one's own salvation to that of others is of a piece with these bold flights of thought for the realization of ideals that relegated the self to the dim background. The doctrine of *karuṇā* finds in Mahāyāna a scope for exercise unknown in Hīnayāna. But of all the means of spiritual uplift, the highest place is given to *jñāna*, which in its supreme stage in *prajñāpāramitā* raises a man to the topmost reaches of spiritual elevation. The principal aim of this *pāramitā* is to enable one to comprehend the *sāmṛta* and *paramārtha* truth. The changing worldly phenomena may be taken as (conventional) truths of the former kind, but from the standpoint of the highest truth, they are mere passing existences as opposed to *paramārtha satya* or *śūnyatā*. The Dhyānas are a means to the attainment of the highest knowledge. They are four in Hīnayāna, but are numberless in Mahāyāna, indicating a tendency to multiply the number, even beyond the possibility of enumeration, discernible also in other spheres of their thoughts and actions. The stages of spiritual progress are four in Hīnayāna but are ten (*daśabodhisattvabhūmi*) in Mahāyāna; the Buddhas in the former are twenty-four excluding Śākyasiṃha and Maitreya the future Buddha, while in the latter they are countless. In their references to the numerical figures and periods of time, the Mahāyānists unlike the Hīnayānists evince a tendency to exaggerations staggering the imagination (146). In regard to the Buddha Nidāna i.e. the rebirths with their various actions leading a Bodhisattva towards Buddhahood, the Mahāyānists in their characteristic way put hundreds of births under one *caryā*, four of which make the whole span viz. *prakṛticaryā*, *praṇidhānacaryā* (comprising five divisions called *praṇidhi*), *anulomacaryā* and *anivarttanacaryā* [in which

the *vyākaraṇa* (prophecy re. Buddhahood) and *anuvyākaraṇa* (prophecy repeating the previous one) are made]. The Hīnayānists, with their own line of thinking, trace these births of the Bodhisattvas previous to the attainment of Buddhahood only from the latter part of the last caryā (156). Another difference between the Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists is found in the fact that Dharma is regarded by the latter as superior to Buddha, and the Triratna is mentioned as Dharma, Buddha and Saṅgha, and not as Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha as done by the former. The five Dhyānī Buddhas are considered in Mahāyāna the custodians of Buddhism from times immemorial while Buddha Śākyamuni is nothing but a recorder of its doctrines like Vyāsa. This is clearly corroborated by the fact that at Svayambhūkṣetra in Nepal, there are five temples of the five Dhyānī Buddhas around the Svayambhū Caitya and none for Buddha Śākyamuni, whose image stands at some distance on the way leading to the Caitya as a kind of *dvārapāla*. The *vajrācārya* who accompanied Sastriji pointed out to him the image with the explanation as to the value of his services just mentioned (146, p. 795). Another difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna lies in the worship of images of deities in the Mahāyāna, a beginning of which, as already stated, had been made by the Mahāsāṅghikas in the worship of Buddha represented by an image. The last difference between the two yānas is in regard to a philosophical inquiry into the ultimate problems of the universe. The Pāli literature is usually taken to represent Buddha as unwilling to encourage speculations as to these ultimate problems on the ground that they are fruitless so far as the attainment of Nirvāṇa is concerned. In the Mahāyāna works, however, such speculations are found in abundance.

The highest objective of the Buddhists is Nirvāṇa. In The nature of
Hīnayāna, the aspiration of the Sādhaka is to reach it after of
effecting his spiritual elevation through self-purification, but in Nirvāṇa.

Mahāyāna, the fulfilment of this aspiration is not wanted until he brings about the salvation of the other beings of this world. The conception of Nirvāṇa and the process by which the different conceptions have been formed at different times is an interesting study. Sastriji has devoted two or three articles or portions of articles to this subject (see 143, 144, 148). In Hinayāna, the conception of Nirvāṇa, so far as it can be gathered from several passages, is *catusṣṭoṭivīnirmukṭa* like that of the Mādhyamikas, though a superficial glance at a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* lends colour to the idea that it is simple 'extinction'. Buddha, when questioned as to the state of a Buddha after *parinibbāna*, replies negatively to all the four queries, which can be put in the language of a Mādhyamika as *bhāva*, *abhāva*, *bhāvābhāva* and *na bhāva nābhāva*. In plain words, *nirvāṇa* cannot be called either 'existence,' or 'non-existence,' 'a combination of the two,' or 'a negation of such combination' (see e.g. *Poṭṭhapāda Sutta*).

Āsvaghoṣa uses the simile of the extinguishment of a lamp in his *Saundarananda* (xvi, 28, 29),¹ to explain the condition after the attainment of *nirvāṇa* but he does not appear to support the negation of existence in the three² ślokas preceding those just mentioned. He explains desire (*trṣṇā*) etc. as the cause of rebirths; hence the annihilation of desire etc. is the way to salvation, in which the *dharma* will be realized. This *dharma* is *śānta* (tranquil) and

- 1 दीपो यथा निर्हति सभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद् विदिशं न काञ्चित् स्नेहचयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥
एवं कृती निर्हति सभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद् विदिशं न काञ्चित् स्नेहचयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥
- 2 तज्जन्मनो नैकविधस्य सौम्य दृष्ट्यादयो हेतव इत्येवेत्य ।
तांस्किञ्चिद् दुःखाद् यदि निर्मुक्त्या कार्यक्षयः कारणसंचयाद्धि ॥
दुःखचयो हेतुपरिचयाच्च शान्तं शिवं साचिक्लृप्त धर्मम् ।
दृष्ट्याविरागं लयनं निरीधं सनातनं बाणसहाय्यमार्थम् ॥
यस्मिन् जातिर्न जरा न मृत्युर्न व्याधयो नाप्रियसमप्रयोगः ।
नेच्छाविपन्नप्रियविप्रयोगः चेत्तं पदं नैष्ठिकमस्य तत् तत् ॥

śiva (blissful). It is a condition free from birth and death, old age and disease, enmity, disappointment, and the pangs of separation. It is a state well worth one's labours for achievement. Thus it is patent that Aśvaghoṣa does not look upon it as the annihilation of existence. On the other hand, it is a state of existence which is beyond all changes discernible in the world of phenomena. This is *śūnyatā* (literally voidness) meaning that it is indescribable by the power of human speech with its many limitations. (143, 302, pp. 212, 213). Śūnyatā explained.

The bare *śūnyatā* of Nāgārjuna was too dry and tough to appeal to the people, to satisfy the needs of the human mind. Vijñānavāda. Maitreya-nātha therefore started *Vijñānavāda* or *Yogācāra* and wrote *kārikās* or verses in eight chapters in support of his views. The bare *śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas was replaced by the transcendental stream of consciousness. "All Buddhists believe in the momentary character of all phenomena. There is nothing permanent except Śūnya the Paramārtha. Now, Maitreya said, 'No. There should be consciousness of śūnya. But this is impossible in those who believe all things to be momentary, even ideas. But the stream of ideas may be permanent though not the ideas, the acts of consciousness'. The great exponent of this theory was Aśaṅga in the 4th or 5th century A.D." (302, pp. 465, 466; 88, p. 84). With the close of the 5th century came to an end the period of original thinking among the Buddhists in India. 'After them for three or four centuries more, we hear of many eminent scholars and commentators among them. But these were commentators, digest-makers, exegetists, writers of abridgments and polemical works' (302, pp. 467, 468). From after the time of Aśaṅga, a gulf of difference separated the Mādhyamikas and the Vijñānavādins. Dharmapāla marked it and requested Haribhadra to write a commentary (called *Abhisamayālaṅkārahloka*) on Maitreya's treatise with the object of reconciling the two schools of opinion. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is recognised as an authority by the Mādhyamikas.

Mahā-
sukhavāda.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāḥ* is a synopsis of the *Prajñāpāramitā* made by the Vijñānavādins. The *Āloka* was written to explain the former in the light of the latter with a view to their reconciliation. Thus an effort was made to unite the two wings of Buddhism, but about this time, another school of opinion came into being with its far-reaching consequences. It was the Mahāsukhavāda. According to the followers of this line of thought, śūnyatā was not only inexpressible *sat* (existence) and *cit* (consciousness) but also inexpressible *sukha*. This was the opinion of the Vajrayānists and the Sahajayānists (88, pp. 84, 85). The emergence of this school of opinion was, according to Sastriji, influenced by the Magi priests of the people who inhabited the places around the Caspian Sea, and the lakes Van and Aral. In the 7th century, after the devastation of their hearths and homes by the Musalmans, the priests came into India teaching the worship of deities and their consorts in embrace as a symbol of the Mahāsukha in Śūnyatā, and the deification of the letters of the alphabet (302, p. 468; 101, p. 15).

The
progress of
Bodhicitta
to the
attainment
of
mahāsukha
is
symbolized
in the
stūpas.

The conception of the element of *mahāsukha* in Nirvāṇa has also been shown to be reflected in the structure of the stūpas. The progress of the *Bodhicitta* from its lowest stage to the highest is symbolized in the structure of the Buddhist stūpas. A stūpa has a short circular pole at its base representing the hell and the world of evil spirits. Then comes a half spherical body symbolizing the world of human beings, whence starts the upward course of the bodhicitta. Next follows a square block representing the dominion of the four Mahārājas, over which stands a pole, on which rest five discs followed again by a pole and another set of discs numbering 13, 16, 21 or 23. Over this there is another pole and a cone surrounded also by discs. The portion from the square block mentioned above to the tip of the cone represents in succession the thirty-three heavens, *Yamaloka*, *Nirmāṇaratiloka* and *Parinirmāṇaratiloka* which is the last *loka* in the Kāmadhātu. Then come Rūpadhātu and Arūpadhātu.

When the Bodhicitta reaches the Arūpadhātu, it is denuded of *kāma* (desires) but retains body and energy. By the application of this energy, further progress is made through *dhyāna*, *prañidhi*, and *samādhi*. This *dhātu* contains four principal *lokas* which are attained by a mastery over four *dhyānas*. In the first of these *dhyānas*, the *citta* retains *vitarka* and *vicāra*; in the second, *vitarka* disappears and *prīti* and *sukha* fill up the mind; in the third, *prīti* disappears and leaves *sukha* alone, while in the fourth, *sukha* also disappears. Then the *citta* wants to cut off its connection with the body. After the severance of this connection, the *citta* sees everything including the solid as infinite space. Then it enquires whether what is felt as *śūnya* has any consciousness. The result of the enquiry is negative and the *citta* now at the apex of the stūpa plunges into the infinite *śūnya* surrounding it on all sides. When the Buddhists could not remain satisfied with the dry and highly metaphysical conception of *śūnyatā*, they added to it infinite *karuṇā* (mercy) for all the sentient beings of the universe. Hence in the Arūpadhātu, the *citta* was face to face not only with the infinite *śūnya* but also with the limitless *karuṇā*. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was about to merge himself in *śūnya*, but *karuṇā*, roused by the lamentations of the suffering millions all round, prevented him from the merger of his self in *śūnya*. He formed the resolution not to attain *nirvāṇa* until a single creature remains to be freed from the worldly miseries. This conception of *karuṇā* mixed with *śūnyatā* proved very heartening to the people at large, though of course, it was difficult for them to realize *śūnyatā*. Hence this term was replaced by *nirātmā*. When the Bodhicitta or the Bodhisattva was at the apex of the stūpa, he was surrounded by *nirātmā* or, by the later transformation of *nirātmā* viz. Nirātmā-Devī. The meaning of the Bodhisattva falling into the embrace of the Devī became thus patent to them, demonstrating that *nirvāṇa* was a mixture of *śūnyatā* (or *nairātmya*), *karuṇā* and *mahāsukha*. [143, pp. 139-145; 148, p. 1058; Introduction to N. Vasu's *Modern Buddhism*, (mentioned later as

The
infinity of
Karuṇā.

Intro.), pp. 6, 7]. Thus the ideas associated with the structure of the stūpas indicate also the way in which the conception of *nirvāṇa* gradually underwent changes of a radical type.

Mantra-
yāna.

The introduction of the elements of *karuṇā* and *mahā-sukha* into *nirvāṇa* or *śūnyatā* took place gradually to satisfy the needs of the mind and the heart of the generality of the people of the Buddhist faith unable to understand and relish the conception of *śūnyatā*. It was also to meet their needs that big treatises like the *Prajñāpāramitā* were rendered into short *Dhāraṇīs* to facilitate memorizing with the same religious merit derived from their recitations as the study of the whole treatises. The *Dhāraṇīs* were further shortened into *mantras* of one or two letters for repetition. This short cut to the acquisition of what was believed to be the highest spiritual merit was called *Mantrayāna* (149, pp. 1200, 1201). The *Mahāyāna*, and even the *Mantrayāna* following this tendency, were converted into mere sacraments (*śikṣāpadas*) (see Intro. p. 7, Tatakara Gupta's *Ādikarmaracanā*), thus doing away with the necessity of the many spiritual exertions that had been regarded previously as essential to a man's spiritual progress. The same fate overcame the *Vajrayāna* in Nepal in later times. All these indicated that the people were eager to follow some easy methods to reach the goal which had been looked upon as the reward of arduous efforts (Intro. p. 7).

Tantras

The Tantras, which, as already stated, came from outside India,¹ have as their essence "the worship of Śakti or the Female Energy. The female energy is worshipped in conjunction with the male energy. The union of male and female energy is the essence of Tantra" (Intro. p. 10). According to Sastriji, 'neither did the Buddhists derive their form of Tantra from the Brahmins, nor the Brahmins from the Buddhists.

१ गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे अचिकाराय सर्वतः। (from *Kulālikāmnāya* or *Kubjikāmatā*—a ms. in later Gupta character)—[101. p. 14].

Both received their Tantras from the same source' (Intro., p. 11). These Tantras are subsumed under the three principal Yānas viz. Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna, and Kālacakrayāna. The first Yāna was chiefly the religion of the middle class people and the married Buddhist clergy, while the second had numerous followers among people below the middle class Buddhists and some among the lower class Brahminists. The third Yāna was followed by the Buddhists of the lowest social stratum and was more a religion of fear than of love (Intro. p. 13).

'The word Kāla means time, death, and destruction. Kālacakra is the wheel of destruction, and Kālacakrayāna means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction. Waddell describes this as demonology or devil-worship and so it is. Even Buddha is a demon and in the Asiatic Society's Library there is a book entitled *Buddha-carita* (by Nāthurāma, see 10, p. 7; 150, p. 169) which describes Buddha as demon. . . . Unless Buddha was mentioned in Kālacakrayāna, one would be inclined not to call it Buddhism at all' (Intro., p. 8).

The Vajrayāna was evolved from Mantrayāna by a king of Orissa named Indrabhūti in the eight century. 'It was half mystic, half philosophical and more sensual than the previous forms of Buddhism' (302, p. 469; Intro., p. 6).

The Sahajayāna came into being in the ninth century (?) with the object of making salvation easy (Intro., p. 9). One of the most prominent exponents of the doctrine of this sect was Luipā, a Siddhācārya. The songs composed by some of the traditional 84 Siddhācāryas have already been mentioned in connection with the early Bengali literature. The origin of this sect is lost in obscurity but it has many features similar to those of the Vajrayāna. The belief in the efficacy of the *mantras* is found in both, though in the Vajrayāna the field for their use is much greater than in the Sahajayāna. The position of the Guru (spiritual preceptor) is very high in both; in the Sahajayāna, however, the dependence on the preceptor is

much greater because of the fact that the disciple is absolutely helpless without the preceptor's guidance through the secret and mysterious rites able to lead him to the goal through enjoyments (142, p. 69). The followers of both the Yānas believe in Śūnyatā and Mahāsukha. The prefix *Vajra* in 'Vajrayāna' and 'Vajraguru' means *Śūnyatā*, and the deities of this yāna are manifestations of *Śūnyatā*. Their number is also very large. In course of time, the worship of Ḍākinis, Yoginis, Piśācis, Bhairavas etc. took the place of those ranking higher in the pantheon. The Sahajiyās however attached much sanctity to the human body which was looked upon by them as the epitome of the universe, containing the Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu. Arūpadhātu etc. (149, p. 1199). It was to the human body that they turned more for effecting their salvation than to the deities. In Vajrayāna, the five Dhyānī Buddhas, representing the five Skandhas, had their consorts, while many other deities had also their Śaktis (149, p. 1202). The element of *Mahāsukha* in *Śūnyatā* was symbolized in the gods and goddesses in embrace. The Sahajayānists debased it by its symbolization in their own carnal pleasure during worship, because it was their usual mode of worship to identify themselves with the deities immersed in *Mahāsukha* (101, p. 19; 148, pp. 1058, 1060, 1067). The woman taken as the companion in the Sādhana was regarded as the means of attaining the fourth Śūnya (Viramānanda) called Prabhāsvara. Details about the condition of the Sādhakas reaching Mahāsukha are found in the verses quoted by Sastriji in 148, pp. 1062, 1063. They looked upon the world as śūnya, birth and death as empty dreams, and morality and its opposite as mere names. This belief leading to ethical anarchy produced the evil consequences which proved a very powerful cause for the disappearance of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

It is an enigma that a religion that was remarkable in so many ways,—in mental and ethical discipline, in philosophy, in the advocacy of the principle of self

abnegation in a form unsurpassed in any other religion in the world, in the missionary efforts made by its followers, in the preaching of love and brotherhood, and in the inspiration imparted to the development of the fine arts and architecture, should be well-nigh extinct in the very region where it saw the light. The causes that led to this result are an interesting study. Sastriji has summed up the causes and also given details of the process of absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism. He has also shown how it now subsists in a deceptive form in some places in India retaining its humble existence after its glorious career for centuries.

The causes
of decline
of
Buddhism
in India.

The causes of the disappearance of Buddhism (see 43, 44) are :—

On the side of the Hindus—

(1) Their self-confidence, mutual co-operation, and strong faith in their own religion.

(2) The replacement of the sacrifices in a large measure by intellectualism as manifested in Śāṅkara's philosophy and its triumphs, the development of the Nyāya Śāstra and the propagation of its knowledge. Those who were attracted by an appeal to the intellect found much food for thought in the literature written by their co-religionists instead of leaving their faith to resort to the Buddhist literature and religion for their intellectual appeal.

(3) The Purāṇas were recast and new purāṇas came into being to provide sufficient materials to keep chained to Hinduism the faith, heart, and intellect of the masses. These were a counterpoise to the attractive *jātaḥas* and *avadānas* of the Buddhists.

(4) The emergence of the Bhakti cults.

(5) The alertness of the Brāhmaṇas in the pursuit of their avocation with unabated zeal as opposed to the waning enthusiasm of the Buddhist priests in this direction due to the accumulated wealth of the monasteries to which they belonged. Their wealth increased through the patronage extended to them

by the kings and rich people as also by reason of the fact that unlike the practice among the Hindus, the monasteries became the owners of the properties of those who renounced the world and joined them (95, p. 48).

(6) Diminution of patronage from the kings and householders. As Buddhism began to decline, and Hinduism became its aggressive competitor, the kings turned more towards the latter in the distribution of their patronage (149, p. 1208). The decrease in the number of Buddhist laity also resulted in the difficulty of the Buddhist monks to receive alms. As a monk could not take alms from more than three householders and could not visit the same household within a month for the same purpose, ninety households are necessary to maintain a monk. In former days, the Hindu householders used to give alms to the Buddhist monks freely but in course of time, their attitude is likely to have stiffened against them under the influence of the Brāhmaṇas. A provision in Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścittaviveka* prescribing an expiatory rite for the mere sight of a Buddhist monk indicates the influence that was exercised against the monks generally (101, p. 20).

On the side of the Buddhists—

(a) Too much of inattention to worldly affairs brought in its penalty. The maintenance of the progress of a community or its preservation in a healthy condition depends upon many factors, any one of which cannot be neglected long with impunity.

(b) The monasteries became centres of evil influence.

(c) Many of the best people of the Buddhist society went out of the country for the propagation of the religion in other lands, leaving the society at home poor on account of the loss of their services within the country.

(d) The debasement of the religion in some instances to cults that encouraged the worship of Ḍākinīs, Yoginīs etc. and counted among their votaries a large section of the people.

(e) The prevalence of practices detrimental to the moral health of the society under the sanction of an interpretation of Mahāasukhavāda that could not but produce a baneful effect on human life. Hundreds of books of the type of *Tathāgata-guhyaka* were composed in support of these religious practices, and they with their commentaries and sub-commentaries gave rise to a large literature. The names of some of these books have been given by Sastriji¹ (149, p. 1205).

(f) The Musalman invasion brought about the ruin of the monasteries including the universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśīlā, Jagaddala, Odantapuri etc. The monks fled away in thousands to Nepal, Tibet and other places and were also killed in large numbers (149, pp. 1208, 1209).

(g) The decrease in the number of Buddhist Bhikṣus gave the Brāhmaṇas a greater opportunity to work upon the minds of the Buddhists generally in order that they might come into the Hindu fold. The paucity of Bhikṣus brought about a great change in the composition of the Buddhist priesthood. It was the married clergy with families, who were called Āryas, that took the place of the Bhikṣus proper, and began to cater to the religious needs of the Buddhists generally. They commenced attaining the normal status of Bhikṣus through the performance of some sacraments [Intro., pp. 19, 7 (quoting Tatakara Gupta's *Ādikarmaracanā*); 149, pp. 1207, 1208]. They officiated at the religious ceremonies but at the same time, in addition to their profession of priesthood, earned their livelihood through such avocations as those of a mason, painter, sculptor, goldsmith, and carpenter. These artisan priests who were in later times larger in number than the Bhikṣus proper became the religious guides of the people. Their avocations left them little time and desire for the

1 *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Cakrasaṃvara Tantra, Catuspīṭha Tantra, Uḍḍiṣa Tantra, Sekoddeśa, Paramādibuddhoddhṛta Kālacakra, Kālacakra-garbha Tantra, Sarvabuddha-samāyoga Dākini-jāla-saṃvara Tantra, Hevajratantrarāja, Mahāmudrātīleka, Jñānagarbha, Tattvapradīpa, Vajradāka, Herakābhyudaya, Guhyavajra,*

acquisition of learning, for deep thinking, or for devotion to Dhyāna and other spiritual exercises. They could not be expected to raise the declining Buddhism to a higher position through their endeavours nor could they check its course towards its ruin through the introduction of salutary reforms.

(h) The gradual absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism was facilitated by the state of affairs pointed out above. This process of absorption, and the fact of the existence of Buddhism under the transparent veil of Hinduism form the subject-matter of the following paragraph after next. In some cases, however, ousting has taken place and not absorption. This will also be pointed out *en passant*.

In this conflict between Buddhism and Hinduism for a long period, it was natural that a spirit of rivalry to hold the ground and latterly a spirit of enmity should be generated. That this was a fact can be inferred from many evidences. The expiatory provision found in Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścittaviveka* (15th century) against the Buddhists has already been cited (see 150, p. 166). The third Act of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* contains a bitter attack upon the Buddhists while the last portion of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa* (14th century) pours abuses on the Śaiva Yogins who were the worst enemies of Buddhism (150, p. 171). The hostility can be traced back to a much earlier period but it was when the struggle for the very existence of the religion was going on that the bitterness was at its highest. The treatment meted out to the castes, that according to Sastriji, were formed out of the disintegrated Buddhist community is also an index to this hostility, because it has been stated that those that were late in joining the Hindu community were given a low position in the castal hierarchy even to the extent of being untouchable (Intro., pp. 15, 1922). 'The *Śakti-Saṅgama Tantra* a later work declares that the object of that Tantra is to root out Buddhism and establish Brahminism, while the Buddhist Tantras equally denounce Brahminism. The theory was current twenty years ago that the Brahmins derived their Tantras from the Buddhists,

but of late it has been ascertained that neither did the Buddhists derive their form of Tantra from the Brahmins nor the Brahmins from the Buddhists. Both derived these Tantras from the same source' [Intro. (1911), p. 11].

The story of the supersession of works composed by the Buddhists in the several fields of literature viz. grammar, lexicon, prosody, *alaṃkāra*, *nyāya*, *smṛti*, and *tantra* by rival works written by the Hindus has been told by Sastriji (101). One or two examples may be given to illustrate the point. In the field of grammar, the widely prevalent school of Sanskrit grammar called *Candavyākaraṇa* founded by Candragomin of Varendra in Bengal became extinct owing to its competition with the *Samkṣiptasāra*. The grammatical works of Cāṅgudāsa and Rabhasa Nandin also met with the same fate. Some of the excellent commentaries on Pāṇini by Buddhist grammarians fell into disfavour, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji attaining the dominant position. In the domain of logic, the achievements of the Buddhist scholars like Nāgārjuna, Dinnāga, Dharmakīrti were remarkable; but the competition of their works with those of the Hindu dialecticians ousted them from India. In the field of philosophy, the Hindus tackled it in a different way. The substance of the doctrines argued out in the treatises of the Buddhists was appropriated by the Hindus in such a way as to deprive the former of their speciality. Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, for instance, utilized the essence of the Mādhyamika philosophy, which thus lost its excellence.

5

When the Tantras were introduced into India from outside in the 7th or the 8th century, the Buddhists adopted them as also the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. The Vaiṣṇavas adapted them into the *Pañcarātras* of which, more than 200 are available. The Śaiva Tantras were prevalent in Kashmir and Central India. It was the Buddhist Tantras that were prevalent in Bengal. After the Musalman invasion of Bengal, the com-

position of Tantras by the Buddhists came to a stop. It was the Gauḍīya Śāṅkarācārya who in the fifteenth century wrote many works. He tried to adapt the Buddhist Tantras to their use by the Hindus. It was Trigunānanda, his disciple Brahmānanda and the latter's disciple Pūrṇānanda who helped in a prominent way the absorption of the Buddhist Tantras by works written by them for use by the Hindus. Their sphere of work was in East Bengal and they composed a large number of treatises. The period for their activities may be located between 1500 and 1600 A.C. Brahmānanda's *Tārārahasya* and Pūrṇānanda's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* are well-known treatises. It was the movement set afoot by these three that Hinduised the Buddhist Tantras. Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa following their example gave many Buddhist deities a location in the Hindu pantheon through his *Tantrasāra*. Two such deities may be mentioned viz. Kṣetrapāla and Mañjughoṣa (a changed form of Mañjuśrī). The *Āgamaśālokalatīkā* by a grandson of Kṛṣṇānanda effected the entry of a larger number of Buddhist deities into the Hindu pantheon. Thus the contents of the Buddhist Tantras were utilized by the Hindus in three Tantras, which thus threw out of use their Buddhist rivals. The *smṛti* works of the Hindus utilized also the materials of the Buddhist Tantras and helped, like the Tantras, the absorption of the section of the population, that could not altogether shake off their Buddhist leanings, into the Hindu society. The five Dhyānī Buddhas had five Śaktis. Of the latter, two viz. *Māmakī* and *Pāṇḍarā* together with the *Pañcaraṅgā* constituted by *Mahāpratisarā*, *Mahāmāyūrī*, *Mahāśītavatī*, *Mahāsahasrapramardinī* and *Mahāmantrānusārinī* are worshipped along with Durgā in the great Hindu ceremonial called Durgāpūjā. The *dhyānas* for some of the deities are identical in Buddhism and Hinduism e.g. those for Kṣetrapāla and Kālī. Many of the Buddhist deities whose names commence with the prefix *Vajra* such as *Vajravārāhī*, *Vajrayoginī*, *Vajradhātviśvarī* have been adopted by the Hindus as their own. The Trinity of the Buddhists has

undergone the same process. *Buddha* has become the *Jagannātha* of the Hindus—an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. *Dharma* has become their *Dharma Ṭhākura*. At times, *Dharma* was worshipped by the Buddhists in the form of *stūpa*. In course of time, the five niches in the *stūpa* for holding the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas gave it the appearance of a tortoise. Hence, *Dharma Ṭhākura* is sometimes found in the shape of this animal. When priests of the *Yogī* caste to the exclusion of the *Brāhmaṇas* are found to officiate at the ceremonies of the deity, it should be inferred that the Buddhist character of the deity has been retained, but when it is found that the priests belong to the *Brāhmaṇa* caste, the character of the worship has been Hinduised. *Śaṅkha* has been transformed into *Śaṅkha*, a conchshell i.e. no longer a deity. In a pond at *Mayanā*, an image of *Dharma Ṭhākura* and a conchshell have been discovered. Though Hinduism has assimilated into itself the Buddhist deities, the *bija mantras* are still intact. These *bijas* indicate the borrowings. When the Hindus worship *Śiva* or *Viṣṇu* by uttering the *dhyāna Mantras* commencing with *Dhyāyen nityaṃ*, *Dhyeyaḥ sadā*, etc., they are following the traditional Hindu mode, but when they worship by identifying themselves with the deities (*ātmanāṃ viṣṇusvarūpaṃ vibhāvya*), they are really proceeding on the line laid down by the Buddhists. When by the repetition of the *bija mantra* in *dhyāna*, the dormant power is roused and lifted through the six mystical centres in the body viz. *līṅgāmūla*, *anāhata*, *nābhīmūla*, *hṛdaya*, *kaṇṭha* and *ājñācakṛa* to the 'thousand-petalled lotus' in the brain, the process is tinged with Buddhistic colour. And lastly, the implicit reverence shown to the *guru* (spiritual preceptor) is a loan made by Hinduism from Buddhism, because the Hindus had been *devabhājus* and the Buddhists *gubhājus* (see 101, pp. 17-19, 254, 142).

Though the absorption of *Dharma Ṭhākura* into Hinduism has been mentioned already, some details about the cult of *Dharma Ṭhākura* should be given here in view of the fact

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that it was a discovery made by Sastriji. He came across many places where *Dharma Ṭhākura* was being worshipped. Ghanarāma's *Dharmamaṅgala* was published as early as 1884. Ghanarāma, a resident of the district of Burdwan, wrote his work in 1710 A.C. He was a Brāhmaṇa who used to officiate at the religious ceremonies of the Caṇḍālas. Ghanarāma states that the story of his *Dharmamaṅgala* was derived from the *Hākanda Purāṇa*, and that it was the poet Mayūrebhaṭṭa who first wrote on the subject. Other authors dealing with the topic were Rūparāma, Māṇikacandra Gāṅguli, Rāmacandra and Khelārāma. Ramāi Paṇḍit was the first great priest of the Dharma cult and the author of the *Paddhati* (liturgy) for the worship of the deity. According to Ghanarāma's statement, *Dharma Ṭhākura* manifested himself during the reign of the son (9th c.) of king Dharma Pāla who, according to Sastriji, may be the second king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The formula of meditation in Māṇika Gāṅguli's work shows that the deity had his origin in Śūnyatā, indicating the association with Buddhism. Dharma created Pārvaṭi, the Hindu goddess, representative of the primeval power (Ādyā Śakti) while he himself was without a beginning (Anādyā). Pārvaṭi gave birth to the gods of the Hindu Trinity through the grace of Dharma. He hates the Vedic sacrifices, and punished the sage Mārkaṇḍeya for protesting against this attitude. Reference is made in the *Paddhati* to the respect paid to him in Ceylon. A peculiarity of the offerings made to the deity is that lime often constitutes one of them. They also include pigs and hens. When vows are made for the fulfilment of desires, small pieces of bricks are hung from the ceiling of the room containing the deity, and as soon as the desires are fulfilled, they are taken away. The other deities that are found in the company of Dharma are Śitalā (corresponding to Hārīti) goddess of small-pox, Gaṇeśa, Pañcānanda a form of Mahādeva, Śaṣṭhī, the goddess for the welfare of children, Jvarāsura, the demon of fever, and Mahākāla. Some of them are also found at Svayambhūkṣetra in Nepal in connection with

Dharmā. The Śakti of Dharma is named Kāmīnyā. The unfriendly attitude of the priests of the Dharma cult towards the Brāhmaṇas is evidenced in the poem called Śrī Nirañjaner Uṣmā. The reason for this feeling is of course obvious. It has gone so far as to make the followers of Dharma look upon the Musalman invasion of Bengal as a retribution brought about by *Dharma Ṭhākura* against the Hindus. Dharma assumed the appearance of a Yavana and riding on a horse assumed the name Khodā. All the gods wore *ijāra* (pantaloon) with great delight and assuming the appearance of the Muhammadans or their religious guides and leaders, they destroyed the images and temples at Jājpur, a stronghold of Dharma worship.¹ The various names under which Dharma is worshipped in the different localities is very large e.g. Bākuḍā Rāya, Śītala Siṃha, Buḍā Dharma, Dalu Rāya, Jagat Rāya and so forth, and the people who worship these deities are millions.

Some of the many places where Dharma is worshipped may be mentioned: the village of Sūagāchi near Pātuli, Jāmālpur near Mukṣimpāḍā, village Badaoāna on the river Bhallukī, Bodh Mahāla in Orissa, several places in Calcutta e.g. 45, Jaunbazar Street and a temple on Balaram Dey Street (For the above information re. *Dharma Ṭhākura* see 10, 151, 152, 79).

A remnant of Buddhism is still found in the rites and ceremonies of the Hinduised *Sarāki* weavers in many places in the Gaḍhjāt and Killajāt mahals in Orissa, in Mogalvandi and in the Thanas of Puri and Cuttuck as also in Mayurbhanj and in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, and Bankura. The

- I নিরঞ্জন নিরাংকার, হৈল্যা ভেষ্ট অবতার, মুখেতে বলেন দম্ভদার ।
 যতেক দেবভাগণ, সবে হয়। একমন, আনন্দেতে পরিল ইজার ॥
 ব্রহ্মা হইল ম'হাস্বর, বিষ্ণু হইল পোকাধর, আদম্ব হৈল্যা শূলপাণি ॥
 গণেশ হইয়। গাজি, কার্ত্তিক হৈল কাঁজি, ফকির হইল বত মূনি ॥
 তেজিয়া আপন ভেক, নারদ হৈল্যা শেক, পুন্সর হইল মোলনা ।
 চন্দ্রসূর্য্য আদি দেবে, পদাভিক হয়। সবে, সবে খেলি বাজায় বাজনা ॥

term *Sarāṅki* is a corrupted form of *Śrāvaka*. Buddha occupies an important place in their faith (150, Intro. p. 28).

The foregoing sketch shows within a small compass Sastriji's contributions in connection with the four principal subjects which received a large measure of his attention, and the various directions taken by his mental activities in a period covering fifty-five years. There are other subjects on which he wrote at times e.g. inscriptions, topography, castes, education, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya, and Vaiṣṇavism, but his major contributions were on the four subjects mentioned above, as a glance through Appendix I will show. All this was accomplished simultaneously with the administrative work that devolved on him as a duty in the various positions occupied by him. Appendix II presents a list of these positions, some of which had onerous duties attached to them. Sastriji's life is a brilliant example in which duty was always a pleasure. His zeal for study and for the extension of the bounds of knowledge in the subjects handled by him continued unabated up to the last. In him combined many qualities of head and heart. His exterior may have appeared cold to those who did not come into close contact with him, but in fact, his goodwill and friendship once extended continued warm and steady. I had the opportunity of knowing him personally for several years and working with him on the committees of public institutions. This long acquaintance and collaboration imparted to our relationship a personal touch which was productive of a uniform stream of sympathy and confidence. It is for this reason that his demise has caused in me a feeling of personal loss. The loss is no less to the world of scholarship. It will be difficult to fill up the void that has been created by the extinction of the sum of the rare qualities of head and heart that constituted his personality. It is however a partial compensation that the writings left behind by him will continue to inform, guide, and inspire the people of the present and the future generations. It is also a source of solace to his friends and relatives that the reverence in which his memory

is held by them is shared by a much wider circle of admirers. The following few lines penned by Dr. Ganganatha Jha express the feeling entertained towards him generally.

“ I have always looked upon Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstrī as one of the principal ‘architects’ of the reputation that has been my meed in this world. It was through his kindness that the Asiatic Society of Bengal accepted my translation of Kumāṛila’s *Śloṇavārtika* for the *Bibliotheca Indica* which brought me to the notice of the world of Orientalists.

The first time that I saw him was sometime in 1899-1900 at his residence. By that time he had seen some part of my work on Kumāṛila.

This was the commencement of the life-long relationship which has continued unimpaired all along; and the tie has been so strong that even after his departure, it promises to continue through his talented son.

As regards the Mahāmahopādhyāya’s work it is not necessary to say much. My opinion of it is briefly summed up : He, of all people, has been the real father of Oriental Research in North India.”

NARENDRA NATH LAW

APPENDIX I

LIST OF WRITINGS

BENGALI WORKS

1. 1287 B.S. } (1) ভারত মহিলা (The Ladies of Ind). 1st ed. First
(=1880 A.C.) } published in the *Vaṅgadarśana*, 1282.

The booklet in five chapters deals with the condition and ideal of women in the Hindu society as can be ascertained from the ancient Śāstras and other Sanskrit literature.

2. 1288. (2) বাল্মীকির জয় (The Superiority of Vālmiki), 84 pp. A portion was previously published in the *Vaṅgadarśana*, 1287.

Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmītra and Vālmiki, the three great figures of the Purāṇic literature have been shown to represent the three forces physical, intellectual and moral. The three sages were striving to bring about the happiness of the world according to their own particular lines of action. Vālmiki came out triumphant ultimately on account of his selfless compassion towards the humanity.

3. 1309. (3) মেঘদূত (*Meghadūta*), v+88 pp. Previously published in the *Vaṅgadarśana*.

In this brochure Sastriji brings out in a charming way the delicate beauties of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. In the Preface to the work, he makes a grateful acknowledgment of the assistance received from one whose name has not been mentioned in compliance with his desire. As it is now a thing of the distant past, the curiosity of the reader may be satisfied by this piece of information that he is Paṇḍit Rajendranath Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Four years later Paṇḍit Vidyābhūṣaṇa also acknowledged his gratitude in the Preface to his work *Kālidāsa O Bhavabhūti* in the following way :

বাঁহার মাননোদ্যানের কুসুম চয়ন করিয়া এই প্রবন্ধ লিখিয়াছি, বাঁহার কাব্যালোচনা-নৈপুণ্যে আমার স্থায় নীরস পান্যের চিত্তে কাব্যপ্রিয়তা জন্মিয়াছে, বাঁহার উপদেশ ব্যতীত 'কালিদাস ও ভবভূতি' কথাচ লিখিতে পারিতাম না, বাঁহার ধ্বনি আমার জীবনে অপরিশোধ্য, বোধ হয় প্রবন্ধের অকিঞ্চিৎকরও উপলব্ধি করিয়াই, তিনি, ইহাতে তাঁহার নাম সংযোগ করিতে দিলেন না। আমি উদ্দেশে তাঁহার নিকটে কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করিতেছি।

4. 1322. (4) কাঞ্চনমালা (*Kāñcanamālā*). Previously published in the *Vaṅgadarśana*, 1289.

Based on a Buddhist legend the novel depicts the single-minded devotion of Kāñcanamālā to her husband Kuṇāla, son of Aśoka, specially during his helpless condition brought about by his step-mother, at whose instance he was deprived of his eye-sight,

5. 1326. (5) বেণের মেয়ে (Merchant's Daughter). Previously published in the *Nārāyaṇa*, 1325 and 1326.

The heroine of the fiction is a merchant's daughter. After the demise of her husband the leaders of the Buddhist community of Saptagrāma and its neighbouring places, where the scene of the fiction is laid, try to convert this widow to Buddhism and thereby appropriate her large properties. The Buddhist chief of Saptagrāma helps this attempt with his men and money. The father of the girl, on the other hand, assisted by the Hindu chief Harivarmadeva and his minister Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa defeat the purpose of the Buddhist leaders by clever actions directed against their conspiracy to bring the girl under their control. Ultimately, a fight takes place between the two chiefs resulting in the defeat of the Buddhists. Through this novel, Sastriji has painted a picture of the state of things in Bengal in the 11th century A.C. when Buddhism was on the decline and was being gradually absorbed by Hinduism. The episodes found in conjunction with the main plot, such as the sea voyage of the girl's father Vihārī Datta to Java, and the descriptions of the Buddhist procession at Saptagrāma, the conference for awarding rewards to learned men and artists both Hindu and Buddhist invited from places far and near, the Nālandā University, etc. are extremely vivid and realistic with the colouring and details that bring up before the mind's eyes a picture of Bengal of the 11th century.

TEXT-BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS

6. (a) প্রসাদ-পাঠ (১ম ও ২য় ভাগ) (*Prasāda-Pāṭha*).
 (b) ভারতবর্ষের ইতিহাস (History of India).
 1895. (c) *History of India*.

The history of ancient India did not receive the amount of attention it deserved at the hands of the earlier writers of Indian history like Mill, Elphinstone and Marshman (100, pp. 1, 2). In 1895 Sastriji published his *History of India* giving a connected account up to the time of Buddha.

BENGALI PAMPHLETS

7. 1923. কলিকাতা মহানগরীতে আহুত ভারত-হিন্দু-সভার প্রথম মহাধিবেশনে সভাপতি মহোদয়ের সম্বোধন (Presidential Address delivered at the 1st Session of the All-India Hindu Conference held in Calcutta).
 It was translated into English by N. Law.
8. অখিলভারতীয় সংস্কৃতমহাসম্মেলনে (মথুরার অধিবেশনে) সভাপতির অভিভাষণ । (Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Sanskrit Conference held at Mathurā).

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS IN ENGLISH

9. 1891. (1) *Vernacular Literature of Bengal before the Introduction of English Education*, 16 pp. A lecture delivered at the Cumbuliatola Reading Club.

Information has been collected in this pamphlet about a large volume of literature in Bengali valuable for the history of particular localities as also for the philological data found in it.

10. 1897. (2) *Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*, 31 pp.

In spite of the unfavourable attitude of the Brāhmaṇas towards the Buddhists and their wholesale massacre by the Musalmans, the Buddhists continued to exist in Bengal and Bihar long after the Muhammadan invasion of Eastern India. The religion which counted its votaries in Bengal by millions could not disappear altogether without leaving its impress behind in various forms. In fact, it is still living among the people of the provinces. The widely prevalent worship of Dharma Thākura in different places of Bengal has been shown to be Buddhistic in its origin (see 212).

11. (3) *The Study of Sanskrit*, 16 pp. A paper read at a meeting of the Calcutta University Teachers' Association.

After giving a brief sketch of the development of the Sanskrit language and its large grammatical literature, Sastriji deals with the state of Sanskrit learning in Bengal at the beginning of the 19th century, undergoing a change in the later years after the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

12. 1907. (4) *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 17 pp.

This is a review of the plot and characters in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

13. 1916. (5) *The Educative Influence of Sanskrit*, 31 pp. A lecture delivered on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Hindu University, Benares.

In this Address delivered at the Benares Hindu University, Sastriji has laid stress on the unbroken continuity of the Sanskrit literature from the commencement of the Vedic period and also on its value as an instrument of education. He has described its voluminous character dealing with a large variety of subjects and has given an account of the literature on the different branches of study : Economics, Science, Fine Arts, History and kindred subjects, Philosophy, Poetry, and Drama.

14. 1917. (6) *Bird's-Eye View of Sanskrit Literature*, 32 pp.

The extent of Sanskrit literature classified under various subjects has been dealt with in this brochure.

15. 1922. (7) *Presidential Address, Sanskrit and Prakrit Section, Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta*, 14 pp.

A brief account of the ancient languages of India and the grammatical speculations connected therewith has been given in the Address and the singular

achievements of the Indian literature in the domains of philosophy, grammar, and poetry have been pointed out.

16. 1923. (8) *Magadhan Literature*, 133 pp.

This is a collection of six Lectures connected with Magadha delivered at the Patna University in 1920-21: (1) The original inhabitants of Magadha, (2) Pāṭaliputra—the intellectual capital of India. (3) Historical lessons from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, (4) Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, (5) *Vātsyāyana Bhāṣya*, and (6) Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Āryabhaṭṭa.

17. 1925. (9) *Lokāyata*, 6 pp. Dacca University Bulletin No. 1.

It is an account of the Lokāyata (materialistic) system of thought as found in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* etc.

18. 1926. (10) *Absorption of the Vrātyas*, 9 pp. Dacca University Bulletin No. 6.

The Vrātyas were Aryans. *Vrāta* means a horde. The Vrātyas were at first nomadic Aryan hordes hostile to the Vedic Aryans. The differences in manners and customs between the Aryans and the Vrātyas were many and have been enumerated on the basis of the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* and other Vedic texts. It was by the Vrātyastoma that the Vrātyas could be taken back into the Aryan fold. Those who were not so treated remained lower in status in the eye of the Vedic Aryans. They brought in new energy, and were mainly responsible for many new lines of thought and action in the later Vedic period.

19. 1928. (11) *Sanskrit Culture in Modern India* (Presidential Address, Fifth Oriental Conference, Lahore), 43 pp. Published also in the *Prabuddha Bhārata*, XXX (1929), pp. 66-75, 126-135.

After the systematic commencement of the search of Sanskrit Mss. from the time of Lord Lawrence (1868), many new materials were brought to light. The preservation of Sanskrit and other Mss. helped a good deal the study of ancient Indian culture. It contains an account of the state of Sanskrit studies in the 18th century as also of the same after the introduction of English education among the Pandits. It also points out the results of researches in previous years and also the researches that remained to be made in the various fields of Sanskrit literature.

EDITIONS OF BENGALI TEXTS

20. 1312. (1) শ্রীধর্মমাংগল্য (Śrīdharmamaṅgala of Māṇik Gāṅguli). Vaṅṅiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad Series No. 8. Edited in collaboration with Dr. Dines Chandra Sen.

It is a versified narrative showing the greatness of Dharma Ṭhākura, a Hinduised Buddhist deity.

21. 1223. (2) বৌদ্ধগান ও দোহা (Bauddha Gān O Dohā), 36+210+105 pp. V. S. Paṛiṣad Series, No. 55.

It is a collection of songs of Siddhācāryas written in the vernaculars of Eastern India, mostly in old Bengali. The Sanskrit commentary explains them according to the doctrines of the Sahajiyā sect.

22. 1335. (3) কাশীরামদাসের মহাভারত, আদিপর্ব (Mahābhārata of Kāśīrāma, ādiparva), xxviii + 248 + xvi pp. V. S. Pariṣad Series, No. 75.

The Ādiparvan of Kāśīrāma Dāsa's Bengali Mahābhārata has been edited from a unique Ms. of the 16th century. It differs considerably from the previous editions of the work. In the Introduction, Sastriji has shown that the Sanskrit Mahābhārata had passed through five redactions. He has pointed out the additions and alterations introduced by Kāśīrāma in his Bengali version, and has also given a list of words (used by Kāśīrāma) which have assumed different forms in the current Bengali.

EDITION OF A MAITHILI TEXT

23. 1331. বিদ্যাপতি প্রণীত কীর্তিলতা (Kirttilatā of Vidyāpati) vi + xcviii + 48 pp. + English translation 43 pp. Hṛṣikeśa Series No. 9.

This Maithili poem of Vidyāpati in the form of a dialogue between two birds eulogizes the heroic stand made by Kirtisimpha, a Tirhut prince against Arslan, the treacherous enemy of his father. With the help of the Sultan of Jaunpur he defeats Arslan. The descriptions of Jaunpur and its markets, the Sultan's court, the march of troops and the fight are very graphic and interesting.

EDITIONS OF SANSKRIT TEXTS

24. 1888-1797. (1) Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 120), 589 pp.

It is an edition of the upapurāṇa of that name.

25. 1894-1900. (2) Bṛhatsvayambhūpurāṇa (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 133), 502 + 38 pp.

This is a Buddhist Purāṇa presenting details about Svayambhūkṣetra, an important place of Buddhist pilgrimage in Nepal containing many shrines, stūpas, etc.

26. 1904. (3) Ballālacarita of Ānandabhaṭṭa (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 164), 125 pp.

This work in twenty-seven chapters gives an account of the time of Ballālasena, king of Bengal. It was written in 1432 A.C. about three hundred years after Ballāla's reign. Some items of information contained in it are corroborated by other evidences.

27. 1910. (4) Rāmacarita of Sandhyākara Nandin, ASB. Memoir, Vol. III, No. 1, 56 pp.

The *Rāmāpālacarita* a poem of the 12th century refers in each stanza to the story of Rāma as also to Rāmāpāla, who ruled in Bengal towards the close of the 11th century.

28. 1910. (5) *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts* of Rātnakīrti, Paṇḍita Aśoka, and Ratnākaraśānti (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 185), viii + 114 pp.

For details about these six tracts, see pp. 346, 347.

29. 1910. (6) *Saundarananda* (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 192), xxiii + 138 pp.

This poem of Aśvaghoṣa in eighteen cantos was discovered by Sastriji in Nepal. It delineates how Nanda, a half-brother of Buddha, was persuaded by the latter to renounce the world and join the Buddhistic Order as a Bhikṣu in spite of his deep attachment to his wife Sundarī.

30. 1910. (7) *Syainika-śāstra* (a book on hawking). Text and English translation (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 193), iii + 39 + 35 pp.

This is a practical handbook for hunting and hawking in seven chapters written by Rudradeva, a ruler of Kūrmācala or Kumaon.

31. 1914. (8) *Catuḥśatikā* of Āryadeva (ASB. Memoirs, Vol. III, No. 8), 66 pp.

The edited fragments of the work deal with such topics as the removal of misconceptions, non-reality of things, non-reality of Ātman and so forth.

- 31a. 1927. (9) *Advayavajrasaṃgraha* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 40), v + xxxviii + 63 pp.

This is a collection of twenty-one short tracts dealing with the doctrines and rituals of the later phases of Buddhism, particularly the Vajrayāna.

NOTICES OF SANSKRIT MSS.

32. (a) 1890-1892. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 1st series, Vol. X, 8 + 32 + 16 + 367 pp. (1025 Mss. described).
(b) 1895. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 1st series, Vol. XI (Indices), 20 + 72 + 23 + 138 + 4 pp.

The previous volumes are by Raja R. L. Mitra.

33. (a) 1898-1900. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 2nd series, Vol. I, xi + 432 pp. (422 Mss.).
(b) 1898-1904. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 2nd series, Vol. II, xxii + 238 pp. (266 Mss.).

- (c) 1904-1907. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 2nd series, Vol. III, xxvi + 18 + 253 pp. (366 Mss.).
- (d) 1911. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, 2nd series, Vol. IV, xxxvi + 11 + 265 pp. (359 Mss.). Total 1413 Mss.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUES OF MSS.

34. 1905. (1) *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, Vol. I, lxxxii + 32 + 273 + 23 pp. (457 Mss.).
35. 1915. (2) *Do.* Vol. II, xxxv + 271 + 21 pp. (931 Mss.).
36. 1917. (3) *A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I—Buddhist Manuscripts, ix + 199 pp. (119 Mss.).
37. 1923. (4) *Do.* Vol. II—Vedic Manuscripts, x + 1256 pp. (1726 Mss.).
38. 1925. (6) *Do.* Vol. III—Smṛti Manuscripts, lxxvi + 1066 pp. (1232 Mss.).
39. 1923. (5) *Do.* Vol. IV—History and Geography, vi + 125 pp. (55 Mss.).
40. 1928. (7) *A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V—Purāṇa Manuscripts, ccxxvii + 897 pp. (1080 Mss.).
41. 1931. (8) *Do.* Vol. VI—Vyākaraṇa Manuscripts, cccxxxix + 521 pp. (732 Mss.).
- Vol. VII—Kāvya Manuscripts (in the Press) (857 Mss.).

Total Mss. described in the seven volumes—5801.

The following volumes of *Descriptive Catalogues of Mss.* have been made ready for the Press :

Vol. VIII	Philosophy	about	1394	Mss.	
„ IX	Tantra	„	1005	„	
„ X	Jyotiṣa	„	500	„	
„ XI	Jaina	„	1500	„	
„ XII	Vernacular	„	500	„	
„ XIII	Miscellaneous	„	700	„	including
„ XIV	Addenda, Supplement }				400
					on
					medicine.

Total „ 5599 „
Grand Total 14686 Mss.

REPORT ON SEARCH FOR MSS.

42. 1901. (a) *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1895-1900), 25 pp.

1905. (b) *Do.* (1901-1902 to 1905-1906), 18 pp.

At page 23 of this Report, Sastriji refers to a previous one submitted by him, I have not been able to get hold of its copy.

1911. (c) *Do.* (1906-1907 to 1910-1911), 10 pp.

1913. (d) *Preliminary Report on the Operation in Search of Mss. of Bardic Chronicles* (1913), 52 pp.

(e) *Report of a Tour in Western India in Search of Mss. of Bardic Chronicles*, 6 pp.

Though the pamphlet does not state the year for which it contains the details of the search for Mss., the *Preliminary Report on the Operation* etc. (pp. 1, 2) shows that it is the report for 1909. This *Preliminary Report* (p. 2) refers to the submission of four Progress Reports to the Society since 1909. Only one constituting this item is to hand.

THE VANGADARSANA

43. 1284. (1) অসাদেব গৌরবের দুই সময় (Two Periods of our Glory), pp. 36-46, 75-81.

The article deals with the two periods of great intellectual activity in India viz. 9th to 4th century B.C., and 6th century A.C. to the 9th. The first period relates to Northern India and the second to Southern India generally. The former speaks in detail about the development of the systems of philosophy, law etc. and the latter about the movements carried on by Kumārila, Śaṅkara, etc. resulting in the revival of Hinduism.

44. 1284. (2) ব্রাহ্মণ ও শ্রমণ (Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas), pp. 145-152.

The paper deals with the revival of Hinduism and decay of Buddhism. It is a continuation of the previous paper.

45. 1284. (3) শঙ্করাচার্য্য কি ছিলেন ? (Śaṅkarācārya—What was he?) pp. 241-248.

In this article, it has been stated that the value of Śaṅkara's contribution lies in his Advaita philosophy rather than in his work as a religious reformer.

46. 1284. (4) বেদ ও বেদব্যাখ্যা (The Vedas and their Interpretation), pp. 413-421.

It is a review of Ramānātha Sarasvatī's edition of the *Rgveda* with Bengali translation, notes, and explanations.

47. 1285. (5) কালিদাস ও শেক্সপীয়ার (Kālidāsa and Shakespeare), pp. 28-41.

The fields in which the two poets excel each other have been pointed out. Kālidāsa has a liking for only the pretty and the beautiful while Shakespeare deals with human characters of all sorts ranging from the noble to the ugly.

48. 1285. (6) বাঙ্গালা ভাষা (The Bengali Language), pp. 77-88.

A middle path between a style of writing with too many Sanskrit words and a style with extremely colloquial words is advocated. He is of opinion that current Bengali words as also borrowings of terms from Arabic etc. which have already got currency should not be interdicted.

49. 1285. (7) সমাজের পরিবর্তন কয় রূপ ? (Changes in Society), pp. 121-129.

50. 1285. (8) একজন বাঙ্গালী গবর্ণরের অদ্ভুত বীরত্ব (The strange Conduct of a Bengali Governor), pp. 137-139.

It is a satirical description of the way in which Raja Durlabharāma, a Governor of Orissa during the Musalman rule conducted himself under an attack by the Mahratta raiders.

51. 1285. (9) বঙ্গীয় যুবক ও তিন কবি (The Bengali Youths and the three Poets), pp. 396-410.

The elements appealing to the Bengali youths in the writings of Kālidāsa, Byron, and Bankim Chandra have been discussed here.

52. 1285. (10) মনুষ্য জীবনের উদ্দেশ্য (The Ideal of human Life), pp. 520-527.

In the ideal of human life, the debt to society should find an important place.

53. 1285. (11) এক্সচেঞ্জ (Exchange), pp. 538-549.

54. 1285. (12) তৈল (The Art of Oiling), pp. 549-552.

It is a humorous piece of writing expatiating on the great influence of unctuous words and deeds.

55. 1287. (13) স্বাধীন বাণিজ্য ও রক্ষা-কর (Free-Trade and Protection),

56. 1287. (15) খাজনা কেন দেই ? (Why do we pay rent?), pp. 61-70.

57. 1287. (16) শিক্ষা (Education), pp. 119-124.

The specialization in education should commence after a thorough grounding in general culture.

58. 1287. (17) হৃদয়-উদাস (The yearning Heart), pp. 189-191. It appeared over the pseudonym 'A Monk in Youth.'

It is an expression of the heart's yearning for filling up the void in the human heart. The composition reminds one of Bankim Chandra's *Ekā* in *Kamalākānter Daptar* (1875), p. 10.

59. 1287. (18) কলেজী শিক্ষা (College Education), pp. 211-218.

The evils of education as imparted in the colleges in India have been pointed

out. The system of examination does not develop an appetite for real learning while the medium of instruction being a foreign tongue wastes much time and stunts the intellect.

60. 1287. (19) নূতন খাজনার আইন সম্বন্ধে কলিকাতা রিবিউ এর মত (*The Calcutta Review on the Tenancy Bill*), pp. 289-302.
61. 1287. (20) ভট্টাচার্য্য-বিদায় প্রণালী (*The System of paying Honoraria to Pandits*), pp. 369-376.
62. 1287. (21) বর্তমান শতাব্দীর বাঙ্গালা সাহিত্য [*The Bengali Literature of the Present (19th) Century.*], pp. 489-512.

A note is added at the end by the editor to the effect that it was read by Sastriji at a meeting of the Sāvitrī Library.

63. 1288. (22) নূতন কথা গড়া (*The Coining of New Terms*), pp. 72-77.

The paper puts forward the view that for the expression of a new idea, the resources of the Bengali language as also of the other Indian vernaculars and Sanskrit should be utilized for supplying the new terms, and if they fail, the foreign tongues should be resorted to.

64. 1288. (23) সাবেক “মসুমুদ্ব” ও হালের “সাইন করা” (*The unshiny Merit of former days and the shiny Semblance of Merit of the present day*), pp. 124-128.

65. 1288. (24) বাঙ্গালা ভাষার পরিণতি (*The Bengali Language*). Appeared over the pseudonym ‘Graduate’.

The object of the paper is to discuss the principles on which the structure of the Bengali language should be based. He illustrates his opinion by giving specimens of Sanskritic or anglicized Bengali, which should be avoided.

66. 1289. (25) কালিদাসের রঘুবংশ (*The Raghuvamśa*), pp. 42-47.

67. (26) স্বায়ত্ত শাসন (*Self-Government*). [Mentioned in the pamphlet on Sastriji’s life].

THE VIBHĀ

68. 1294. (1) মুসলমানী বাঙ্গালা—সুর্জু উজালবিবির কেচ্ছা (*Musalman Bengali—the Story of Śurjju Ujālbibi*), pp. 282-286.

Śurjju Ujāl Bibir Kecchā or the versified story of a lady called Śurjju Ujāl (bright like the sun) is by a Musalman author. The peculiarity of its language lies in the considerable number of Arabic and Persian words used in it. The substance of the story and a specimen of the language appear in the paper.

69. 1294. (2) ভারতের লুপ্ত রত্নোদ্ধার—বোধিসত্ত্বাবদান কল্পলতা (*The Recovery of a lost Indian Jewel—the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*), pp. 450-455.

This is an account of the discovery of some incomplete Mss. of the *Bodhisattoāvadāna-kālpātā* of Kṣemendra in Nepal by Hodgson and Wright, and of a complete copy by Sarat Chandra Das in Tibet.

70. 1294. (3) कुशीनगर (Kūśinagara), pp. 24-33 and 114-117.

The paper contains a description of the various attempts made for the identification of Kūśinagara where Buddha attained Mahāparinirvāṇa. Carlleyle identified it with Kasai in the district of Gorakhpur.

71. 1295 (4) মুসলমানগণের সংস্কৃত চর্চা (The Study of Sanskrit by the Musalmans), pp. 99-102.

Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāh Jahān and Khasru Parwiz took interest in the study of Sanskrit. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and a number of other works were translated into Persian under the patronage of Akbar. Some works on medicine and astrology had their Persian versions centuries before Akbar's time. Dara Shikuh himself translated into Persian as many as fifty Upaniṣads. Anquetil du Perron, who built the premises at Chinsura in which the Hughly College is situated and who is said to have been the father of the distinguished Kaviwalla Anthony translated some of these into Latin through Dara Shikuh's Persian translation.

THE ARYADARŚANA

72. 1284. যৌবনে সন্ন্যাসী (A Monk in Youth) IV. pp. 86-89.
 73. 1284. প্রকৃত প্রণয় ও বিবাহ (True Love and Marriage), IV, pp. 187-192.
 74. 1284. ইক্ষু (Sugar Cane), IV, pp. 431-436.

THE KALPANĀ

75. 1287. মোহিনী (খণ্ডকাব্য) (Mohini—a poem).
 76. 1287. স্ত্রী-বিপ্লব (The Dominance of Women).

THE NAVYABHĀRATA

77. 1290. কলিকাতা দুইশত বৎসর পূর্বে (Calcutta 200 years ago), 1, 7, pp. 256-261.

It is an interesting account of the three villages Kalikātā, Sutānuṭī, and Govindapur constituting the city of Calcutta giving details about its inhabitants, topography, influential men, trade and commerce etc.

THE SĀHITYA-PARIṢAT-PĀTRIKĀ

78. 1304. (1) কাটোয়ার নিকট প্রাপ্ত জৈন-পিত্তল-ফলক (A Brass-plate of the Jains found near Katwa), IV, 4, pp. 293-296.

The plate contains representations of nine objects of Jaina worship, including the images of five Arhats. It is known from the small inscription at the foot of the plate that it was put up in the Jaina year 1923=1397 A.C. at a place called Indreśvara which is identified with Baragram near Katwa.

79. 1304. (2) রমাই পণ্ডিতের ধর্মমাঙ্গল (The *Dharmamaṅgala* of Ramāi Paṇḍit), IV, 1, pp. 60-68.

80. 1305. (3) ধোয়ী কবির পবন-দূত (The *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyi), V, 2, pp. 187-196.

This is a description based on a Ms. of the work.

81. 1308. (4) বাঙ্গালা ব্যাকরণ (The Grammar of the Bengali Language), VIII, 1, pp. 1-7.

Defects usually found in the then current grammars of the Bengali language following the rules of Sanskrit grammars have been pointed out. The discussion in the paper as to whether the Bengali language should be made subservient to Sanskrit attracted the attention of scholars to the topic. The question was discussed by others—some favouring Sastriji's arguments for the development of Bengali on independent lines, and some opposing them.

82. 1317. (5) বৌদ্ধঘণ্টা ও তাম্র-মুকুট (A Bell and the Copper Crown used by the Buddhists), XVII, 2, pp. 129-30.

While exhibiting a bell and a crown brought from Nepal, an account of the *dikṣā* (initiation) ceremony of the Nepalese Buddhist Bānrās who used the bell and the crown was given. This *Dikṣā* comprises five *abhiṣekas* (consecrations) including the *ghaṇṭābhiṣeka* and *mukutābhiṣeka*. The initiated get the right to use a bell and a crown on festive occasions.

83. 1321. (6) বঙ্গীয়-সাহিত্য-পরিষদের সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Annual Presidential Address, V. S. Paṛiṣad), XXI, 1, pp. 21-47.

While pointing out the collection of mss. as one of the duties of the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad, the Address relates how the Government of India under Lord Lawrence was persuaded to make a grant for the collection of old manuscripts and allotted it to the Provincial Governments for the necessary action. The activities of the Indian States in this direction have also been described. The Address also deals with the principal topics of several ancient Bengali mss. throwing light on the later phases of Buddhism.

84. 1321. (7) সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের অষ্টম অধিবেশনের (বর্ধমান) সভাপতির সম্বোধন (The Presidential Address, 8th Session, V. S. Sammilana, Burdwan), XXI, 4, pp. 241-277.

The Address points out 20 contributions of Bengal, giving details of each. They

are : (1) taming and treatment of elephants, (2) variety of religious opinions, (3) silk, (4) linen, (5) theatre, (6) ships and boats, (7) Bauddha Śilabhadra, (8) Śāntideva, a Buddhist writer, (9) Nātha Pantha, (10) Dipaṅkara Śrījñāna, (11) Jagaddala Mahāvihāra and Vibhūti Candra, (12) Luipāda and his Siddhācāryas, (13) iconography, (14) cultivation of Sanskrit learning, (15) Bṛhaspati, Śrīkara and Śrīnātha, (16) the Nyāya system, (17) Caitanya and his followers, (18) the tantras, (19) the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal and (20) the Kāyasthas and the Rājās (same as 159).

85. 1321. (8) সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের অষ্টম অধিবেশনের সাহিত্য-শাখার সভাপতির সম্বোধন
(The Presidential Address, Literary Section of the V. S. Sammilana, 8th Session, Burdwan), XXI, 4, pp. 279-288.

While dilating on the position attained by the Bengali literature in various fields, the Address points out the gaps that were yet to be filled up. It also discusses as to what should be the proper mode of assimilating words from other languages and coining new words. It is stated that non-Sanskritic words current in Bengali need not be banished from literature. The language should be allowed to grow on an independent line without being subservient to any other (same as 158).

86. 1321. (9) হিন্দুর মুখে আওরঙ্গজেবের কথা (Light on the Reign of Aurangzeb from the Hindu Sources), XXI, 4, pp. 289-296.

It is suggested that Hindu sources can throw a flood of light on the history of the time of Aurangzeb. The historical literature of Rajputana, for instance, dealing with contemporary kings and distinguished families can supply valuable data for the purpose. Several works of this kind in Sanskrit and vernacular have been named as the sources that should be utilized (same as 160).

87. 1322. (10) সম্বোধন (The Presidential Address, 21st Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad), XXII, 2, pp. 121-160.

Thirty-three writers of mediæval Bengal have been mentioned along with their personal details, outlines of their activities and specimens of their writings. A large number of words used by them has been quoted to show that these writings are essentially Bengali. This shows that three hundred years before the invasion of Bengal by the Musalmans there was in the country a large literature in Bengali written by the Buddhists.

88. 1323. (11) সম্বোধন (The Presidential Address, 22nd Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad), XXIII, 2, pp. 81-94.

The Address deals with the Buddhist Sanskrit literature that developed in Bengal and the neighbouring places from the 9th century A.C. up to the time of the invasion of the province by the Muhammadans. Several Buddhist Tantric texts have been described. Details about some prominent teachers of the Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna schools of Buddhism have also been given as also seventy-six names of Siddhapuruṣas as found in the *Varṇa(na)ratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekharācārya.

89. 1326. (12) চণ্ডীদাস (Caṇḍīdāsa), XXVI, 2, pp. 75-84.

It has been stated that the followers of the Sahajiyā cult which is a bye-

product of Buddhism in its later phase in Bengal became either Nādhā Nādhis (Vaiṣṇavas) or Bhairava Bhairavis (Śāktas). It is inferred from the lives of the Bengal poets Jayadeva and Caṇḍidāsa that they had been Sahajiyās. The amorous practices sanctioned among the Sahajiyās under a religious belief were replaced among the Vaiṣṇavas by the submergence of the amorous feelings in the amorous happiness of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Caṇḍidāsa was at first a devotee of Vāsuli, a deity imported from the Buddhist pantheon. Then he became a Sahajiyā practising the religion with Rāmī, a laundress. Lastly, he turned a Vaiṣṇava expressing his devotion through songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. New light has been thrown on the way in which Caṇḍidāsa met with his death. It is stated in a few songs containing Rāmī's lamentations that Caṇḍidāsa was killed by a Muhammadan king of Gauḍa as the queen became enamoured of the poet on hearing songs sung by him.

90. 1327. (13) বাঙ্গালার পুরাণ অক্ষর (Ancient Bengali Script), XXVII, 1, pp. 1-12.

The evolution of the Bengali scripts from Brāhmī has been explained through the specimens of Bengali characters reproduced in a number of plates containing scripts from mss. and inscriptions ranging from the 11th century A.C.

91. 1328. (14) ব্রহ্মা প্রবন্ধ সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা (Remarks on a Paper on Brahṁā), XXVIII, 3, pp. 118-119.

The reason why the god Brahman has four faces is to be found in the fact that the four kinds of Speech called Vaikharī, Madhyamā, Paśyantī and Sūkṣmā were each produced from one of his four mouths.

92. 1328. (15) মহাদেব (Mahādeva), XXVIII, 3, pp. 145-152.

Mahādeva was originally a god of the Vṛātyas or the non-Vedic Aryans roaming about in hordes (see 257).

93. 1329. (16) সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (২৮শ বার্ষিক) (The Presidential Address, 28th Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad), XXIX, 1, pp. 43-53.

The antiquity of the Bengali literature has been pushed back to the 8th century A.C., as it has been shown that Buddhist songs appearing in works known to have been composed about that time were in Bengali. It has been pointed out that even now the songs in old Bengali are recited in the Buddhist monasteries of Nepal, where they have preserved the chronological lists of Siddhācāryas, and their portraits. Doubts have however been expressed about the correctness of the names of the traditional eighty-four Siddhas because many of the names obtained from Java disagree with those mentioned in the *Varṇa(na)ratnākara*.

94. 1329. (17) চণ্ডীদাস (Caṇḍidāsa), XXIX, 4, pp. 127-145.

Boḍu Caṇḍidāsa, the reputed author of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*, and Dvija Caṇḍidāsa, the author of the songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are stated in this article to be different persons. It has been shown that the former work based on the story of the *Brahmaivaivartapurāṇa* was utilised by Jayadeva in the 12th century A.C. The songs of Dvija Caṇḍidāsa were later, as evidenced by the language. It is also pointed out that as many of the composers of the

Kirtana songs were devotees of the goddess Caṇḍi and called themselves Caṇḍidāsa, it is difficult to fix the identity of the author in question.

95. 1331. (18) হিন্দু ও বৌদ্ধের তফাৎ (The Differences between a Hindu and a Buddhist), XXXI, 2, pp. 45-64.

The various differences between the Hindus and the Buddhists in matters of religion, philosophy, customs, and general culture have been discussed here.

96. 1331. (19) প্যারীচাঁদ মিত্র (Pyāricā'd Mitra), XXXI, 4, pp. 157-163.

The paper is an appreciation of the style of writing in Bengali initiated by Pyāricā'd Mitra in his monthly in 1854. He used the easy, current language for serious compositions.

97. 1332. (20) আমাদের ইতিহাস (Our History), XXXII, 4, pp. 195-201.

The paper points out that the materials for the history of India are not as meagre as was at first supposed, because valuable historical information can be had from the Sanskrit literature, specially from the works on Smṛti. The starting point for Indian history can be pushed back further and the Purāṇic and other sources utilised for the purpose.

98. 1333. (21) ৩৭য় বতীন্দ্রনাথ চৌধুরী (The late Rai Yatindranath Chaudhuri), XXXIII, 1, pp. 45-57.

99. 1333. (22) বুদ্ধদেব কোন ভাষায় বক্তৃতা করিতেন? (The Language in which Buddha used to deliver his Discourses), XXXIII, 2, pp. 91-103.

A specimen of the language prevalent at the time of Buddha is preserved in the short sentence inscribed on the casket found at Piprawa containing Buddha's relics. The peculiar feature of the language is that the letters *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *h*, and *ḥ* are not used in it. Rājasekhara, the author of the *Kāyamaṃsā* informs us that about the same period, Śiśunāga of Magadha introduced in his palace a language that did not contain those letters, while Kubinda of Śūrasena also abolished the harsh sounding alphabets from the language similarly introduced by him. It is surmised that Buddha preached his religion in a language that was without these alphabets. As he had to deliver lectures in the various districts, the language adopted by him was such as was intelligible to all. The various languages through which Buddhism was propagated in subsequent times have been enumerated in the paper on the basis of lists in some ancient Buddhist works.

100. 1335. (23) সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Presidential Address, 34th Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad), XXXV, 1, 1-7.

Sastriji advocates the view that on the strength of the evidences as furnished by the genealogies in the Purāṇas, Indian History should commence from the time of the Mahābhārata War (1512 B.C.). The gradual development of Indian thought in the domains of polity, religion, grammar, and dramaturgy required a very long time before the final stage could be reached. The history of India can therefore claim a greater antiquity than has hitherto been conceded.

101. 1336. (24) বাঙ্গালার বৌদ্ধ সমাজ (The Buddhist Community of Bengal). The Presidential Address, 35th Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad, XXXVI, 1, pp. 1-21.

It is pointed out in the paper that the Buddhists of Bengal have gradually been absorbed into the Hindu Society and their literature in its various branches has either been given a Hindu garb or has been replaced by new productions of the Hindus (same as 168.)

102. 1337. (25) সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (৩৬শ বার্ষিক) (The Presidential Address, 36th Annual Meeting, V. S. Pariṣad), XXXVII, 2, pp. 61-69.

The Address deals mainly with the work done in the V. S. Pariṣad in recent years.

103. 1337. (26) চিরঞ্জীব শর্মা (Cirañjīva Śarmā), XXXVII, 3, pp. 134-142.

Information is furnished in the paper about the life of Cirañjīva Śarman, a Bengali scholar of the 17th century, and two of his works, the *Mādhava Campū* and the *Vidvanmodatarāñginī*.

104. 1337. (27) কাশীনাথ বিদ্যানিবাস (Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa), XXXVII, 4, pp. 175-178.

This is an account of Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa, a Bengali grammarian of the 16th century. He was the acknowledged leader of the Bengali scholars of his time and took part in the proceedings of the meetings of Paṇḍits at Delhi for settling some controversial points of the *Smṛti Śāstra*.

105. 1338. (28) রত্নাকরশান্তি (Ratnākaraśānti), XXXVIII, 1, pp. 1-4.

The article presents an account of the great Buddhist teacher Ratnākaraśānti who was in charge of the Vikramaśilā monastery and had among his pupils Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, the distinguished figure in the history of Tibetan Buddhism.

106. 1338. (29) বৃহস্পতি রায়মুকুট (Bṛhaspati Rāyamukūṭa), XXXVIII, 2, pp. 57-64.

The article recounts the literary activities of Rāyamukūṭa (the well-known commentator of the *Amarakoṣa*), who flourished during the reigns of Gaṇeśa and his son Jalaluddin, kings of Bengal in the 15th century A.C.

107. 1338. (30) বাণেশ্বর বিদ্যালঙ্কার (Bāṇeśvara Vidyālāṅkāra), XXXVIII, 3, pp. 135-144.

It contains details about Bāṇeśvara who with ten other scholars compiled the *Vivādārṇavasetu*, a digest of Hindu Law, at the instance of Warren Hastings. This was translated into Persian and through it into English by Halhed as the *Code of Gentoo Law* (1776).

108. 1338. (31) রামমাণিক্য বিদ্যালঙ্কার (Rāmamāṇikya Vidyālāṅkāra), XXXVIII, 4, pp. 215-218.

Rāmamāṇikya was a great Naiyāyika of the last century. He was Sastri's maternal grandfather. Details about his life are found in this article.

109. 1339. (32) পুরুষোত্তমদেব (Puruṣottama Deva), XXXIX, pp. 1-6.

The paper deals with the literary works of the Buddhist scholar Puruṣottama who lived during the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal. Puruṣottama's *Trikaṇḍaśeṣa* written as a supplement to the well-known Sanskrit lexicon of Amarasimha, has been shown to contain words indicating definite alterations and expansions of the religious views and practices of the people of Bengal.

THE NĀRĀYAṆA

A. Re. Kālidāsa's works

110. 1322. (1) কালিদাসের বসন্তবর্ণন। (The Description of Spring by Kālidāsa), II, 1, pp. 403-418.

It has been shown that the descriptions of the spring season occurring in the *Ritusamhāra*, *Mālavikā*, *Kumārasambhava*, and *Raghuvamśa* are found to be increasingly beautiful in the order of the four works just named. The delineation of feminine beauty has also become more and more charming in the same ascending order.

111. 1323. (2) ইরাবতী, (Irāvati), II, 2, pp. 709-722.

The paper describes how Irāvati, a favourite queen of Agnimitra, came to be gradually set apart from the king's heart through the jealousy of Dhārīnī the first queen. The charming Mālavikā happened to be the instrument through which this change was effected in the king's love for Irāvati.

112. 1323. (3) পার্বতীর প্রণয় (Pārvati's Love), II, 2, pp. 810-824.

Pārvati's deep love for Mahādeva whom she tried to have as her husband through the severest austerities has been delineated in this paper. This love with the least element of selfishness in it has been pointed out as the best form of love described in Kālidāsa's works.

113. 1323. (4) উরুশী-বিদায় (The final Parting of Urvaśī), III, 1, 249-255.

It is a description of the pathetic parting of Urvaśī from Purūravas at the expiry of the period of twenty-two years during which she stayed on the earth. Her departure was contingent over the sight of her son.

114. 1324. (5) বিরহে পাগল (Demented through Separation), III, 2, 552-564.

It gives a picture of the extremely perturbed mental condition of Purūravas at the time when Urvaśī accidentally turned into a creeper in Kārttikeya's garden. This condition lasted till the restoration of Urvaśī to her normal state at the accidental touch of the creeper by Purūravas.

115. 1324. (6) কোমলে কঠোর (Sternness in Tenderness), III, 2, 623-628.

The sternness existing in the midst of tenderness has been illustrated in the cases of Bharatamuni cursing Urvaśī and Kaṇva sending away Śakuntalā immediately after his knowledge of her secret marriage with Duṣyanta.

116. 1324. (7) কণ্ণের কোমল মূর্তি (The tender Aspect of Kaṇva's Nature), III, 2, 659-671.

The paper shows how Kaṇva and the inmates of his hermitage viz. Gautamī, Anasūyā, and Priyamvadā were all extremely tender towards Śakuntalā.

117. 1324. (8) কপের কঠোর মূর্তি (The stern Aspect of Kaṇva's Nature). III, 2, 842-849.

It delineates in detail how Kaṇva and his disciples were stern towards Śakuntalā after her marriage with Duṣyanta and during the disciples' visit to the royal court.

118. 1324. (9) শকুন্তলার মা (The Mother of Śakuntalā), III, 2, 944-949.

The article shows how Menakā, mother of Śakuntalā, marked from heaven with tender care her daughter's career on the earth and gave her protection as soon as she fell into distress.

119. 1324. (10) দুঃস্বপ্নের ভাঁড় মাধব (Mādhavya the Court-Jester of Duṣyanta), IV, 1, pp. 35-43.

The paper details the activities of Mādhavya, the Vidūṣaka in the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* to show that his intelligence was not so sharp as that of Gotama, the Vidūṣaka in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Though Mādhavya was sympathetic towards the king checking him in the most sentimental steps taken by him, yet he did not prove so helpful to Duṣyanta as Gotama to Agnimitra in the love affairs.

120. 1324 (11) দুর্বাসার শাপ (The Curse of Durvāsas), IV, 1, pp. 85-90.

In the *Mahābhārata* Duṣyanta repudiates Śakuntalā through fear of public criticism, knowing very well that he married her. Kālidāsa introduces in his play the curse of Durvāsas, causing the king to forget Śakuntalā. This has served to keep unsullied the good name of the king. Moreover the curse brings about punishment of the lovers, who by reason of their passion disregarded duties towards society.

121. 1324. (12) শকুন্তলার হিন্দুয়ানী (The Influence of Hinduism traceable in the Śakuntalā), IV, 1, pp. 163-170.

Unlike the earlier writings of Kālidāsa, the *Śakuntalā* bears a clearly religious impress. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Meghadūta*, and the *Vikramorvaśīya* the poet thought more about the language and the plot than his religious ideal. The *Śakuntalā* has been shown to be permeated by the Brāhmanic influence. The play commences with Brāhmaṇas' benedictions which are fulfilled at the end. The delay in the fulfilment is also caused by a Brāhmaṇa's curse.

122. 1324. (13) এক এক রাজার তিন তিন রাণী (Kings with three Queens each), IV, 1, pp. 259-263.

It is pointed out that in the three dramas by Kālidāsa viz. *Mālavikā*, *Vikramorvaśī*, and *Śakuntalā*, there is a mention of three queens but while in the first named drama all the three appear on the stage, only two do so in the second and only one in the last.

123. 1325. (14) অগ্নিমিত্রের ভাঁড় (Agnimitra's Court-Jester), IV, 1, pp. 448-457.

The Vidūṣaka of Agnimitra in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was smart, cautious, and diplomatic. It was through his cleverness that the king could easily meet and marry Mālavikā.

124. 1325. (15) কুমারসম্ভব—সাত না সত্তেরো সর্গ? (The *Kumārasambhava*—has it 7 or 17 cantos?), IV, 2, pp. 523-527.

Sastriji is of opinion that the last ten cantos of the *Kumārasambhava* are not from Kālidāsa's pen because the style of writing and the portrayal of character in them is not like that in the first seven cantos.

125. 1325. (16) রঘুবংশের গাঁথুনি (The Structure of the *Raghuvamśa*), IV, 2, pp. 638-643.

A superficial glance through the *Raghuvamśa* may give one the idea that it is a collection of poems on different heroes without any common purpose running through all of them. Sastriji is of opinion that it is an epic and the purpose running through them all is to show that Rāma was the greatest personality in contrast with all the other belonging to the solar dynasty.

126. 1325. (17) রঘুতে নারায়ণ (Nārāyaṇa in the *Raghuvamśa*), IV, 2, pp. 733-739.

In opposition to the view that the *Raghuvamśa* is a mere versified narrative like the Purāṇas, Sastriji points out that it contains the chief characteristic of an epic viz. the depiction of an ideal. This ideal is found in Rāma's character which forms the apex, as it were, of the poem. His ancestors like Raghu and Dilīpa possess one particular virtue in a very high degree while his successors are deficient in the possession of virtues. They have all been used as a foil to manifest Rāma's greatness.

127. 1325. (18) রঘু আগে কি কুমার আগে? (The *Raghu* or the *Kumāra*—Which is earlier?), IV, 2, pp. 820-829.

It has been shown here that the *Raghuvamśa* is a production of Kālidāsa's mature view. Comparing it with the *Kumāra*, it is found that the delineations of scenes and incidents in the *Raghuvamśa* contain signs of a master-hand. They are shorter but more beautiful than those in the other work. The striking similes for which Kālidāsa is famous are found in greater abundance in the *Raghu* than in the *Kumāra*.

128. 1325. (19) অজ-বিলাপ ও রতি-বিলাপ (The Lamentations of Aja and Rati), IV, 2, pp. 913-920.

The lamentations of Aja for Indumati and Rati for Madana in the *Raghu* and the *Kumāra* respectively have been compared, showing that the former is the production of Kālidāsa's mature age.

129. 1325. (20) রঘু-কাব্য বড় কিসে? (Wherein lies the Excellence of the *Raghuvamśa*?), V, 1, pp. 45-50.

The excellence of the *Raghuvamśa* lies in the variety of descriptions, the delineations of different circumstances giving rise to different *rasas*, the use of perspicuous and appropriate language and musical metres.

130. 1325. (21) রঘুবংশের বাল্যলীলা (Boyhood in the *Raghuvamśa*), V, No. 2, pp. 170-176.

The paper shows how Kālidāsa treats of boyhood in the *Raghuvamśa* in connection with the lives of Raghu and Sudarśana.

131. 1325. (22) রামের ছেলেবেলা (Rāma's Boyhood), V, 1, pp. 323-332.

The object of the paper is to show that the delineation of Rāma's boyhood in the *Raghu* is masterly.

132. 1325. (23) রঘুবংশে প্রেম (Love in the *Raghuvamśa*), V, 1, pp. 409-420.

The love depicted in the *Raghu* is very much subdued but yet deep. The instances cited are found in the devotion of Sudakṣiṇā to Dilīpa, in the feelings expressed by Aja and Indumatī at their first meeting and in the references, made by Rāma in his conversation with Sītā during the aerial journey from Ceylon, to the intensity of love for Sītā felt by him in the places seen by them.

133. 1326. (24) রঘুবংশে প্রেম-বিরহ (The Pangs of Separation in the *Raghuvamśa*), V, 2, pp. 33-36.

The instances of the pangs of separation touched in the *Raghu* are Aja's lamentation for Indumatī after her decease, Rāma's grief for Sītā after her banishment, and Sītā's sorrow at separation from Rāma.

B. Re. Bankim Chandra

134. 1322. (1) বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র কাঁটালপাড়ায় (Bankim Chandra at Kāṭālpādā), I, 1, pp. 513-527.

The article contains Sastriji's reminiscences of Bankim Chandra whom he used to interview at his residence.

135. 1322. (2) বঙ্কিমবাবু ও উত্তর চরিত (Bankim Chandra on the *Uttara-rāmacarita*), I, 1, pp. 609-620.

It is a review of Bankim Chandra's criticism of Bhavabhūti's *Uttaracarita*. The adverse view taken by Bankim regarding Bhavabhūti's delineation of Rāma's character has been shown to be ill-founded.

136. 1325. (3) বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র (Bankim Chandra), IV, 2, pp. 563-570.

This paper contains many interesting details about Bankim Chandra throwing light on the way in which Sastriji's contact with the great novelist inspired him in his writings.

C. Miscellaneous

137. 1322 (1) রাধামাধবোদয় (*Rādhāmādhavodaya*), II, 1, pp. 31-43, and
& II, 1, pp. 638-648.
1323.

It is a Bengali epic written in the 19th century by Raghunandana Gosvāmīn of Māḍo in the district of Burdwan. It deals with the love of Rādhā and Mādhava. It has been highly spoken of by Sastriji. ...

138. 1323. (2) তীর্থ-ভ্রমণ (Visits to holy Places), II, 2, pp. 1025-1035 :
and pp. 1138-1145.

It is an appreciation of an interesting book written by Yadunātha Sarvādhikāri on his travels on foot from Khānākul to Hurdwar. The details given in it about the many places visited by him are full and vivid.

139. 1323. (3) *দুর্গাপূজা* (The Worship of Durgā), II, 2, pp. 1174-1179.

It is a faithful picture of the four days during which the worship of Durgā is performed in the Bengali house-holds in the autumn every year. The devotion with which it is carried on has been made manifest in the description.

140. 1324. (4) *মেদিনীপুর পরিষদে সভাপতির কথা* (The Presidential Address delivered at the Midnapore Pariṣad), III, 2, pp. 731-740.

It deals with the prosperous condition of Tāmralipti as also its decline in regard to trade and commerce described in the *Daśāvalivṛtyi* and gives an account of Midnapore and some of its literary men.

141. 1322. (5) *দুর্গোৎসবে নব-পত্রিকা* (The Nava-Patrikā in the Worship of Durgā), I, 2, pp. 1449-1462.

Plants and twigs of plants nine in number are constituted into a bundle and given in a rough way the shape of a deity. This is called Navapatrikā (lit. nine plants). Each of the plants or twigs (*rambhā*, *kaṇḍī*, *haridrā*, *jayantī*, *bilva*, *dāḍimba*, *aśoka* and *māna*) represents a deity, whose worship forms an integral part of the worship of Durgā in autumn.

D. Re. Buddhism

142. 1321. (1) *বৌদ্ধ কাহাকে বলে ও তাঁহার গুরু কে ?* (Who is a Buddhist and who is his preceptor?), I, 1, pp. 57-70.

After explaining that in later times any one who took refuge in the Buddhist Trinity by uttering a set formula was a Buddhist, he shows how the reverence for the guru or the spiritual preceptor was found in gradually increasing degrees in Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, Vajrayāna, and Sahajayāna.

143. 1321. (2) *নির্ব্বাণ* (Nirvāṇa), I, 1, pp. 133-145.

At first sight, the *Nirvāṇa* as conceived in the Pāli literature i.e. in the Hīnayāna looks like extinction but Aśvaghoṣa explains it as a peaceful condition. Nāgārjuna argues that it is beyond our comprehension (*catuṣkoṭivīnirmukṭa śūnyatā*). The different parts of the stūpa have been explained as symbolising the progress of bodhicitta towards śūnyatā. The introduction of the conception of Karuṇā in later times has also been pointed out.

144. 1321. (3) *নির্ব্বাণ কয় রকম ?* (What are the forms of Nirvāṇa?), I, 1, pp. 244-248.

The paper explains the two forms of *nirvāṇa* viz. *sopādiśeṣa* and *nirupādiśeṣa*.

145. 1321. (4) *কোথা হইতে আসিল ?* (Whence has it come?), I, 1, pp. 389-398; 459-467.

It has been shown here that the tribes who lived in Eastern India were not

like the Aryans in their thought and mode of living. It was they who paved the way for the reception of a system of thought and belief like Buddhism.

146. 1322. (5) হীনযান ও মহাযান (Hinayāna and Mahāyāna), I, 2, pp. 786-796.

The points of difference between the two yānas have been explained in this article.

147. 1322. (6) মহাযান কোথা হইতে আসিল? (Mahāyāna—whence has it emerged?), I, 2, pp. 945-953.

It was the Mahāsāṅghikas who were the predecessors of the Mahāyānists. They seceded from the Elders or the Theravādins as they could not come to an agreement on several points regarding discipline.

148. 1322. (7) সহজযান (Sahajayāna), I, 2, pp. 1056-1067.

The development of Sahajayāna from the doctrine of Mahāsukha in Nirvāṇa has been explained, and the tenets of the yāna have been pointed out from the writings of some of the Siddhacāryas.

149. 1322. (8) বৌদ্ধধর্মের অধঃপাত (The Downfall of Buddhism), I, 2, pp. 1199-1209.

The article enumerates and expatiates on the causes that led to the downfall of Buddhism in India.

150. 1322. (9) বৌদ্ধধর্ম কোথায় গেল? (Buddhism—Where has it disappeared?), II, 1, pp. 165-172.

The remnants of Buddhism traceable in Bengal after the Musalman invasion at different times from the 13th century to the present day have been treated in this article.

151. 1322. (10) এখনও একটু আছে (A Little is still left), II, 1, pp. 276-287.

The details about the Dharma cult as found in the different places in Bengal are found in this paper.

152. 1322. (11) উড়িষ্যার জঙ্গলে (In the Jungles of Orissa), II, 1, pp. 533-543.

The remnants of Buddhism as traceable in some places in Orissa at present and also as existent in the past few centuries in Orissa form the subject-matter of this paper.

153. 1323. (12) জাতক ও অবদান (The Jātakas and Avadānas), II, 2, pp. 927-934.

After pointing out the differences between the Jātakas and Avadānas, Sastriji speaks about several *avadānas*, and specially about Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das's valuable discovery of the first 49 *avadānas* of the *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* by Kṣemendra.

154. 1323. (13) দ্বন্দ্বাদলি (Schism), II, 2, pp. 1236-1243.

Sastriji explains the 10 points of the schism between the Theravādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas. They related to the strict discipline of the Buddhist Saṅgha against which the Mahāsāṅghikas raised their protest.

155. 1323. (14) মহাসাঙ্ঘিক মত (The Doctrines of the Mahāsāṅghikas), III, 1, pp. 204-208.

The paper explains how the Mahāsāṅghikas became *lokottaravādins* in their conception of Buddha, attached less importance to *vinaya* and the greatest importance to *prajñā*, and set up images of Buddha for worship.

156. 1323. (15) থেরবাদ ও মহাসাঙ্ঘিক (Theravāda and Mahāsāṅghika), III, 1, pp. 333-338.

It treats of the differences between the Theravādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas in their conceptions of the *Buddha-nidānas* (actions in the previous births that led a being to Buddhahood).

157. 1324. (16) মানুষ ও রাজা (The People and the King), III, 1, pp. 403-408.

The article gives details about the origin of man and king as given in the *Mahāvastu* and the *Aggaññasutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.

THE PRAVĀSI

158. 1322. (1) বাঙ্গালা ভাষা ও সাহিত্যের গতি (The Tendencies of the Bengali Language and Literature), XV, 1, pp. 116-122 (same as 85).

159. 1322. (2) বাঙ্গালার প্রাচীন গৌরব (The Glories of ancient Bengal), XV, 1, pp. 157-173 (same as 84).

160. 1322. (3) হিন্দুর মুখে আরঞ্জের কথ। (Light on the Reign of Aurangzeb from the Hindu Sources), XV, 1, pp. 291-296 (same as 86).

161. 1327. (4) লাইব্রেরী (Libraries), XX, 1, pp. 309-314.

It is a lecture delivered on the occasion of the opening of a public library. It gives details of various libraries in and outside India and dilates on the value of the institution as a means of diffusion of knowledge.

162. 1329. (5) কান্তকবি রজনীকান্ত (সমালোচনা) (The Mellifluous Poet Rajanikānta—a review), XXII, 1, pp. 735-738.

163. 1333. (6) বৃহত্তর ভারত-পরিষদে আশীর্বাদ-পত্র (A message of good-will to the Greater India Society), XXVI, 2, pp. 314.

164. 1336. (7) কালিদাসের অভিধান (A Lexicon attributed to Kālidāsa), XXIX, 2, pp. 473-476.

In the Madras Government Oriental Library there is a Ms. entitled *Nānārthaśabdaratna* with a commentary called *Tarālā* by Nicula. It has been described in the colophon as compiled by Kālidāsa. Sastriji is of opinion from internal evidences that the author may be the great poet Kālidāsa.

165. 1337. (8) অভিধান (Lexicology), XXX, I, pp. 862-867.

It is a review of the *Calantikā*, a dictionary of Bengali words. It contains *inter alia* a discussion on some grammatical rules governing Bengali.

THE BHARATAVARṢA

166. 1333. (1) ঋষির মেয়ে (সমালোচনা) (Ascetic's Daughter—a review), XIV, I, pp. 945-948.
167. 1333. (2) শ্রীকৃষ্ণ (সমালোচনা) (Śrīkṛṣṇa—a review), XIV, I, pp. 328-330.
168. 1336. (3) বাঙ্গালার বৌদ্ধ সমাজ (The Buddhist Community of Bengal), XVII, 2, pp. 207-222, (same as 101).

THE MONTHLY VASUMATI

169. 1329. (1) নাট্যকলা (Dramaturgy), I, I, pp. 137-140. (contd.).
170. 1329. (2) বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র (Bankim Chandra), I, I, pp. 417-422; 604-608.
171. 1332. (3) বাঙ্গালা সাহিত্যে চিত্তরঞ্জন (Cittaranjana and the Bengali Literature, IV, I, pp. 489-494.
172. 1333. (4) গুরুদাস-স্মৃতি (Reminiscences of Sir Gurudas), V, 2, pp. 291-294; 336-341.
173. 1334. (5) জহিন্সী (Jhinsi—a village near Mussoorie), VI, 2, pp. 54-57.
174. 1336. (6) কামন্দকীয় নীতিসার (The Kāmandakīya Nītisāra—a review), VIII, 2, pp. 634-636.
175. 1338. (7) “এস এস বঁধু এস আঁধ আঁচরে বস” (‘Come, Darling, sit on half of my scarf’), X, 2, pp. 369-377.

It constitutes an effusion of Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa.

176. 1338. (8) ভবভূতি (Bhavabhūti), X, 2, pp. 549-556 ; 717-724

It contains a general discussion about Bhavabhūti and two of his dramas on Rāma and an analysis of one of them viz. the *Uttarāmaṇacarita* with special references to its beauty.

177. 1338. (9) মহামহোপাধ্যায় মহাকবি মুরারদান (Mahāmahopādhyāya Murārdāna—the great poet of Rajputana), X, 2, pp. 881-884.

THE ANNUAL VASUMATI

178. 1333. (1) পাঁচ ছেলের গল্প (A Tale of Five Boys), pp. 47.
179. 1334. (2) ব্যানোগী টিবা (Byānogi Tibbā—a place near Mussoorie), pp. 277-281.

THE PAÑCAPUṢPA

180. 1336. (1) ভারতের নাট্যশাস্ত্র (Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra), II, pp. 262-267.

181. 1337. (2) ভারতমল্লিক (Bharata Mallika), III, pp. 650-651.

It is an account of Bharata Mallika (of Bengal) who wrote many works including commentaries on the *Mugdhabodha*, *Amarakośa*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya* etc.

182. 1339. (3) সিংহল-দ্বীপ (The Island of Siṃhala), V, pp. 625-631.

THE RANGAPURA-SĀHITYA-PARIṢAT-PATRIKĀ

183. 1321. রঙ্গপুর-সাহিত্য-পরিষদের চিত্রশালার দ্বারোদ্ঘাটন উপলক্ষে সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Presidential Address delivered at the Ceremony for the Opening of the Rangpur Museum), pp. 17-22.

THE BHĀRATI

184. 1326. অক্ষয়চন্দ্র সরকার (The late Akṣayacandra Sarkar), vol. 46, pp. 417-424.

THE ĀGAMANI

185. 1326. বাগ্মনের ভূর্গোৎসব (The Worship of Durgā by a Brāhmaṇa), I, pp. 6-18.

This is a short story in which the annual worship of Durgā by a Brāhmaṇa was about to be discontinued in the family for want of funds after the Brāhmaṇa's decease. The Brāhmaṇa's son, only nine years old, managed however to get over the difficulty through his resourcefulness prompted by his extraordinary devotion.

THE UDBODHANA

186. 1324. বঙ্গে বৌদ্ধধর্ম (Buddhism in Bengal), XIX, pp. 345-355.

The paper relates how in ancient times Buddhism spread widely in Bengal and became deep-rooted in the province. It also explains the ways in which some Buddhist cults and institutions were absorbed into Hinduism.

THE SĀHITYA

187. 1300. (1) কবি কৃষ্ণরাম (The Poet Kṛṣṇarāma), IV, 2, pp. 111-119.

Bhāratacandra, the author of the *Vidyāsundara*, borrowed the plot of his poem from Kṛṣṇarāma, son of Bhagavatīdāsa of village Nimita near Calcutta.

188. 1326. (2) রামেন্দ্র বাবু (Rāmendrasundara), pp. 297-304 [Also published in the Hrishikesh Series No. I (1327), pp. 1-10].

THE MĀNASI

189. 1321. (1) কলিকাতা-সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের অভ্যর্থনা সমিতির সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Address delivered by Sastriji as the President of the Reception Committee, Literary Conference, Calcutta), VI, 1, pp. 331-369.

The Address gives an historical account of 24-Parganas and Calcutta, and treats of the literary men of both these places. Next, it dwells on diverse topics such as the trade and commerce of Tamluk, and the colonizing and missionary activities of the people of Bengal.

190. 1321. (2) ঐ অভিভাষণের পরিশিষ্ট (Supplement to the foregoing Address), VI, I, pp. 710-712.

THE MĀNASI O MARMAVĀNĪ

191. 1327. (1) অর্ধেন্দু-কথা (Reminiscences about Ardhendu), XII, 2, pp. 210-213.

192. 1331. (2) রাধানগর সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনে সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Presidential Address delivered at the Literary Conference, Rādhānagar), XVI, 2, pp. 217-228.

It traces the history of Khanakul Krishnanagar in the district of Hughly, gives an account of its literary men including Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa, Nārāyaṇa Vandyo-pādhyāya Thākura, Yadunātha Saryādhikārī, and Rammohun Roy.

193. 1333. (3) বঙ্গীয়-সাহিত্য-পরিষদে শোক-সভা (Condolence Meeting at the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad), XVIII, 1, pp. 532-535 (same as 98).

THE NĀCAGHARA

194. 1331. অর্ধেন্দু-স্মৃতি (Reminiscences about Ardhendu). Two instalments.

THE SUVARṆAVANĪK-SAMĀCĀRA

195. 1331. (1) ৮দেবেন্দ্রবিজয় বসুর কথা (Reminiscences about the late Devendravigaya Vasu), VIII, pp. 230, 231.
196. 1334. (2) ৮অধরলাল সেন (The late Adharlal Sen), XII, p. 27.

VIJAYA

197. 1322. (1) অষ্টম বঙ্গীয়-সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের সভাপতির অভিভাষণ (The Presidential Address, V. S. Sammilana, 8th Session), III, pp. 57-88 (same as 84).
198. 1322. (2) সাহিত্য-শাখার সভাপতি মহোদয়ের সম্বোধন (The Presidential Address, literary Section of the V. S. Sammilana, 8th Session), III, pp. 3-11 (same as 85).

THE PRĀCI

199. 1330. (1) ডাক ও খনা (Dāka and Khanā), I, 1, pp. 141-144.

The popular Bengali verses containing wise sayings attributed to Dāka and Khanā are shown to have been composed after the Muhammadan conquest. The Buddhist deities Heruka and Vajravarāhī together are called Dāka in Nepal, but the sayings have nothing in them to evince their connection with Buddhism. The language of the verses and their subject rather indicate that Dāka belonged to East Bengal. Khanā describes herself as the wife of Mihira, son of Varāha, but the internal evidences show that she could not have been a daughter-in-law of the ancient astrologer Varāha of Avanti. She belonged rather to Bengal at a much later period.

200. 1330. (2) বিজ্ঞাপতি (Vidyāpati), I, 1, pp. 208-218.

Vidyāpati, the celebrated Maithila author of the 14th century, is generally regarded as a Vaiṣṇava poet and all his poems are taken to refer to the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It is contended in this paper that Vidyāpati was really a Śaiva, and his poems deal with love in general, having no particular connection with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

201. 1330. (3) ব্রাত্য (Vrātyas), I, 1, pp. 527-532 [similar to 10 and 16, Lec. (1)].

THE PRAVARTAKA

202. 1330. পালবংশের রাজত্বকালে বাঙ্গালার অবস্থা (The Condition of Bengal during the Pāla Period), pp. 582-589.

The article deals with the condition of Buddhism and the indications of the revival of Brāhmaṇism in Bengal during the Pāla period and gives an account of the Nāthas.

NAVAYUGA

203. 1332. কয়টি তারিখ (নৈহাটি-সাহিত্য-সম্মিলনের ইতিহাস শাখায় পঠিত) (Some important Dates). pp. 1097-1099. Read at the Historical Section, V. S. Sammilana, Naihati.

It treats of Raja Gaṇeśa's conquest of a portion of Bengal in 1401 A.C. as known from the *Bālyalīlāsūtra*, the date of Sivasimha's (Vidyāpati's patron) accession to the throne in 1405 A.C., and the victory of Gaṇeśa (of Tirhut) over Arslan (see *Kirttilatā*).

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204. Pr., 1890. (1) *The Account of a Bengali Brahmin who obtained a high position in the Sinhalese Buddhist hierarchy in the 11th Century A.D.*, pp. 125-127.

A collection of 107 Sanskrit ślokas entitled *Bhaktiśataka* was published in Ceylonese character. The author Rāmacandra calls himself a *Kṣītisura* and a Buddhist. In the colophon again the author is described as a Brāhmaṇa (*bhūsura*), a master of the Buddhist scriptures (*Bauddhāgamacakravartin*), a teacher, and an inhabitant of Gauḍa. In the Singhalese commentary by Sumaṅgala on the *Bhaktiśataka* the home of Rāmacandra is located in Varendra in the Rāḍha Maṇḍala of Gauḍa. The commentator further informs us that the author was made *Bauddhāgamacakravartin* by Rājā Parākramabāhu of Ceylon (who lived in the 11th century A.C.). It is inferred from some of the verses that Rāmacandra was persecuted for his Buddhist faith. As a voluntary exile in Ceylon, he was favourably received by the ruler.

205. Pr., 1890. (2) *A short Account of an old Gun recently dug up at False Point*, pp. 166-168.

A portion of the inscription on the gun, written in a character intermediate between the modern Bengali and old Kuṭila could be deciphered. It shows that a Hindu chief named Jayadhvaja Siṃha obtained this gun from a Yavana. The date appearing in the inscription, though not clear, has been suggested to be about 1525 A.C.

206. Pr., 1890. (3) *A Map of ancient Āryāvarta prepared by Nāgendra Nath Vasu*, p. 204.

The route taken by the cloud messenger as described in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* has been shown in the map.

207. Pr., 1892. (4) *Notes on the Banks of the Hughli in 1495*, pp. 193-197.

Vipradāsa's work on the goddess Manasā dated (Śaka year 1417) 1495 A.C. contains an interesting account of the voyage of Cānd Saodāgar. His small fleet passed by many places situated on the banks of the Hughli. Accounts of these places as found in the ms. have been given in this paper.

208. J. 1893. (5) *On a new Find of old Nepalese Manuscripts*, pp. 245-255.

Twelve Sanskrit Mss. have been described in the paper. They include a Ms. of the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* of Prajñākara and a complete Ms. of the *Cāndra Vyākaraṇa*. Some of the Mss. are copies of well-known works but are valuable for their ancient date.

209. Pr., 1893. (6) *Reminiscences of Sea-voyage in ancient Bengali Literature*, pp. 20-24.

The paper deals with accounts of sea-voyage found in five Bengali poems written between 1495 and 1595 A.C. One of them is called *Bāis Kaviṛ Manasā Maṅgal* in honour of the goddess Manasā compiled from the works of twenty-two poets.

210. Pr., 1893. (7) *Note on an inscribed Gun in the Armoury of the Nawab of Murshidabad*, pp. 24-26.

The inscription contains the name of Mahārājā Kṣṇacandra Rāya of Nadia. Jayadhvaja Siṃha previously mentioned in 205 is identified with an Ahom prince of Assam and the Yavana, from whom the prince obtained a gun, is no other than Mir Jumla, the Commander-in-Chief of Aurangzeb.

211. Pr., 1894. (8) *Ancient Bengali Literature under Muhammadan Patronage*, pp. 118-122.

This is a note on the Bengali versions of the *Mahābhārata* by Parameśvara Kavindra and Śrīkaraṇa Nandin. The former translated Jaimini's *Mahābhārata* under the patronage of Parāgol Khān, a general of Husain Shāh at Chittagong, and the latter added portions to the translation under Parāgols' son, Chuṭi Khān.

212. Pr., 1894. (9) *Discovery of the Remnants of Buddhism in Bengal*, pp. 135-138.

The worship of Dharma Ṭhākura prevailing in Western and Southern Bengal has been shown to have belonged to a Buddhist cult. Nine reasons have been advanced in support of this conclusion. Dharmarāja, though popularly known to be a form of Śiva, is in fact a name of Buddha, and the word Dharma or Saddharma refers to Buddhism, Dharma being one of the three objects of special devotion with the Buddhists. The Mantras used in the worship refer to Buddha and the annual Dharma-festival coincides with the birth-day of Buddha. The priests of Dharma Ṭhākura are not usually Brāhmaṇas and unlike the temples of the Hindu deities the Dharma-temples face either the east or the south.

213. J., 1895. (10) *Buddhism in Bengal since the Muhammadan Conquest*, pp. 55-61.

Remnants of Buddhism were traceable even after the Muhammadan conquest in the provinces of Eastern India. Some Buddhist deities like Dharma and Kṣetrapāla are still being worshipped in Bengal in a Hinduised form.

214. J., 1895. (11) *Śrīdharmamaṅgala, a distant Echo of the Lalitavistara*, pp. 65-68.

The *Dharmamaṅgala* is a book for use by the Dharma-worshippers at their annual festival falling on the birth day of Buddha. In spite of many points of differences between the story of Lāu-sena in the *Dharmamaṅgala* and that of Buddha in the *Lalitavistara*, the two accounts resemble each other materially.

215. J., 1895. (12) *Note of Viṣṇupur circular Cards*, pp. 284, 285.

The paper contains a description of the game played with the help of 120 pieces of cards divided into 10 groups named after the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The play is said to have been invented by the Malla Kings of Viṣṇupur, Bengal.

216. Pr., 1896. (13) *A second Set of Viṣṇupur circular Cards*, pp. 2, 3.

The game played with forty-eight cards classified into twelve groups has been explained. One of the groups contains the figure of a Malla King. Some of the designs in the cards are identical with those on the Viṣṇupur circular cards.

217. Pr., 1896. (14) *The Discovery of Vidhiviveka, a unique Manuscript at Puri*, pp. 130, 131.

The note contains the notice of a ms. of Maṇḍana's *Vidhiviveka* on which Vācaspati has written a commentary called *Nyāyakanikā*.

218. J., 1897. (15) *Notes on Palm-leaf manuscripts in the Library of H. E. the Maharaja of Nepal*, pp. 310-316.

Of the several Mss. mentioned in the paper, two are very interesting. The *Yavanajātaṭa* (the Greek system of casting a horoscope) is described in its post-colophon note to be a work first translated into Sanskrit by Yavaneśvara from his own language, and then rendered into 4000 Indravajrā verses by Sphurjīdhvaṇa. The copy of the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Kālacakraṭantrārāja* is another valuable Ms. It is stated in the colophon that the commentary was written by Kamalavara in 1818 of the Nirvāṇa era (1175 A.C.) and was copied by two Bengalis.

219. Pr., 1897. (16) *Some ancient Burmese inscribed Pottery*, pp. 164, 165.

It contains a description of three bricks found in Burma, one with the representation of five figures of Buddha in *Bhūmiśparśa mudrā*, and the other two with the well-known Buddhist formula *Ye dharmā* etc. inscribed in a character prevalent in Eastern India during the Pāla period. As the cut of the faces of Buddha appears to be Indian, it is surmised that the bricks were taken away from India by the Burmese pilgrims.

220. J., 1898. (17) *The Discovery of a Work by Āryadeva in Sanskrit*, pp. 175-184.

Almost the whole of a small work ascertained later on to be *Cittavisuddhi-prākaraṇa* appears in the paper. It assigns a high position to the purity of heart for spiritual elevation, to the exclusion of the external purity.

221. Pr., 1898. (18) *India in Lakṣmaṇa Sena's Time from a rare Manuscript written in his Court*, pp. 190-192.

Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta* (then unpublished) describes places lying on the route to be taken by Pavana (Wind) while coming from Southern India to Bengal. These places have been identified as far as possible.

222. Pr., 1899. (19) *On a Manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā written in Nālandā and discovered in Nepal*, pp. 39, 40.

The Ms. is interesting as it was copied at Nālandā in the 6th year of the reign of Mahipāla in the 11th century.

223. Pr., 1900. (20) *On a Turquoise Gaṇeśa*, pp. 69, 70.

While exhibiting a Turquoise, Sastriji identified the figure carved on it with Gaṇeśa having four faces and in company with a Śakti riding on a lion. An explanation of these peculiar features of Gaṇeśa was given by him on the basis of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Saradātīlaka*.

224. Pr., 1900. (21) *On the Manuscript of a Work on the Biography of one of the Pāla Kings of Magadha, Rāma Pāla (the Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandin)*, pp. 70-73.

The paper contains a short account of Rāmapāla's reign on the basis of the first canto of Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita*, written in verses with two meanings, one applicable to the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the other to Rāmapāla.

225. Pr., 1900. (22) *On a Manuscript of Kulālikāmnāya, a Tantric Work in Gupta Characters of the 7th Century*, pp. 76, 77.

This is a description of the external appearance of a very old Ms., of the *Kulālikāmnāya* which is a part of a large work on Tantra entitled *Kubjikāmata*. It shows that all Tantras cannot be regarded as recent works.

226. Pr., 1900. (23) *On a Supplement of the Celebrated Lexicon*

Amarakoṣa by a Buddhist Author in very ancient Bengali Character, pp. 79, 80.

It has been shown from the fragment of a Ms. containing only four leaves of Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* that this work which forms a supplement to the well-known Sanskrit lexicon of Amarasimha contains words marking an expansion of vocabulary connected with Buddhism. The subject received a fuller treatment subsequently in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1339, No. 1 (109) after the publication of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*.

227. Pr., 1900. (24) *Antiquities of the Tantras and the Introduction of Tantric Rites in Buddhism*, pp. 100-102.

The article describes three Tantric Mss., *Laṅkāvatāra* (not the well-known Buddhistic work of that name), *Niśvāsataṭivasanḥitā* and *Kulālikāmnāya*, written in Gupta character, proving the existence of Tantric works in the 5th century A.C. The later identification of Dharma of the Buddhist Trinity with Prajñā has been taken to have introduced Śakti worship in Buddhism, culminating in the development of a form of Tantricism.

228. Pr., 1901. (25) *On the Authenticity of the two newly discovered Manuscripts of the Vallāla-carita by Ānanda Bhaṭṭa, and their Importance in tracing the history of the caste-system in Bengal*, pp. 74, 75.

Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's work on Ballālasena, the king of Bengal, is based on three previous works of different authors. Written in 1432, about three hundred years after Ballāla's time, the work supplies information corroborated by other evidences.

229. Pr., 1901. (26) *A Note on the Existence of the Magii (Median Priesthood) in India at the present Day*, pp. 75-77.

It has been stated on the strength of a statement in Ānanda Bhaṭṭa's *Ballāla-carita* that the Brāhmaṇas known as Śakadvīpī or Śākaladvīpī are the descendants of the ancient Magii who came from Persia in two batches. Those who came earlier are called Śakadvīpī, and those who came after the Indo-Scythians and had established their capital at Śākala in the Punjab are called Śākaladvīpīs.

230. J., 1902. (27) *Bābhan*, pp. 61, 62.

The Bābhans or the Bhūmihārakas of Bihar and Benares, who claim to be Brāhmaṇas, are surmised to have been such originally but were subsequently converted to Buddhism.

231. J., 1902. (28) *Ḍhelāi Caṇḍī, a form of tree-worship*, pp. 1-3.

The paper was read at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 3rd May, 1899. Though it was printed for the JASB., 1902, it was kept back from publication, as the author wanted to make some additions. The article names some places in the district of 24-Parganas, where some date trees, believed as representing Caṇḍī, were worshipped with clods of earth thrown towards them. The deity thus propitiated, was believed to exercise a paci-

fying influence over crying children. A few years after, the change was noticed that sweets were offered to the trees instead of clods of earth and the influence of the deity was believed to cover a wider field.

- 232.** Pr., 1902. (29) *On the Organisation of Caste by Ballāla Sena*, pp. 3-7.

The paper reproduces the details contained in the chapters of the *Ballālacarita* dealing with Ballāla's activities in connection with the reorganisation of castes in Bengal.

- 233.** Pr., 1902. (30) *Four Inscriptions of Mahāśīva Gupta and Mahābhava Gupta of Kalinga and Kośala*, p. 89.

- 234.** Pr., 1902. (31) *The Identification of Rāmagiri, the starting Point of the Cloud in the Cloud-Messenger of Kālidāsa with Rāmgad hill in the Sirguja State*, pp. 90, 91.

- 235.** Pr., 1903. (32) *Obituary Notice of the Late Professor E. B. Cowell*, p. 52.

- 236.** Pr., 1904. (33) *Scientific Attainments of Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, p. 30.

- 237.** J., 1905. (34) *History of Nyāya-śāstra from Japanese sources*, pp. 177-180.

The paper contains a bibliography of the Buddhist Nyāya system as known in China and Japan. As there is nothing in the *Nyāyasūtra* corresponding to the 'Nine Reasons' and 'Fourteen Fallacies' attributed by the Chinese sources to Soe-mok or Akṣapāda, it is conjectured that the *Nyāyasūtra* as we find it is a later production. It is also stated that the *Sūtra* as also its *Bhāṣya* by Vātsyāyana came into being after the emergence of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.

- 238.** J., 1905. (35) *An Examination of the Nyāyasūtras*, pp. 245-250.

Arguments have been adduced in this paper to show that the *Nyāyasūtra* is not the work of a single author. It has several irreconcilable passages. Moreover, one portion of the *Sūtra* deals with logic in three separate sections while the other with philosophy. Each of these two portions again has not come from the same hand, as can be inferred from the internal evidences. The original sūtras of Akṣapāda underwent changes at the hands of the Buddhists, and Mirok (Maitreyanātha) is actually credited in China with the introduction of the Sūtras relating to yoga into the Nyāya system.

- 239.** J., 1905. (36) *Some Notes on the Dates of Subandhu and Diñnāga*, pp. 253-255.

Subandhu, the author of the *Vāsavadatta* and Diñnāga, the great Buddhist writer are assigned to the beginning of the 5th century A.C.

240. J., 1908. (37) *A Kharoṣṭhī Copper-plate Inscription from Taxila or Takṣaśilā*, pp. 363-365.

A line in Kharoṣṭhī characters first read by Cunningham has been revised in the note.

241. J., 1909. (38) *A new Manuscript of the Buddhacarita*, pp. 47-49.

A lacuna of 11 ślokas occurring in Cowell's edition of the *Buddhacarita* has been supplied from a Ms. of the work found in Nepal.

242. J., 1909. (39) *The Recovery of a lost epic by Aśvaghoṣa*, pp. 165, 166.

This is an account of the way in which Sastriji discovered the Ms. of the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa.

243. J., 1909. (40) *The Origin of the Indian Drama*, pp. 351-361.

The paper discusses the tradition about the origin of the dramatic performance as recorded in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It also delineates the contents of the work together with his remarks on its language and author.

244. J., 1910. (41) *Causes of the Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire*, pp. 259-262.

It is stated in the paper that the Brāhmaṇa subjects of Aśoka were much displeased at the Emperor's activities in favour of Buddhism. It was this that prompted them to lend their whole-hearted support to Puṣyamitra, who wrested the throne from a descendant of Aśoka.

245. J., 1910. (42) *Refutation of Max Mueller's Theory of the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature in the 4th century A.D., after a lull of seven centuries from the time of the rise of Buddhism*, pp. 305-310.

A large number of Sanskrit works written between the 4th century B.C. and the 4th century A.C. has been cited in the paper to refute Max Müller's theory that the Sanskrit language fell into disuse during the period.

246. J., 1910. (43) *The Bhāṣāpariccheda*, pp. 311-314.

It has been ascertained from the family chronicles of Bengali Brāhmaṇas and some other Mss. that Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana, the author of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* lived in the first half of the 17th century. He was the son of Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa and grandson and great-grandson of Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati and Narahari Viśārada respectively.

247. J., 1910. (44) *Discovery of Abhisamayālaṃkāra by Maitreya-nātha*, pp. 425-427.

Though Maitreya-nātha's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is usually found as an annexee to the Mss. of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, yet it is a separate

work. The reason for subjoining it to the *Pañcaviṃśati* lies in the fact that the *Pañca*° has been recast in the light of the exposition of the Buddhist doctrine and philosophy as contained in the treatise.

248. J., 1911. (45) *Notes on the newly found Manuscript of the Catuṣṣatikā by Āryadeva*, pp. 431-436.

The notes contain a description of the contents of the *Catuṣṣataka* as found in a manuscript-fragment of the work.

249. J., 1912. (46) *The Bardic Chronicles*, pp. 145-147.

As a specimen of the Bardic lays current in Rajputana a stanza has been quoted in this note with the story explaining the same.

250. J., 1912. (47) *Who were the Śuṅgas?* pp. 287, 288.

From an analysis of the Gotra connections, the Śuṅgas have been identified with a class of Brāhmaṇas professing the Sāmaveda. The Śuṅgas had connection with Bharadvāja through the father's side and with Viśvāmītra through the mother's side.

251. J., 1912. (48) *A note on Bhaṭṭi*, p. 289.

It has been pointed out that Bhaṭṭi appears in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* to have been an inhabitant of Balabhi.

252. J., 1912. (49) *Remarks on M. M. Chakravarti's Paper on Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal*, pp. 347, 348.

The arrival of learned Brāhmaṇas in Bengal at the invitation of Ādisūra in the 8th century was a fact. It is also pointed out that Bhavadeva mentioned in Jīvadevacārya's *Bhakti-bhāgavatamahākāvya* cannot be identified with the Bengali author of the same name, who built the temple at Bhuvaneśvara.

253. J., 1912. (50) *Theories to explain the Origin of the Visen Family of Majhawali*, pp. 373-377.

The paper deals with all the theories advanced to explain the origin of the Visen family of Oudh, and suggests that Viśvasena, a Kṣatriya king of Benares ruling three or four centuries before Buddha may have been the founder of the family. Originally the Visens had the surname Sena which was replaced by Malla in later times.

254. J., 1914. (51) *Relics of the Worship of Mud-Turtles (Trionychidæ) in India and Burma*, pp. 134-136.

Some instances of the use of Mud-turtles in worship and iconography in Northern India have been enumerated, including the practice of Dharma-worship in Bengal where the Dharma of the Buddhist triad is represented by a tortoise. An explanation of this icon is found in the fact that as Dharma was first represented by a stūpa or mound which in later times took the shape of a tortoise on account of the provision of five Dhyānī Buddhas, the Dharma-worshipper took Dharma to be a tortoise-shaped deity.

255. Pr., 1919. (52) *Obituary Notice of Dr. Hoernle*, pp. ccxxxi-ccxxxii.

256. Pr., 1920. (533) *Annual Address* (1919, ASB.), pp. xxi to xxvii.

This presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society contains an account of the progress of Oriental Studies in connection with the discovery of archæological monuments, publication of ancient works, collection of old manuscripts and establishment of Oriental Associations.

257. Pr., 1921. (54) *Annual Address* (1920, ASB.), pp. xviii-xxv.

It has been suggested on the strength of an interpretation of the Vṛātya hymns of the *Atharvaveda* that Śiva was originally a god of the Vṛātyas and these Vṛātyas formed a group of non-Vedic Aryans who roamed about in hordes (vrātas) outside the region inhabited by the Vedic Aryans.

258. Pr., 1926. (55) *Lord Curzon 1859-1925*, (Obituary Notice), pp. clx-clxi.

259. Pr., 1926. (56) *Sir R. G. Bhandarkar 1837-1925*, (,), pp. clxv-clxvi.

260. Pr., 1927. (57) *Manomohan Ganguli 1880-1926*, (,), pp. clxiv-clxv.

261. Pr., 1927. (58) *Sir Alfred Woodley Croft 1841-1925*, (,), pp. clxxi-clxxii.

262. Pr., 1928. (59) *F. E. Pargiter 1852-1927* (Obituary Notice), pp. clxiv-clxv.

263. J., 1929. (60) *R̥gveda in the making*, pp. 307-309.

The paper deals with the arrangement of the hymns of the *R̥gveda* as indicated in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, and shows how the division into Maṇḍalas generally follows the order mentioned in the *Āraṇyaka*. It has been stated on the basis of a passage in the *Kāmasūtra* that the Aṣṭaka division of the *R̥gveda* is later as it was introduced by the Brāhmanas of Pañcāla some time before Buddha.

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264. 1924. (61) *A Note on 'A Working Model of the Origin of the Ganges in a Temple in Ganjam'*, VIII, No. 4, pp. 255, 256.

Pr., 1912, p. cxxxiv.

Important manuscripts copied in the 12th century A.C. were exhibited by Sastriji at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. One of them was a Ms. of the *Pañcaviṃśati-Satasāhasrikā-ratnasañcayagāthā* which was translated into Chinese in 981 A.C. Another was a complete code of Hindu law by Govindarāja, the well-known commentator of Manu.

Pr., 1912, p. cxxxiii.

A genealogical tree of the Rāṭhor family and a photograph of Shihoji, the founder of the family, were exhibited.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

- 265.** 1898. (1) *The Diary of Govinda Dāsa*, CVI, pp. 79-96 and 372-383.

The article is an analysis of the contents of *Gobindadāser Kaḍacā*, a Bengali work of the early 16th century. Govindadāsa who accompanied Caitanya to the various places of pilgrimage wrote this *Kaḍacā* or diary describing the places visited by him. The account commences with the description of Caitanya's home, companions, and routine of work, and gives details of his journey from Bengal to the sacred places in Southern India.

- 266.** 1898. (2) *Topography of Govinda Dāsa's Diary*, CVII, pp. 172-184.

Some places mentioned in the *Diary* have been identified and their details given.

- 267.** 1903. (3) *Sanskrit Learning in India*, CXVII, pp. 106-110.

Beginning with a brief account of the vast literature in Sanskrit touching almost every branch of study, Sastriji dilates on the usefulness and the superior method of teaching of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, the only institution in Bengal where the benefits of the University can be had without being deprived of the advantages of the indigenous Ṭol training.

- 268.** 1917. (4) *Bengali Buddhist Literature*, pp. 390-407.

The paper deals with the contents of the Dharmamaṅgala literature and the *Bauddha Gāna O Dohā* (21). Cf. 87.

- 269.** 1930. (5) *A Study of the Mahāvastu* (a review), pp. 439-443.

THE DACCA REVIEW

- 270.** 1914. (1) বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্যসম্মিলন (৭ম অধিবেশন, কলিকাতা), অন্ত্যর্থনা সমিতির সভাপতির অভিভাষণ, পৃ: ১৮০—১৮১ (same as 186).

- 271.** 1915. (2) *The Dramas of Bhāsa*, pp. 301-310.

It gives descriptions of the plots of thirteen dramas of Bhāsa.

- 272.** 1921. (3) *The Buddhists in Bengal*, pp. 91-104.

The main thesis of the paper is to show that the Buddhist community and Buddhism in Bengal were gradually absorbed by the Hindu Society and Hinduism. The communities which at present labour under some social dis-

advantages were originally Buddhists. The Buddhists were the influential classes in the province and therefore the brunt of the Muhammadan invasion had to be borne by them. After the disruption of their community, they had to be content with a disadvantageous position in the society of their adoption. The worship of Dharma Thākura and the Vaiṣṇava orders of the Sahajiyās and Nādhā-Nādhis had a Buddhist origin.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

273. 1912. (1) *Daṁṣhini Paṇḍits at Benares*, pp. 7-13.

This is an account of the literary and other activities of a few Brāhmaṇa families who came from Southern India and attained a great influence at Benares through their scholarship. Seven such families have been named in the paper. Details about Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, Vidyānidhi Kavindra, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa and Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍe are found in the article.

274. 1912. (2) *On the Date of Subandhu*, pp. 15, 16.

In a letter, Sastriji further substantiates his own view as against Hoernle by stating that he has found the name Subandhu and not Vasubandhu in several Mss. of Vāmana's work.

275. 1913. (3) *Śāntideva*, 1913, pp. 49-52.

The available details about the life of Śāntideva, the author of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and other works, are found in the article. He has been identified with Bhusuku, a Siddhācārya, who composed songs in a language which was essentially Bengali.

276. 1913. (4) *King Candra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription*, pp. 217-219.

King Candra of this inscription in which he is credited with victories in Bengal and Punjab had been identified by V. Smith with Candragupta II. This paper identifies Candra with Candravarman, the lord of Puṣkarāṇa in Western India mentioned in the Suśunia Rock Inscription. V. Smith accepted this view in the third edition of his *Early History of India* (p. 90).

THE EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

277. 1913-14. (1) *Mandasore Inscription of the time of Naravarman. The Mālava year 461, XII, No. 35*, pp. 315-321.

By a comparison of the genealogies of Naravarman and Candravarman found in this inscription and the Suśunia Rock Inscription respectively, these two kings have been ascertained as brothers. It has also been pointed out that Candravarman is identical with Candra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription, and the latter cannot be identified with Candragupta II.

278. 1915-16. (2) *Suśunia Rock Inscription of Candravarman*, vol. XIII, p. 133.

It is a short record in Sanskrit inscribed on the Suśunia hill in the district of Bankura in Bengal. Its historical importance has been pointed out in 276 and 277.

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

- 279.** 1915. (1) *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 57-65.

It is an interesting account of the search for manuscripts from its beginning in India. It takes note of what has been achieved in the field not only in the various provinces of British India but also in the Indian States.

- 280.** 1915. (2) *Kālidāsa—his Home*, pp. 197-212.

Arguments have been adduced in the article to show that Kālidāsa was an inhabitant of Malwa and was born in the town of Daśapura or near about 15 miles from the right bank of the Chambal.

- 281.** 1916. (3) *Kālidāsa—his Age*, pp. 31-44.

Evidences have been given in the paper to prove that Kālidāsa flourished in the latter half of the period between 404 and 533 A.C.

- 282.** 1916. (4) *Kālidāsa,—Chronology of his Works and his Learning*, pp. 179-189.

According to Sastriji, the works were written by Kālidāsa in the following chronological order : *Ritusamhāra*, *Mālavikā*, *Meghadūta*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Kumāra*, *Śakuntalā*, and *Raghu*.

- 283.** 1916. (5) *Reply to B. C. Mazumdar's Note on 'Kālidāsa—his Age,'* pp. 391-392.

- 284.** 1916. (6) *Seven Copper-plate Records of Land Grants from Dhenkanal*, pp. 395-427.

The paper deals with five grants made by the Sulki family (one by Raṇastambha, one by Kulastambha and three by Jayastambha), the sixth grant by a queen named Tribhuvana Mahādevī, and the seventh by a ruler called Jayasimha. The original home of the donee of the first grant of Jayastambha is Kolāñca, a name identical with that of the place whence the forefathers of the Rāḍhiya Brāhmaṇas are said to have come at the invitation of Ādiśūra.

- 285.** 1917. (7) *Tezpur Rock Inscription*, pp. 508-514.

The inscription records the settlement of a dispute for tolls between the local Zemindars, the boatmen, and the people who towed the boats. Its importance lies in the fact that it provides a definite date for a line of kings of Prāgyjyotiṣa mentioned in the plates. The record shows that the Gupta era was used in Tezpur in the 9th century A.C., and that the Pañcakula Brāhmaṇas were even then influential as far east as Assam.

- 286.** 1917. (8) *Puṃsavana Ceremony*, pp. 557-559.

The ceremony is performed in the beginning of the third month after conception to get a male child. Sastriji has given a description of the sacrament as observed in different ways by the followers of the Sāma-, R̥g-, and Yajur-Vedas.

287. 1918. (9) *Gazetteer Literature in Sanskrit*, pp. 14-25.

It is an account of some Sanskrit works including Jagamohana's *Desāvaliviṛti* and Rāmākavi's *Pāṇḍavadigvijaya*, describing various places and furnishing information about their area, population, trade and commerce etc.

288. 1918. (10) *Tekṇali Inscriptions of Maḍhyamarāja, the son of Petavyāloparāja*, pp. 162-167.

This copper-plate containing names of kings believed to belong to the Sailodbhava family of Koṅgaḍa in Kalinga is assigned to the 11th century.

289. 1918. (11) *Grant of Raṇastambhaḍeva*, pp. 168-171.

Raṇastambha of the Sulki family issued this grant from the Sulki head-quarters Kodālaka. The land granted belonged to a village called Jārā in the district of Jārā in the Rāḍha Maṇḍala. The paper points out that there is a village called Jārā on the border between the districts of Hughly and Midnapur, both belonging to Rāḍha. There are even now in Midnapur influential cultivators who call themselves Sulki tracing their origin to a place called Kedālaka.

290. 1918. (12) *Khaṇḍadeuli Inscriptions of Raṇabhañja Deva*, pp. 172-177.

This grant executed by Raṇabhañja Deva on the occasion of the birth of his grandson contains a genealogy of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayurbhanj. The accurate decipherment of words in this inscription has served to correct the misreadings of other Bhañja inscriptions.

291. 1919. (13) *Literary History of the Pāla period*, pp. 171-182.

The account has been divided into four sections: (1) Sanskrit Brāhmaṇic Literature, (2) Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, (3) Vernacular Buddhist Literature, and (4) Preachers of Buddhism.

292. 1919. (14) *Śiśunāga Statue*, pp. 552-563.

The Śiśunāgas of Magadha are identified with the Vṛātyas, because the dress of the statues is like that prescribed for the Vṛātyas in the *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*.

293. 1919. } (15) *Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization*, 1819,
1920. } pp. 307-324, 492-510; and 1920, pp. 54-68 (same as 84).

294. 1920. (16) *Two eternal Cities in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, pp. 23-49.

The first part of the paper is an account of the activities of distinguished personages connected with the city of Pāṭaliputra (Cf. *Magadhan Literature*, Lecture II—*The Seven Great Writers*). The second portion contains a description of Tosali, identified with the Dhauli of the present day. It was a prosperous city in ancient times.

295. 1920. (17) *Two Copper-plates from the States of Bonai*, pp. 236-245.

(1) Grant of Vinitatūṅgaḍeva.

(2) Grant of Udayavarāha.

296. 1921. (18) *Caturāṅga* (A four-handed game of Chess played with dice), pp. 62-77.

Satarāṅja is the Arabic form of *Caturāṅga*. The double chess now in vogue all over the world is a development of the quadruple form of *Caturāṅga*. The double chess went from India to Persia, Arabia, and other countries. An account of the four-handed game has been given from Raghunandana's *Tithitattva* and translated into English.

297. 1922. (19) *Chronology of the Nyāya System*, pp. 13-28.

The Nyāya system of Gautama developed, according to Sastriji, in two different ways. The Brāhmaṇas fostered it both as an art of controversy and as a system of theistic philosophy, while the Buddhists and the Jainas only as the science of Logic. The chronology of the Nyāya system has been traced from the time of the *Nyāyasūtra* which is said to have been compiled in the 3rd century A.C. to the time of Udayana who wrote his works at the beginning of the 11th century.

298. 1923. (20) *Chronology of the Sāṃkhya Literature*, pp. 151-162.

While dealing with the chronology of the Sāṃkhya Literature from the time of Kapila downwards, a description of a work called *Kapilasūtravṛtti* has been given. This is a commentary on 22 Sūtras regarded as the root of the entire Sāṃkhya system.

298. 1928. (21) *The Mahā-purāṇas*, pp. 323-340.

In this address delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, the contents of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas have been discussed in a general way.

THE BHANDARKAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

300. 1917. *Bombay in the eleventh Century*, pp. 249-254.

In the *Ḍākṛāṇava*, a Tantric work of the 12th century A.C., mention is made of a goddess called Mumbānī along with many other goddesses, each of whom bore a name derived from that of the place in which her temple was situated. Sastriji identifies Mumbānī with Mumbā-devī, whose shrine now stands on the Malabar Hills in the city of Bombay, to which this is the earliest indirect reference.

THE BUDDHISTIC STUDIES

301. 1931. *Chips from a Buddhist Workshop*, pp. 818-858.

The article deals with the following topics: (1) Buddhists under persecution, (2) the position of Vasumitra, (3) the *Mahāvastu* and Vasumitra, (4) origin of the split, (5) the *Laṅkāvatāra*, a new tradition, (6) *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*, (7) the development of the yānas, (8) the three kāyas.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

202. 1925. (1) *The Northern Buddhism* (in three instalments). I, pp. 18-30; 201-213; 464-472.

This is an account of the origin and development of Northern Buddhism through its various phases.

303. 1925. (2) *Bhādrayāna*, I, pp. 769-771.

The special doctrine of this Buddhist school is, as has been put by Sastriji, "non-duality mixed with Karuṇā accompanied with supreme knowledge and supreme means of salvation." The Guru is regarded by the followers of this school as all the Buddhas put together. The doctrine was introduced by one Dharmapāda and then preached by Bhāde or Bhādrapāda who wrote a few Bengali songs. The only available treatise of the school is by Kuddālapāda, a disciple of Bhāde.

304. 1926. (3) *A Copper-plate Grant of Viśvarūpa Sena of Bengal*, II, pp. 77-86.

The plate throws much light on the later history of the Sena Dynasty in Bengal. It has been edited here with some improvements upon previous readings of the inscription.

305. 1927. (4) *The Malla Era of Viṣṇupur*, III, pp. 180-181.

It has been ascertained from a date given in the colophon of a ms. that the initial year of the Malla Era current in Viṣṇupur in the district of Bankura in Bengal is 694 A.C. The era was introduced by the founder of the Malla dynasty of Viṣṇupur.

306. 1930. (5) *Chāndogya-mantrabhāṣya*, a Pre-Sāyaṇa Commentary on select Vedic Mantras (a review), pp. 782-785.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BUDDHIST TEXT AND RESEARCH SOCIETY

307. 1893. (1) *English Translation of 'Bhaktisataka' with Sanskrit Text*, I, 2, pp. 21-43.

308. 1894. (2) *A short Note on the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Schools*, II, 2, pp. 6-11.

The Note is an English translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dealing with the differences between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism.

309. 1894. (3) *Notes on the Svayambhūpurāṇa*, II, 2, pp. 33-37.

The *Svayambhūpurāṇa* is a Buddhist work of not more than 250 years. It was written in glorification of the Svayambhūkṣetra, a holy place for the Buddhists in Nepal. The work gives *inter alia* interesting descriptions of Nepal and China.

310. 1894. (4) *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, chapter xviii (translation). *The Evolution of Sūnyatā*, II, 3, pp. 10-15.
311. 1894. (5) *The Relation of Bengali to Pāli and Sanskrit. Which is more Intimate?* II, 3, pp. iii-v.

According to Sastriji the relation of Bengali to Pāli is more intimate than that of Bengali to Sanskrit.

- 311a. *A Note on the Sūnyatā Philosophy of the Northern Buddhists*, II, 3, pp. v, vi.

KEGAN PAUL TRENCH AND TRUEBNER'S JOURNAL

312. *Superstitions prevalent in the Sunderbans* (referred to at p. 13 of the pamphlet entitled 'Mm. Haraprasad Sastri,' 1916, Hare Press, Calcutta).

ADDITIONS TO THE LIST

313. 1322. কালিদাসের মেয়ে দেখান (Kālidāsa's Manner of Introduction of the Heroines). *The Nārāyaṇa*, I, 2, pp. 1096-1104.
314. সীতার স্বপ্ন (Sītā's Dream). *Ibid.*, I, 2, pp. 1153-1159.
315. 1339. ভারতবর্ষের ধর্মের ইতিহাস (Notes on the Development of Religion in India). *The Vaṅgaśrī*, I, 1, pp. 4-9.
316. *Report on the Bodh-Gaya Temple* written in collaboration with Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra.

The Commission was appointed by the Government to report on certain points, regarding which information was needed to decide whether the management the Bodh-Gayā Temple should continue in the hands of the Hindu Mahānta.

317. An unpublished article বাঙ্গলা শকুন্তলার জুবিলি (A paper read on the occasion of the 50th performance of the *Śakuntalā* in Bengali).

References are made to the following papers written by Mm. H. P. Sastri in

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE A.S.B.

1902. pp. 3-7. Re. *The Kaivartas driving away the Pālas*.
1904. p. 38. *Evidences of Slave-Trade in the Mughal Empire*.
1912. p. cxxiv. *A Biography of Śāntideva, the author of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

APPENDIX II

- 1853. 6th December. Birth.
- 1876. Passed the M.A. examination.
- 1880. Selected as a Commissioner of the Naihati Municipality of which he became the Chairman subsequently.
- 1883. Appointed as a lecturer in the Calcutta Sanskrit College and also as an Assistant Translator to the Government of Bengal.
- 1885. Elected as a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Became also a member of the Philological Committee and was put in charge of the publications belonging to the Bibliotheca Indica.
- 1886. Appointed as the Librarian of the Bengal Government Library. Held this post up to 1894.
- 1888. Nominated as a Fellow of the Senate of the Calcutta University and a member of the Calcutta Central Text-Book Committee.
- 1891. Appointed as the Director of the operations in search of mss. by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 1895. Selected as the Secretary of the Buddhist Text and Research Society, Calcutta.
- 1897. First visit to Nepal.
- 1898. Decorated with the title of 'Mahāmahopādhyāya.'
- 1898-99. Second visit to Nepal with Prof. Bendall.
- 1900. Appointed as the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.
- 1903. Worked as a member of the Commission appointed by the Government of Bengal to report on the Bodh-Gaya Temple.
- 1907. Third visit to Nepal.
- 1908. Retired from the Principalship of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Made a tour of many places in Northern and Central India in company with Prof. Macdonell.
- 1909. Commissioned by the Asiatic Society of Bengal on behalf of the Government of India to report on the 'Bardic mss. in Rajputana.
- 1911. The title of C.I.E. was conferred on him.
- 1913. Elected as the President of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṇṣad. He continued in this office altogether for 12 years.

1914. Presided over the 8th session of the All-Bengal Literary Conference at Burdwan and over the Literary Section of the Conference.
1918. Presided over the Midnapore Literary Conference.
- 1919-20.
& President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 1920-21.
1921. Elected as an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Appointed as the Professor in charge of the Sanskrit and Bengali department of the Dacca University.
1922. Fourth visit to Nepal. Honoured by the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad at a meeting organised by it for the purpose. Presided over the meeting of the All-India Hindu Sabha at Calcutta. Presided over the section of Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature of the 2nd Oriental Conference held at Calcutta.
1924. Presided over the 15th session of the All-Bengal Literary Conference at Radhanagar, the birthplace of the great social reformer Raja Rammohan Roy.
1927. The title of D. Lit. was conferred on him by the Dacca University.
1928. Presided over the 5th session of the Oriental Conference held at Lahore.
1930. Elected as the president of the Greater India Society. He held this office for two years.
1931. A function was held under the auspices of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Paṛiṣad to present to him, on his attainment of the 75th year, the first volume of the *Haraprasād Śaṃvārāḥana Lekhamālā* (edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and the present writer) and the unpublished articles meant for its second volume (published in 1932) as a token of its members' homage to the savant.
1931. 17th November (Tuesday). Decease.

My thanks are due to Mr. Naliniranjan Pandit Sahitya-bandhu and Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty, M.A., whose *Jivanipaṇḍī* (Biographical Table) and *Lekhapaṇḍī* (List of writings) in the *Samvārdhana-Lekhamālā* (V.S. Paṛiṣad Series, No. 80, 2 vols.) edited by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and the present writer in honour of Mm. H. P. Sastri have facilitated the collection of materials for the two Appendices.

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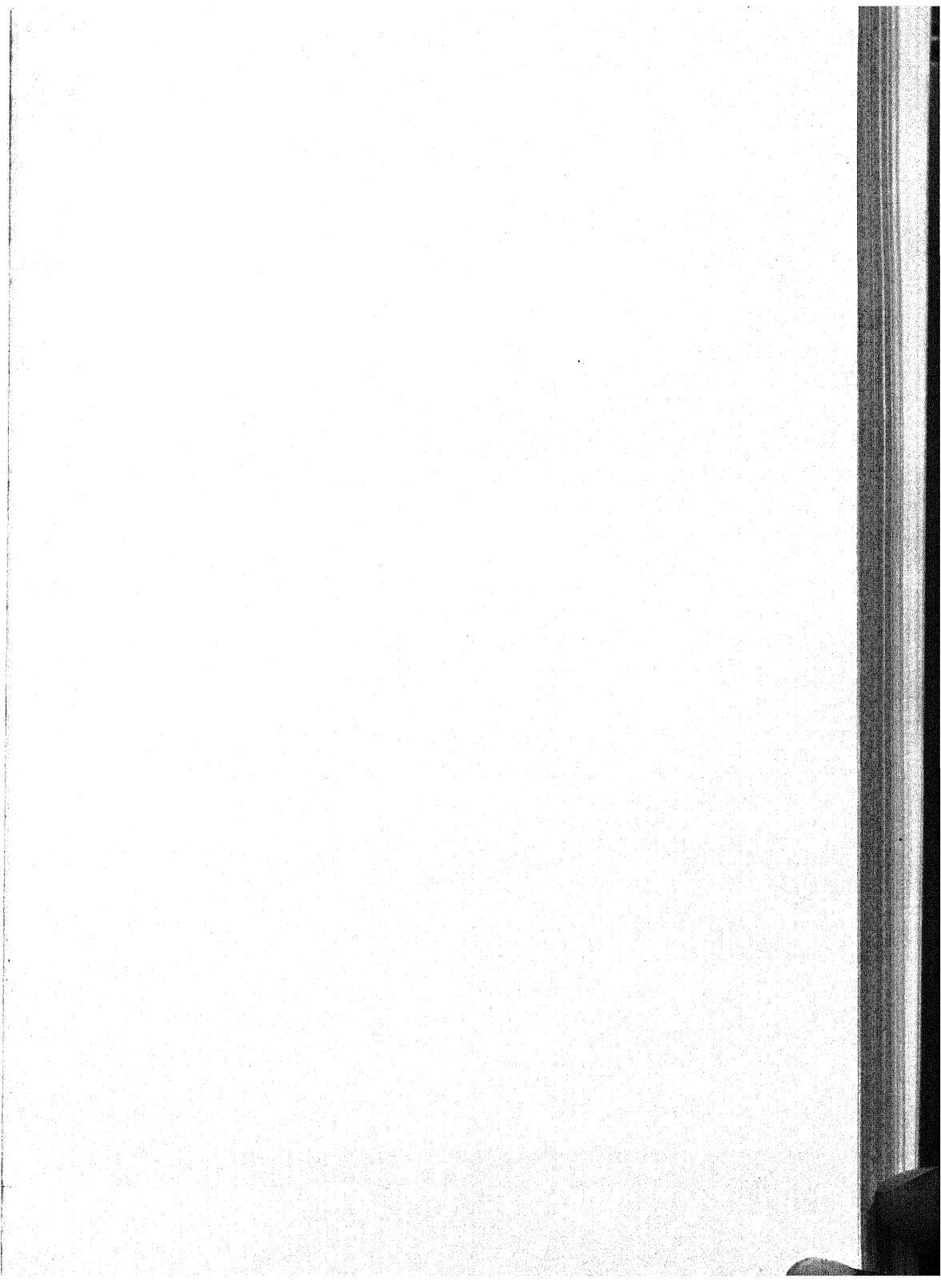
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An Image from Bodhi Gayā

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No 2

A Bodh-Gayā Image Inscription ✓

The inscription, dealt with here for the first time, is incised on the pedestal of a figure of the Buddha representing the stage of effort prior to his attainment of Buddhahood. The inscription consists of four lines, the first of which is nearly intact and the last has almost completely disappeared with the peeling off of stone from the inscribed surface. The two intermediate lines, too, have been materially damaged in parts apparently for the same reason. The possibility of restoration of the missing letters and words is far remote until a counterpart of the inscription is somehow discovered on the pedestal of another figure of the same description. The figure is evidently carved in the red sand-stone of Mathurā, and the inscription is written in that form of Brāhmī characters that goes to connect it with the large number of Jaina and Buddhist image inscriptions that are incised during the reign of the Kuṣāna rulers, Kanīṣka, Huviṣka, Vāsiṣka and Vāsudeva, and it may be that chronologically it is somewhat posterior to them.

Its language, like that of the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kuṣāna age, is not quite Sanskrit in the sense that it does not entirely keep clear of Prākṛt elements, such as those which linger in the words *bodhisatva-paṭimā siharathā*, *°upāsikāye*, *sahāyetīye* and *pūjāye*.

It is dated in Saṃvat 64 of a then current era, the identity of which is still a matter of dispute. If its reference is to the Śaka era, its date must be set down as A.D. 142 (78+64); if to the Gupta, the date is

A.D. 384. So long as the contemplated era remains uncertain,¹ the main guide to chronology is bound to be an argument from the general development of Indian iconography, palæography and official language. Such an argument may enable the historian to assign safely the inscribed figure to the 2nd or the 3rd century A.D. The lower limit of its date may be fixed with the help of Fahien's account of Bodh-Gayā. This Chinese pilgrim visited Bodh-Gayā in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. He noticed a novel feature in the development of the artistic life of Bodh-Gayā, in that he could see a few figures of the Buddha installed in the then existing sanctuaries,—the earlier sanctuaries that were chiefly the erections of Kuraṅgī, the elderly queen of King Kauśīkiputra Indrāgnimitra. The figure of the Buddha was out of the question at about the close of the 1st century B.C., when Kuraṅgī set up the old stone-railing around the original Bo-tree, the little Diamond-throne temple, the old Jewel-walk shrine, etc. at Bodh-Gayā. The inscribed image under notice must be one of the figures seen by Fahien on the sacred site of Bodh-Gayā at the time of his visit. The epigraph also attests that two such images were installed, both of which were *sīharathā*, each resting, probably as it did, on the back of a pair of lions, as is the case with some of the Bodhisattva figures in the sculptures of Amarāvati.

The incompleteness of the text of the inscription will always be regretted for the simple reason that it refers to some other works of merit, the nature of which can no longer be ascertained. It is interesting, however, to observe that the shrine in which the two Bodhisattva figures were installed is described in the inscription as *amātyadhura-vihāra*. *Dhura* is a Buddhist technical term and means 'way'. There are two kinds of *dhuras*: *ganthadhura* (way of study) and *vipassāṇadhura* (way of meditation) open to the followers of the Buddha. It may be that the shrine containing the two figures was a sort of chamber for study or meditation which was erected by a royal minister. The figures are described as *śailikā-bodhisattva-paṭimā*, the

¹ Some of the local scholars suggest the Kalachuri as the probable era. This era commenced in A.D. 249.

stone images of the Bodhisattva. The text given here is based partly on the remnant of the lingering inscription on the pedestal of the image in the Indian Museum and largely on the photograph published by Cunningham of the colossal figure and of the inscribed pedestal in his *Mahābodhi*, pl. XXV.

TEXT

- L. 1 Mahārājasya Tr(i)kamalasya¹ sa[m] 60 4 (gri) (3) (di) 5
 ?? sya pū(r)vva² bh(i)kṣu - vinaya(dharas)ya vihārasya
 sadhevihārī vitā³.....kṣu.....
- L. 2 Amātya-dhura-vihāre svakena samartho ś????(ś)ailikā bodhi-
 satva-paṭimā sīharathā pratisthāpayati 2 [-] Upāsikāye
 arthadha(r)ma-sahāyetīye dhat?..... ? kṣu.....ye sarvvā.....
- L. 3(s)ahāyatā dharma-kathikena ??tā [-] Imenā kuśalamūlena
 mātāpitṛnā[m] pūjāye bhavatu upādh?.....jāye.....
- L. 4ye ? vva.....[-]

Translation

- L. 1 Just prior to Samvat 64, the third month of the hot season and the fifth day of (the reign of) the great ruler Trikamala, the fellow-monk.....residing in the monastery of a Vinayadhara Bhikṣu (a monk conversant with the Vinaya discipline).....
- L. 2 set up by his own means two lion-supported stone-images of the Bodhisattva (the Buddha still in the stage of effort) in the monastic chamber (for study or meditation) erected by (a royal) minister. By a Buddhist female lay worshipper who was the helper of the cause to the advantage of the efficacious doctrine (*arthadharma-sahāyetri*).....
- L. 3 a work of merit has been done by a preacher of Buddhism with the help.....Let (the merit) arising from this root of good serve for the honour of mother and father (and for the benefit of the preceptor).....and progeny).....
- L. 4

B. M. BARUA

1 Cunningham reads *Tukamāta*^o or Lüders, *Trikamata*.

2 The intended spelling may be *pūrvvāyām*.

3 The intended spelling may be *sārdharivihārī vinā*.

Bogle's Embassy to Tibet

Until 1624 no European set foot in Tibet. On 30th March of the year Antonio De Andrade, a Portuguese missionary working in the Jesuit Mission at Agra proceeded to Tsaparang in Tibet where he stayed for some days and created an interest in the mind of the king of the place about his mission. The next year again he went to the same place and was so successful in his work that a church was founded there with the help of the king himself. Owing to his influence with the king he soon began to rise in public estimation and to play a part in political affairs. Some time before 1630 he returned to India and was appointed Provincial of the Company of Jesus at Goa where he died on 19th March 1634. The mission at Tsaparang also soon ceased to exist.¹ References are found of some more Christian missionaries who visited the country often on their way to China and India, and a Dutchman named Van der Putte, who was a learned man and a good observer, is said to have resided at Lhasa for several years before he went to China. But in subsequent years the Tibetan Government very carefully guarded the passes of the Himalayas and did not allow strangers to go freely through them.²

The British connection with Tibet is said to have begun thus: In 1772 Deb Judhur, the Chief of Bhutan, and a vassal of the Tibetans, overran Sikkim, descended into the plains of Bengal, attacked Cooch-Bihar and carried off the Rājā as a prisoner. The people of Cooch-Bihar applied to Warren Hastings, the then Governor of Bengal, for assistance. He immediately despatched a battalion of sepoy's under Jones, defeated and drove the invaders back and even seized their own country. The Bhutanese thereupon appealed to the Tashi Lāmā of Tibet to intercede for them with the Governor of Bengal. The Lāmā wrote to Warren Hastings a letter, (received on 29th March 1774), expressing regret for the aggressions of his vassal and requested him to cease hostilities against him and invited him to friendship. Warren Hastings restored Bhutan and concluded a treaty with that king in April 1174. He

1 Dr. L. D. Barnett, *JIH.*, vol. II, p. 241.

2 *Historians' History of the World*, vol. XXIV, p. 505.

wrote to the Lāmā in reply proposing a general treaty of amity and commerce between Bengal and Tibet and obtained a passport for a European to proceed to Tibet for the negotiation of the treaty.³ He selected Mr. George Bogle, a servant of the Company, well known for his intelligence, assiduity and exactness in affairs and gave him the following instructions dated May 13, 1774:

"I desire you will proceed to Lhasa The design of your mission is to open a mutual and equal communication of trade between the inhabitants of Bhutan (Tibet) and Bengal, and you will be guided by your own judgment in using such means of negotiations as may be most likely to effect this purpose. You will take with you samples for a trial of such articles of commerce as may be sent from this country And you will diligently inform yourself of the manufactures, productions, goods, introduced by the intercourse with other countries, which are to be procured in Bhutan."⁴

Mr. Bogle, accordingly, set out from Calcutta with Mr. Hamilton as his assistant in the middle of May 1774. He went through Bhutan by way of Tassisuden in the middle of October and on 23rd of the month reached Phari Jong at the head of the Chumbi Valley. Here he was received by two Lāmā officers and on 26th he arrived at Paridrong on the frontier of Tibet. On 12th November he arrived at Desherepgay near Chamuaning, north of the Tsanpo river where he had an interview with the Lāmā and delivered to him a letter and a necklace of pearls from Warren Hastings. He stayed at this place for some days, made enquiries about the trade of Tibet as directed by Warren Hastings and sent to him a Memorandum on the trade of Tibet (vide pp. 425-9) along with his letter dated 5th December 1774 (see p. 424, letter No. 1) from this place. How carefully he had studied within a short time at his disposal the economic advantages that might result from the intercourse of trade between India and Tibet can be seen also from his other Memorandum on the money and merchandise of Tibet (see p. 430-1, letter No. 3)⁵

Bogle soon became very friendly with the Tashi Lāmā who treated

3 Sir Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, pp. 4-7.

4 Markham's *Mission of Bogle*, p. 6.

5 See also S. C. Sarkar's article 'Notes on the Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern countries' in the *Proceedings of the Meeting of Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, vol. XIII, p. 99.

him in the most intimate manner and assured him that his heart was well disposed towards the English. But the real object of Bogle's mission to open a channel of commerce between Tibet and Bengal could not bear any fruit. The Tashi Lāmā, though convinced of the mutual advantages and well disposed towards the English, had no power to decide the point. At his request two deputies of the Regent of Lhasa came to see Bogle but they were averse to the proposal of allowing trade to be carried on between the two countries and put forth some excuse or other. Once they said that the Tibetans were afraid to go to Bengal on account of the heat. Another time they said that they could not do anything without the permission of the Chinese. The Tibetan authorities did not like Mr. Bogle to go to Lhasa and made him resolve to go back to Bengal. At his farewell interview the Tashi Lāmā said to Bogle: "I wish the Governor will not at present send an Englishman. You know what difficulties I had about your coming into the country and how I had to struggle with the jealousy of the Regent and the people at Lhasa. Even now they are uneasy at my having kept you so long. I would wish that the Governor would rather send a Hindu."⁶ The Lāmā handed over Bogle a letter to be given to Warren Hastings containing a request about the grant of a land to him on the banks of the Ganges on which he might build a Buddhist temple and a resthouse for the people of his country who may visit Calcutta for purposes of trade.

Bogle returned to Calcutta in June 1775. It can be seen that he was not completely successful in his mission. In fact his master Warren Hastings also could not have expected any very striking result from the first communication. It was inevitable that Bogle should be viewed with suspicion and that the Tibetans should not, all at once, throw off their country freely open to trade.⁷ One great advantage of the mission, however, was that Bogle could secure the sympathies at least of the Tashi Lāmā towards the British who maintained a correspondence with him. A friendly mission was subsequently sent to Calcutta by the Tashi Lāmā which was received with hospitality. Warren Hastings procured a plot of land on the bank of the Hooghly branch of the Ganges

⁶ Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 23.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

opposite to Calcutta and fulfilled the wishes of the Tashi Lāmā by building a Buddhist temple there for him.⁸ In 1779 Warren Hastings decided to send Bogle himself again to Tibet. But unfortunately the mission could not be undertaken. The reason was this: The Chinese Emperor learning that the Tashi Lāmā had established a correspondence with the English Government entertained suspicions about him and ordered him to see him at his capital. The Tashi Lāmā accordingly went to China where he died a mysterious death in 1780. Some said that Lāmā's servant, at the instigation of the Emperor of China, put poison into his food, while others spread different reports.⁹ But from the letter of the chief minister of Lāmā himself dated 28th October, 1781 sent to the Governor-General and published below (see pp. 433-6, letter No. 4) it is seen that Lāmā's death was due to small-pox! The letter states that upon the invitation of the Emperor of China to see him the Tashi Lāmā set out from his place on 5th April 1779 and met the Emperor on 29th March 1780 at a place called Seur Potaulah. Both the Emperor and the Lāmā stayed there for one month and then proceeded to Peking, the Imperial capital. But to Lāmā the water and air of China proved adverse. Irruptions of small-pox came forth and the Lāmā retired from this perishable world on 4th July 1780.¹⁰ Subsequently Bogle himself died in Calcutta on 3rd April 1781.

An account of Bogle's mission to Tibet has been published by Markham in which some of Bogle's letters on the subject are published. Below are published five letters which have hitherto escaped publication. The first three are preserved in the Records of the Government of India at Calcutta. Their copies were very kindly supplied to me by Mr. Abdul Ali, the Keeper of the Records. The last two letters are preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara in the Bombay Presidency. They were found in the collection of Lord Macartney purchased by the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis from an auctioneer in London.

8 *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXVI, pt. II, p. 195.

9 *Bengal Political Consultations* dated October 1792. Paper forwarded by the Resident at Benares—received 15th September 1792.

10 In the *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXVI, p. 195 and in Young-husband's *India and Tibet*, p. 26 the date of the death of the Tashi Lāmā is given as 12th November 1780. It seems to be wrong in the light of this letter.

No. 1

To

The Hon'ble Warren Hastings,
President and Governor &ca &ca.

Hon'ble Sir,

I had the honor to advise you of my arrival on the frontier of Thibet in a short address of the 26th of October. I left Paridrong next day accompanied by some of Teshoo Lama's servants and arrived here on the 12th ultimo.

The Lama received your letter and presents very graciously and I have every reason to be satisfied with his reception.

Having represented to him your desire of opening a free intercourse of trade between the inhabitants of Bengal and this country he has given me assurances of his ready endeavours to bring it about; but as he intends in a few days to return to Teshoo Loombo his capital, where he will have an opportunity of consulting with the merchants, he delays coming to any determination at present. In the meantime he has written to Lahassa on the subject, from which he expects the arrival of some officers to congratulate him on his return.

Teshoo Lama's character and abilities, his having discovered and placed the present Delay Lama in the chair at Potalo, his being favored by the Emperor of China, and his having obtained from him the appointment of Gesub Rambackay, the present chief, give him great influence. The seat of government, however, is at Lahassa. The Emperor of China is paramount sovereign and is represented by two Chinese officers who are changed every three years. These men are to report to their Court the state of the country but I am told seldom interfere in the management of it, which during Delay Lama's minority is entrusted to Gesub and four ministers. Teshoo Lama has a number of villages and monasteries belonging to him which are scattered over Thibet and intermix with those of the Delay Lama. To attempt to explain the nature of a Government where so many different interests are blended together would oblige me to enter into details, which, as my imperfect knowledge of the country might hardly justify, I at present would rather wish to avoid.

I take the liberty of enclosing a memorandum of the trade of Thibet and have the honor to be

Hon'ble Sir &ca,
George Bogle

Desherepgay,
near Chamuaning
the 5th December 1774.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. BOGLE ON THE TRADE OF THIBET

Of the trade and productions of Thibet

The foreign trade of Thibet is very considerable. Being mountainous, naturally barren, and but thinly peopled, it requires large supplies from other countries and its valuable productions furnish it with the means of procuring them. It yields gold, musk, cowtails, wool and salt; coarse woollen cloth and narrow serge are almost its only manufactures. It produces no iron, nor fruit, nor spices; the nature of the soil and of the climate prevents the culture of silk, rice, and tobacco, of all which articles there is a great consumption; but the wants of the country will best appear from an account of its trade. In this sketch, however, I propose only to give the outlines, which I will beg leave afterwards to fill up and correct.

Its foreign merchants

The genius of this Government, like that of most of the ancient kingdoms in Hindostan, is favorable to commerce; no duties are levied on goods, and trade is protected and free from exactions. Many foreign merchants, encouraged by these indulgences, or allured by the prospect of gain, have settled in Thibet.

Cashmirians

The natives of Cashmire, who, like the Jews in Europe, or the Armenians in the Turkish Empire, scatter themselves over the Eastern Kingdoms of Asia and carry on an extensive traffic (*Sic*) between the distant parts of it, have formed establishments at Lahassa and all the principal towns in this country. Their agents, stationed on the coast of Coromandel, in Bengal, Benares, Nephaul (*Sic*) and Cashmire, furnish them with the commodities of these different countries, which they dispose of in Thibet or forward to their associates at Seling, a town on the borders of China.

Facquiers

The Gossienes, the trading pilgrims of India, resort hither in great numbers. Their humble deportment and holy character heightened by the merit of distant pilgrimages, their accounts of unknown countries and remote regions, and above all their professions of high veneration for the Lamas, procure them not only a ready admittance but great favors; though clad in the garb of poverty there are many of them possessed of considerable wealth; their trade is confined chiefly to articles of great value and small bulk. It is carried on without noise or ostentation, and often by paths unfrequented by other merchants.

Tartars

The Calmacks, who with their wives and families annually repair in numerous tribes to pay their devotions at the Lama's shrines, bring their camels loaded

*Bogle's Embassy to Tibet**Inhabitants of Bootan and Assam*

The Booteeas and the other inhabitants of the mountains, which form the southern frontier of Thibet, are enabled by their situation to supply it as well with the commodities of Bengal as the productions of their own States.

The people of Assam furnish it with the coarse manufactures of their kingdom.

Chineze

The Chineze, to whose empire this country is subject, have established themselves in great numbers at the capital, and by introducing the curious manufactures and merchandize of China, are engaged in an extended and lucrative commerce; and thus Lahassa, being at the same time the seat of Government and the place of the Delay Lama's residence, is the resort of strangers and the centre of communication between distant parts of the world.

Its trade with China

The most considerable branch of commerce is with China; it is carried on by the natives of that kingdom, and by the Cashmirians and the Lama's agents who proceed to Seling, and sometimes even to Peking. The imports are coarse tea, of which the consumption is immense; flowered and brocaded sattins of various kinds, pelong, handkerchiefs, silk thread, furs, porcelain cups, glass, snuff boxes, knives and other cutlery, talents of silver, and some tobacco. The returns are made in gold, pearls, coral, chanks, broadcloth, and a trifling quantity of Bengal cloths.

With Siberia

The productions of Siberia are imported chiefly by the Calmacks, or by the way of Seling. They consist of furs, red and black bulgar hides, cow-tails, some dromedaries, bastard pearls and silver, and are bartered for broadcloth, coral and amber beads, spices and gold.

With Cashmire

The Cashmirians naturally engross the trade with their country. It is not considerable. The imports are chiefly sugar, dried raisins and other fruits the exports are goats, wool and gold. The imports from Assam are spices and timber, muggadooties, and other coarse manufactures of silk and linen.

With the Debe Rajah's Kingdom

The native productions of the Debe Rajah's country brought into Thibet are rice, wrought iron, coarse woollen cloth, and some munjeck, which are exchanged for tea and other Chinese commodities, rock salt, wool, sheep skins and narrow frizes for their home consumption.

With Nephaul

The productions imported from Nephaul are chiefly iron and rice; but as these two countries have been the principal channels of communication between

Ancient commercial state of Nepahul

While Nephaul was divided among the different States of Catmaund, Pattan, Badgaund and Goorka, and remained under the Government of Rejahs independent of each other's authority, every encouragement was given to trade. A very moderate duty was levied on goods; the country, populous and well cultivated, easily furnished the means of transporting them, and the merchants, free from spoil or exactions, settled in Nephaul and contributed to enrich it at the same time that they improved their own fortunes. Some disputes arose among these petty Chiefs.

Conquest of it by Goorka

They went to war, and Perti Narrain, the Rajah of Goorka, was called in to take part in the quarrel; having subdued the enemy, he turned his arms against his allies; and partly by treachery, partly by the exertion of superior abilities, has after a war of twentyfive years, made himself master of the whole of the country and united it under one Government.

Effect of this revolution

But although the wealth of Nephaul furnished Goorka with the means by which he rose, he neglected to cherish the source from whence it flowed. Mistrustful of subjects disaffected to his Government he entertained a number of troops on regular pay. He disciplined them; he furnished them with firearms; he formed an artillery and left nothing undone to render himself formidable; the stated revenue of countries where a standing army had hitherto been unknown was unequal to those extraordinary expences, and Goorka, among other expedients, had recourse to imposing high duties on trade in order to defray them. The merchants, subject to heavy and arbitrary fines upon the most frivolous pretence, or obliged to purchase the protection of a tyranical Government by presents scarce less oppressive, quitted a country where they could no longer enjoy that freedom and security which is the life of commerce. The Gossienes, who had formerly very extensive establishments in Nephaul, having incurred Goorka's resentment by the assistance which they afforded his adversaries, were driven out of the kingdom; and many of the most wealthy inhabitants, being stripped of their possessions or exposed to the exactions of a conqueror, likewise deserted it. Two Cashmirian houses only remain, and the Rajah, afraid of their also abandoning him, obliges them to give security for the return of such agents as they have occasion to send without the boundaries of his dominions.

Trade with Bengal through the Debe Rajah's country

The trade between Bengal and Thibet through the Debe Rajah's country used formerly to be engrossed wholly by the Bootas. Two of the Cashmirian

commerce in which they had hitherto been concerned, settled at Lahassa, and having obtained permission from the Debe Rajah to transport their goods through his territories established agents in Bengal; but as they are prohibited from trading in broadcloth and some other considerable articles, and as their traffic is carried on to no great extent, and all other merchants are excluded, it by no means compensates the loss which Bengal has sustained by the interruption of its commerce through Nephaul.

Through Morung

The commodities of Bengal used also to be conveyed into Thibet through Morung and a province adjoining to it, which is subject to Lahassa and governed by a Chief styled Denro Jung. The facquiers when expelled from Nephaul generally frequented this road, but being esteemed unhealthy it was not adopted by any creditable merchants. Goorka, however, having extended his conquests over the first of these countries, and having lately invaded the other, all intercourse is at present interrupted.

By way of Banaris

Besides these different communications, there is a road leading from Banaris and Mirzapoor, through the Mustang country and the hills to the northward of Bulwang Sing's territories, which are subject to the Rajahs who still preserve their independence. The more valuable sorts of Bengal goods are sometimes imported into Thibet by this channel. But although the merchants travel in perfect security and receive every assistance from these petty chiefs, the length of the way, the difficulty of the road, through a mountainous and in several places uninhabited country, and the intermediate profits upon the goods, render it far from eligible. Of late years it has become more frequented on account of its being almost the only means of communication.

Nature of this trade

The principal articles of merchandize between Bengal and Thibet are broadcloth, atter, skins, neel (indigo), pearls, coral, amber, and other beads, chank, spices, tobacco, sugar, Malda striped sattins, and a few white cloths, chiefly coarse; the returns are made in gold dust, musk and cowtails.

Of the money of Thibet

A knowledge of the current species and of the proportional value of money in a country is of capital importance towards understanding the nature of its trade, but the intricacy of the subject and the variety of circumstances requisite in forming a just notion of it oblige me at present to mention it only briefly. There are no mints in Thibet. Payments are made in talents of China and Tartary in small bulses of gold dust or in the coin of the former Rajahs of Catmaund and Pattan, which is the established species of the kingdom.

circulation of their rupees, which were of a base standard, proved very beneficial to these Chiefs, and Goorka, as soon as he had firmly established his authority in Nephaul, endeavoured to introduce his coin into Thibet. For this purpose he sent a deputation to Lahassa with a large sum of rupees struck in his name, and desired the sanction of Government to circulate them through the country. The merchants aware of Goorka's ill-faith, refused to accept them, and the Government returned him this artful answer,—We are willing to receive your coin, provided that you take back all the money of Nephaul which is now in circulation. This condition was neither for Goorka's interest, nor in his power to comply with. Nothing since has been done in this important affair. The old specie continues to pass; but the channel by which it was introduced having been long stopped up, it has rose greatly above its former value, as well in proportion to the talents of silver as to the gold dust.

No. 2**BENGAL SECRET CONSULTATIONS**

9 May 1775 (pp. 2177-2179)

The Governor General having received the following Letter from Mr. George Bogle he lays it before the Board.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,

President and Governor, &c., &c., &c.

Hon'ble Sir,

Having received no Letters from Calcutta for several Months past, and having had no Accounts of the Dispatches I did myself the Honor to send you of the 5th December having reached Beyhar, I have declined addressing you from the Belief that my Letters would not arrive safe, and this Consideration will I hope serve to justify the Shortness of the present Trouble.

I have continued to receive repeated Marks of the Lama's Favor, and at his Desire have remained thus long at Terhoo Loembo. I propose in a few days to take Leave of him and begin my Journey towards Bengal; in Company with the Gossisne who was formerly sent by him to Calcutta, and a Priest who is to attend me to Tasserudden and second me with the Deb Rajah.

I have at present only to request that you would be pleased as a Mark of Attention to the Lama, to give Orders to the Custom Masters at Moorshedabad and Houghley to pass our Boats without Duty, and in Case you have sent me any Commands subsequent to your Letter of the 10th August, that you would be so good as order a Copy of them, together with such further Instructions as

Williams, to whom I shall give such Directions, as may insure their safe Arrival with me at Tasserudden.

Teeshooloombo, the 28th March, 1775.

I have the Honour to be &c.

GEORGE BOGLE.

The Governor General proposes to direct Mr. Bogle to settle the Terms of a free Trade with the Rajah of Tassaruden and if necessary even to yield the Tribute annually paid by the Bootan Caravan which comes annually to Rungpore which he (the Governor General) is informed by Mr. Du Casel amounted in the year 1178 to 2105 Narainny Rupees which is no Object compared with the Advantages that may be derived to the Company by opening a new Channel of Trade which may be particularly advantageous to the Sale of Broad Cloth and Coral, the two principal Imports from Europe.

The Proposition being agreed to Resolved that the Governor General do authorise Mr. Bogle to conclude a Treaty with the Rajah upon the above Conditions.

No. 3

TO

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,

Governor-General, &ca., &ca., &ca.

Fort William.

Hon'ble Sir,

I have already laid before you a report of my late mission into Thibet as it was impossible, at the time of my appointment, to foresee any probable expenses,¹¹ in countries hitherto unknown, and on a business entirely new, no fixed allowance was made for them. They were left to be defrayed by me as the circumstances should require, and I was ordered to give in an account of them on my return, which I have now the honour to submit to you.

Except the charge of servant's wages, they consist chiefly of presents; the other expenses of my journey being very inconsiderable. For according to the practice in Bootan and Thibet, accommodations of all sorts were provided for me on the road. During my stay in the first of these countries, I had a house allotted for my residence, and provisions supplied me by the Government.

¹¹ The paper accompanying this letter and giving the expenses is not found.

While I remained with Tesho Lama I lived in his palace, and every necessary was provided for me by his orders.

A sense of this hospitality, a regard to the character of the nation I represented, and above all the desire of forming a connection and good understanding with people hitherto strangers to the Company, and of facilitating my negotiations as to trade, rendered presents on my part necessary. These I have charged; and at the same time have given credit for such gold dust &c. as I received in return. But I have taken no notice of some pieces of silk, blankets, and Tanyan Horses, as they were of little value and rather entailed upon me an expense. Neither have I charged such of my own effects as I gave away; or other expenses merely personal.

I have only to add, that as you were pleased to prohibit me, and Mr. Hamilton who accompanied me, from engaging in trade, these charges were incurred only on the public service upon which I was deputed.

I take the liberty of troubling you with these particulars for the information of the Hon'ble Board. The circumstantial manner in which the accompanying accounts are stated precludes, I imagine, the necessity of any further explanation, and will serve to point out the propriety or impropriety of the disbursements.

Calcutta, the 11th December, 1775.

I have the honour to be,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

GEORGE BOGLE.

MEMORANDUM¹² BY MR. BOGLE ON THE MONEY AND
MERCHANDISE OF TIBET

April 19, 1779 (*Home Department O. C. No. 3*).

The only specie current in Thibet is the coin of the former Rajahs of Nepaul, called Indermillees. They are of a base quality, much worn; but none having been imported since Goorkha's conquest of Nepaul, they have rose to an exorbitant value. The bullion is brought from China in lumps of silver called Dozahs, which, I believe, are of a standard superior to the currency of Bengal yet when weighed against Indermillees they were not equal to them in value by ten per cent. A Dozah which weighed 340 or 350 Indermillees was

¹² Bogle's letter of which this memorandum was an accompaniment is not found.

purchased with 320, 310, and even 300 Indermillees. The Sicca Rupees of Bengal carried by Gosaines into Thibet, were valued at 2 Indermillees to a Sicca Rupee. A Balsa of gold dust called a Gastong and weighing $9\frac{1}{3}$ d Inderms, was valued from 120 to 130 Indermillees. Thus the value of this coin, when compared with silver or with gold dust, is not fixed. The rate in the market during my stay in Thibet was daily rising. It may be difficult to reconcile the high value of the fact to assign the cause would be rather (torn) than useful.

The broad cloth of two colours is esteemed before any other. There was none at market; the colours next prized are red, yellow, blue. The prices of these and other usual articles of trade were as follows:

Broad cloth coarse	12 Tank (sic.) per yard	80 Inderms
Chank male	each	6 to 10 „
Cloves	per seer of 60 sica wt.	54 „
Nutmegs	5 or 6	1 „
Malda striped cloth (mushroos)	ppss (sic.)	40 „
Otter skins	per score	70 to 80 „
Coral middling size	per Sicca wt.	15 to 18 „
„ very large beads	Twice its weight in	gold dust.

Cutlery, hardware, glass and many other European commodities, not being staple articles, it is impossible to ascertain the price. Small quantities are sometimes brought into Thibet by the Gossaines which are much esteemed.

Amber beads, pearls and diamonds. The price of them depends entirely on their size and goodness. The first is an article of common consumption and ready sale. The two last being purchased by the people of high rank, or by the Chineze, the price is high, but the sale slow and uncertain.

It may be necessary to remark that the scarcity of Bengal and European goods while I was in Thibet no doubt served to enhance their value.

The returns from Thibet are made chiefly in gold dust, musk and cowtails.

The price of gold dust I have already mentioned. Musk is generally bought in bags with a considerable portion of skin adhering to them. The price is from one half to three fourths its weight in Indermillees. The superfluous skin is from a sixth to a fourth of its weight, and if the musk is fresh it loses by evaporation about a fourth part.

Cow tails, white, are from two to four Indermillees each.

The charges on transporting goods from Bengal to Thibet I estimate as follows:

One maund from Rungpore to Buxiduar	...	...	4 Inderms
from Buxiduar to Binjipore	...	...	12 „
from Ringe to Paridsong	...	...	4 „
from Paridsong to Lahassa or Teshoo Lombo	...	...	4 „

No. 4

From Raja Punjin Irtince Roomoo Thang Chaunjo Thooosoo, or chief minister of Tasoo Lumoo to the Governor General.¹³

Recd. Feb. 12th 1782.

To the Fountain of Benefits abounding in Excellencies, Ornament of the chief Seat of power and of Greatness, shedding splendour on the Leaders of Europe, Repository of Valor and Magnanimity, exalted in Enterprize, high in Dignity the Governor Immaud u'dowlah¹⁴—may his Fortitude and his Existence be perpetuated by the bounty of Almighty God. Some time before this the Khankaum of China called unto him the Lord of his Votaries the Luminary of the World Maha Gooroo Sahib, with earnest solicitations and on the seventeenth of the month Rubbaa i.e. sauni A. H. 1193¹⁵ the Lama, according to agreement, directed his steps towards the Region of China.

And when he passed his sacred foot forth from this Land, the Khankaum despatched forward to receive him Leaders of high Distinction and he caused to be prepared and kept in readiness, cattle to transport his Baggage, and Conveyances and Tents and necessities of every Denomination and There is a Soobah and they call that Land *Seur potaullah* and on the 22nd of the month Rubbaa i.e. sauni in the year of the Hijira 1194.¹⁶ Maha Gooroo Sahib and the Khankaum of China met each other in that Soobah, in joy and satisfaction:—and they continued there for the space of one month—and then they proceeded on from thence to the City of Pickeen—that is to say—the royal City—where is the exalted Throne of the Emperour—and in that City they remained for six months.

And in those Days the Khankaum of mighty power, in the abundance of his faith and his love for the Truth, exhibited unbounded proofs of Obedience and Submission and paid the Duties of Reverence and Respect.

And the Maha Gooroo on whom be the continued blessing of the Almighty instructed many of the sages of China, and of the sages of *Kilmauk*, and (not mentioned in Pooruna Geer Goosaini's relation). He caused their Heads to be shaven and received them into the number of the Obedient—and he conferred innumerable Blessings on the inhabitants of that Land,—and they received Joy and Happiness from his presence.

And down to this time the Maha Gooroo was well in Health; but the water and air of China proved adverse—and was pernicious (to him) as the pestilential

¹³ No. 1, 389 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum.

¹⁴ i.e. Warren Hastings.

¹⁵ i.e. 5 April 1779 A.D.

¹⁶ i.e. 29 March 1780.

and hot Blast to a cold and frozen Body and the Maladies and the Distempers which were produced were many and various.

And at this time such was the will of God, Irruptions of the small-pox came forth and our earnest Endeavours, and the application of numerous Remedies availed nothing—for the predominating star of our happiness was reversed and obscured—and the Shadow of our protector was withdrawn, and we were excluded from his presence—and the only Remedies which remained were Resignation and Submission. The measure of his Existence was filled up—and the Lip of the Cup of Life was overflowed—and he retired from this perishable world to the everlasting Mansions on the first Day of the Month Rujjub, in the year of the Hijira 1194.¹⁷ And to us it was as if the Heavens had been precipitated on our heads—as if the splendid and glorious Day had been converted into utter Darkness.

The Multitude lifted up on all sides the Voice of Sorrow and Lamentation—but what availed it—for Fortune, treacherous and deceitful had determined against us.

And we all bent down on the knee of funeral affliction and performed the holy obsequies, such as were due—and We now supplicate with an united Voice the return of the hour of Transmigration—that the Bodies may be speedily exchanged, and our departed Lama again be restored to our sight. This is our only Object—our sole Employment—may almighty God who listeneth to the Supplications of his Servants, accept our prayers.

And after the Death of the Lama, the gracious Conduct of the Khankaum was still the same—or rather, his royal favour was greater than before—in so much that it might be said, Maha Gooroo Sahib was still living—such was the Excess of his Bounty.

And when the funeral Solemnities were concluded We received our Dismission—and the Emperor caused Supplies of food and of raiment, and necessaries of every sort to be prepared—and he ordered people to be stationed at the different stages—to convey the Corps of the deceased Lama from One to the other.

And when we turned our faces from the Land of China, he caused Carriages to be given to my followers—and he appointed two Ameeral Omraus to attend the sacred Remains of the Lama; for its protection—And on the 21st Day of the month Shuvvaul in the year of the Hijira 1196¹⁸ in the Morning I arrived at the place of my abode in safety.

¹⁷ i.e. 4 July 1780 A.D. The date 12 November 1780 given for his death in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXVI, p. 195 seems to be wrong.

¹⁸ i.e. 10 October 1781.

He was a Bengalee by birth and was sent by the Tashi Lāmā as the first

And a Tomb had been prepared before our arrival for the Body of the departed Lama—and we deposited his Remains therein—and we presented the necessary offerings—and distributed alms, to promote the Transmigration—and we are unremitting in our Supplications that he may speedily appear again on the face of the Earth—may they be accepted.

Poorun Geer Goosaini arrived here in the year 1193 after the Departure of the Lama (towards China).—And two Letters and nine Strings of pearls, without blemish and perfect in their form (form)—and among them One String of large pearl, of great brightness and purity and two Chaplets of Coral, which you sent as a Gift, arrived safe.

And your satisfactory Letters and that which you wrote concerning the village of the Raja and the Remission of all Matters relating thereto, to do honor to me—the whole as there written, was in those Days submitted to the inspection of Maha Gooroo Sahib, and the Joy which he expressed on reading these things was exceeding great.

And the friendly Letter and the two Rosaries of pearl and Coral, one of them intermixd pearl and Coral and the other Coral alone which in the Abundance of your kindness and favor you sent as a Gift to me, arrived in an happy hour, and was the case of much satisfaction.

And regarding your Refusal to receive the Value of the nine Strings of pearls and of the two Chaplets of Coral directing on the contrary, that they should be presented as a Gift,—as the pearls were of great Beauty and of exceeding high price, and for as much as your friendship to Maha Gooroo Sahib was evident and apparent—in consideration of these things I could not presume to take them.

I formerly wrote to you requesting that with the Value of the unwrought Gold which I sent to you certain pearls and Coral might be purchased and that the price of the pearls and the Coral might be balanced by the produce thereof—and if it should be deficient for that purpose that you would inform me of that deficiency—so that I might write to you and transmit that which was wanting—and if on the contrary there should be a surplus remaining out of the value of the Gold, that other pearls and other Coral of the first Quantity might be purchased therewith.

And I have moreover strong hope and firm Expectation that as you formerly showed kindness and attention to the Application respecting the village of the Raja, so in regard to the certain portion of Land and the Mahasol thereon, that favour has been shown,—I presume to repeat the Request, that corresponding to the Application of Maha Gooroo Sahib you will show kindness appertaining thereto and furthermore, that you will grant a Plot of Land

in the noble City of Calcutta on the Bank of the River—concerning this affair I spoke fully and particularly to the Gossaini Poorum Geer and he will make known to you the whole thereof and you will comply with my Request.

And I have communicated other Matters and other Things to the Faithful Poorun Geer by whom you will be informed of them—In compliance with his Wishes you will permit him to remain under the Shadow of your protection and favor him with such mark of your kindness as may enable him to pass his Days in returning thanks for your bounty and goodness.

You must persist in sending to me constant Information of your Health, that the Garden of pleasure and satisfaction may continue to flourish.

To trouble you more would exceed that which is right.

May your happiness and prosperity remain firm and unshaken. Written on the first Day of the month Zehijjeh A.H. 1195 corresponding to the 28th October 1781.¹⁹

Sent by Poorum Geer as a Gift

a piece of Khauduck,
a Dehleck of unwrought Gold,
Two pieces of China Silver
six pieces of China Silk.

Let it be accepted.

No. 5

*From Soobun Chumboo to Mr. George Bogle*²⁰

Received February 12th 1782.

To him of the high and exalted asylum! the Eminent of the Dwelling of the only God! The Repository of the Benefits of Power! The genuine Conferer of Favors! Mr. George Bogle—be his Prosperity without End!

Your wellwisher, Soobum Chumboo, having set Forth his Humility and Submission—and Confessed his Weakness and Inability—in the Language of Absence, makes known to your Understanding,—Illumined as the Sun.—that the State of these Parts is according to the Divine Will, and to the Ordination of him who is without end, and in his Hands,—in the Hands of an Almighty Protector, and that your Safety, and your Health, are the daily subjects of my Supplications.

¹⁹ The christian date 28th October 1781 really corresponds to 10th Jilkad of A.H. 1195; while the first day of Jliheja (Zehijjeh) corresponds to 18th November 1781.

²⁰ No. 1, 441 of the Macartney collection in the Satara Museum. The contents of this and the preceding letter are almost same.

It has not remained unknown to your enlightened Mind,—That the Letters, and the String of Pearls, which are Intermixed with Coral, and formed into a Chaplet, and which in the Excess of your kindness and your Favor you were pleased to send me as a Gift, and to Confer it upon me, Arrived safe.

Truly, it may be said, That I beheld you in your own Person! For such was my exceeding great Joy and Satisfaction thereat—That I know not, in what Language to explain it.

The Khullefah Bungwaun, that is to say, Maha Gooroo Sahib, on the seventeenth Day²¹ of the Month Rubaau Sauni, directed the Reins of his Intentions from Tasso Lumboo toward the Land of China.

And the various Inhabitants of the Environs and the Places round about, of Shobah, and of Khumbah, those who Sojourn in Tents, and those who live in Cities,—came and were Received according to their Degrees, and their Stations,—and the Chief Princes of the Kingdom and the Pillars of the State, and the Mighty Men, and the great Leaders, came Forth, to meet and to guard him on the high Road—And they were waiting his Arrival with eager Expectation. And they obtained admission to the honors of audience in Crowds,—Crowd after Crowd—and they presented their Gifts and their offerings without Number. And the Lama laid the hand of Intercession on the heads of the Guilty, and made them Joyful,—And after this manner the Multitude Followed him the whole day.

Thus he travailed on—through the Journeys and the Stages—and in the Soobah Seur Potallah which is a place exceeding delightful, he saw the Khankaum of China, and they met together in Joy, and Satisfaction—and he remained with the Khankaum of China, for the Space of one Month.—And the Khankaum prepared Entertainments of various Sorts, and made Feasts after divers manners.

And during this Time the Goosaini Poorun Geer made known those things, concerning the Land of Europe, which your Tongue had taught him,—all of them he made known.—And the Lama exerted great Endeavours, and proved his Friendship and solicited therein—and hereafter the Chaunkeah Lama, may his Felicity be eternal, will write, and send an answer, concerning these Things.—For we Exerted ourselves to Fulfil your Wishes, from our Hearts, and From our Souls.

Let not this your well-wisher pass out from your friendly Mind, and when Time shall be convenient, send unto Me, the Gold Brocade, and the large Coral, for the purchase whereof, I formerly sent by the Goosaini, to your respected Presence Thirty Tolah of Virgin Gold—Buy them and send them unto me. And if aught should remain unpaid, Inform me thereof by your Pen, that

21 i.e. 5 April 1779 A.D. as shown in the preceding letter.

I may pay it: For doing so you will favor me. Safety and Peace be with you, for truly my Heart is with you always—Written on the first Day of the Month —Tehijjeh in the year of the Hijra 1195 corresponding to the 28th October A.D. 1781.

As a present—A piece of Khanduk and a piece of Cocheen, which is Silk of China, and Four Tolah and a half of unwrought Gold, which after the manner of this Land is Called Kytoo. Let it be accepted.

D. B. DISKALKAR

Some points Regarding the Origin of the Licchavis of Vaisālī

Various conjectures have been made by different scholars about the original home of the Licchavis of Vaisālī. The question which puzzles the readers of Indian History is whether the Licchavis were the same as the Vedic Aryans or a different stock of people. It is said that they had some affinity with the Tibetan people. In Tibet there was the custom of exposing the dead for being devoured by wild animals. This custom was in vogue among the Licchavis also as is found in Beal's *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, derived from Chinese sources. The legend relates how the Licchavis "exposed corpses of men to be devoured by the birds, collected and piled up the white bones of dead persons, burnt corpses and preserved the bones in heaps, buried there, left them on the ground and also hanged them from trees" (*Corpus Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 136). Thus they disposed of their dead sometimes by burial, sometimes by cremation and sometimes by leaving them on the ground.

Discoveries made at pre-historic cemeteries in other parts of India give evidence of the various ways of disposing of the dead. The description given in the legend does not refer to any particular custom exclusively adhered to by the Licchavis. It describes the various possible methods which they might have adopted for the disposal of dead bodies. Hence many alternative processes have been mentioned. The Vedic Hindus also appear to have adopted those methods before the custom of burning the dead on funeral pyres was introduced among them. There is a passage in the *Atharva Veda* describing in a similar way various procedures of disposing the dead (*Atharva*, 18-2-34). *Āpastamba* also has a similar passage. So this custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by animals does never prove that the Licchavis came from Tibet or from any other country where this custom prevailed. The recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro and Harappā have proved that the Vedic Aryans were not the only inhabitants of ancient India. The Licchavis were probably one of the many tribes occupying a

portion of the foot of the Himālaya in modern Tirhoot, having many customs and usages in common with other peoples around them.

It is further argued that the judicial procedure of Vaiśālī as related in the *Atthakathā* being substantially similar the procedure now found at Lhasa, the origin of the Licchavis is to be traced somewhere in Tibet. After the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet frequent intercourse with India enabled the people of the forbidden land to imbibe Hindu ideas and customs. So it is not unlikely that the Tibetans themselves got their judicial system from India. That the Licchavis were not the same as the Nisibis, the Persian subjects of king Darius, has sufficiently been proved by Dr. B. C. Law (*Some Kṣatriya Tribes* etc., p. 29).

The next question which requires careful consideration is whether the Licchavis were originally Aryan by birth or some Non-Aryan tribe subsequently engrafted upon the Aryan Stock for reason of their political ascendancy. The term Licchavi does not appear to be a pure Sanskrit word, though Buddhaghosa has derived it from *Licchavi* or *Līnacchavi* (*ibid.*, p. 20). The Licchavis have not found a place in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, though he has made mention of many other Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. They were certainly a very prominent people either during the life-time of the great grammarian or before him. The term *Licchavis* as such has no place in the Purāṇas. Manu has included them in the Vṛātya class. In the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the sage Viśvāmitra in his journey to the city of Janaka has pointed out to Rāma the city of Viśālā (Chap. 45, v. 10). The king of Viśālā, according to it, was Sumatī, an Ikṣāku king. So at the time of the writer of this portion of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Vaiśālī and Mithilā were two independent principalities having two different scions of Kṣatriya races ruling over them. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* also makes the rulers of Vaiśālī Kṣatriyas, descendant of the Solar race. The *Mahābhārata* makes mention of the Mallas (Sabhā P., XXX, 5). Even the Bhargas who had probably a very small principality in the mountainous region of the Himālayas have been enumerated in the epic along with other border tribes such as the Kirātas and the Gāndhāras (Bhīṣma P., IX). Thus unimportant hill tribes who were probably the neighbours of the Licchavis have been mentioned, though they have been ignored. The reason is obvious. According to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Ajātaśatru, king of

Magadha, made up his mind to destroy the oligarchical government of the Licchavis. He succeeded in gaining his object with the help of his Brahmin minister Vassakāra. So when Viśvāmitra pointed out to Rāma the city of Viśālā, the Licchavis had lost all political importance. They were then either subjects to some neighbouring Kṣatriya king or had been driven to the further north. Ajātaśatru is called 'Vedehiputto' in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. The *Divyāvadāna* speaks of him as 'Vaidchīputra' (Cowell, p. 55). His mother is also said to be a princess of Kośala. Another Buddhistic account makes Triśālā the mother of Ajātaśatru. The Jains make the same lady the mother of Mahāvira. So out of these conflicting accounts no history can be built up. Moreover no authentic account can be had about the exact relationship between the Videhas and the Licchavis. From the scanty account that may be obtained from the Jaina and the Buddhistic works, it may be surmised that the Videhas and the Licchavis were united into one confederacy, but originally they were different people. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* Janaka is called a Vaideha. The origin of the word is found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Janaka was a pure Vedic Aryan prince. The non-Vedic form of Caitya worship, as found at ancient Vaiśālī during the life-time of the Buddha, could not find place in the capital of Janaka, the convener of that famous Vedic religious congress (*Vājasaneyā*, Chap. V).

The Buddha passed through Pāṭaligrāma just before his Supreme Enlightenment and saw a city being built there. His prediction regarding the future greatness of the city was fulfilled inasmuch as it subsequently became the capital of the Maurya empire (*Mps.*, I, 28). Viśvāmitra of the *Rāmāyaṇa* referred to above has mentioned Rājagṛha as the capital of Magadha and named many other cities around it. But he has omitted the name of Pāṭalīputra though he comes to the very spot where the city was afterwards built. The Licchavis in all probability had lost their political ascendancy before the construction of the city of Pāṭalīputra and had come under the sway of the neighbouring Kṣatriya chiefs of Kośala and Videha mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

There is some force in the contention that the Licchavis were not the same as the Videhas. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* makes the Videhas a thoroughly Aryan people. The story of Māthava, the

Videha king carrying Agni Vaiśvānara to the east of Sadānīrā as related therein, clearly proves how the Videhas got the right of performing Vedic sacrifices. It is for this that they have got such a prominent place both in the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature. The Licchavis have almost been ignored in the Brāhmaṇical literature probably because of their non-Aryan origin. Though subdued by Ajātaśatru, they were not totally exterminated. In later years, probably after the destruction of the Maurya Empire, they began to gather strength and rose to power before the ascendancy of the Imperial Guptas. Candragupta I married Kumārā Devī, a Licchavi princess, and the issue of that marriage, the illustrious Samudra Gupta, took pride in calling himself a *Licchavi Dauhitra*. The very word *Licchavayaḥ* inscribed on the reverse of the coin issued by the same monarch clearly proves that here the Licchavis only, and not any other tribe, is meant. In Jaina works, Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, has been called a Vaidehīputra. Ajātaśatru as referred to above has got the same designation. If these conflicting accounts have any historical value at all, it is this that they were connected with the Videha clan but not with the Licchavis who were a different people. Abhaya, the son of Bimbisāra by Ambapālī, a courtesan, was a *Licchavi dauhitra*. Ajātaśatru had a hatred for him and also for the Licchavis whose haughtiness he crushed and whose power he destroyed. After their defeat, they probably fled to the further north and established a kingdom in Nepal. In Sanskrit literature of the subsequent period Viśālā has been made the same as Videha. In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* Videha and Tīrabhukti have been made synonymous with each other. Tīrabhukti was a familiar name with the Hindu kings of Bengal in later times. It is now identified with modern Tirhoot. Viśālā is said to be the same as modern Besāḍ on the Gandak in the district of Muzaffarpur in the Tirhoot Division. Mithilā, the Videha capital, seems to be the same as Janakpur in the territory of the king of Nepal.

The *Mahāvastu* makes Mithilā the capital of Videha as distinct from Vaiśālī of the Licchavis (Senart, vol. I, p. 287). Much stress has been laid on the word *Vāsiṣṭha* which is a name applied to the Licchavis by the Buddha. It is said that the Kṣatriyas were sometimes addressed by the name of their priest and adopted their *gotra*

after his name. So the designation *Vāsiṣṭha* indicates that they were Kṣatriyas having the ascetic *Vasiṣṭha* as their priest. One ascetic *Vasiṣṭha* is said to have had his hermitage in the territory of the Mallas (Senart, vol. II, p. 164). *Sākyasiṃha* in introducing himself to the ascetic says that he belongs to *Ādityagotra*, but refrains from making any reference to his priest. *Ānanda* who was a cousin of *Siddhārtha* has been named as *Vaidehamuni* (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 49). The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* refers to the Mallas of *Kusināra* also as *Vāsetṭhas* (Tr. by Rhys Davids, p. 121). It will be going too far to surmise that all the hill-tribes had the ascetic *Vasiṣṭha* as their priest. It is difficult to draw any conclusion from these stray words so long as their full significance is not clear. The designation *Vāsiṣṭha* here may imply those who had regard for, or who were followers of, *Vasiṣṭha* (Pāṇini, 4, 3, 95) but not necessarily those who had *Vasiṣṭha* as their priest. The *Mahāvastu* omits the name of *Vaiśālī* in its enumeration of the places where a *Bodhisattva* may appear for attaining Buddhahood, and maintains that "the people who are religious and are worshippers of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sramaṇas* can expect to have him incarnate among them". The *Lalitā Vistara* regards *Vaiśālī* as a place unfit for the birth of a *Bodhisattva* inasmuch as "the *Licchavis* were not respectful to their elders, had no religious duty to perform, were not the disciples of any teacher, and had no faith in any religion." This seems to be one of the reasons why the *Mahāvastu* does not mention their name at all. Evidence is not wanting to show that they were hardy mountaineers, rough and insolent in their behaviour, having fondness for fine dress and luxury only. They appear to be same as the *Asuras* of the *Chāndogya* (9-7) who cared for good dress and external beauty only and not the next world or anything beyond this phenomenal existence. In Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (p. 62) it is stated that the people of *Vaiśālī* has a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second nor in the third and no marriage was to be contracted outside *Vaiśālī*. The rules restricting marriage clearly indicates that the *Licchavis* considered themselves different from other neighbouring tribes and tried to preserve the integrity of their race by regulating their marriage laws. Perhaps the *Brāhmanical* rules of marriage were not yet introduced among them. It

is difficult to trace the exact nature of the faith prevalent among them. In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* the Buddha is represented as visiting many *Cetiya*s at Vaiśālī. One of the *Caitya*s is meant according to Buddhaghosa for Yakṣa worship. The *Mahāvastu* speaks of several *Cetiya*s being made over to the Buddha by the Licchavis as the Lord by his supernatural power freed the Vajjian capital from epidemic diseases caused by the evil influence of the Yakṣas who lived in the Himalayas. The Yakṣas appear to be non-Aryan evil spirits. The *Kena Upaniṣad* represents a Yakṣa as a being having supernatural power, causing astonishment even to the gods. But he is said to be quite different from the Aryan Brahmā whom the gods worshipped in the form of Umā or Haimavatī. The *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Chap. 161, vs. 4, 5) makes Bhīmasena fight with the Yakṣas, the servants of Kuvera, guarding a lotus pond in the Himalayan region. The Vedic Aryan Kṣatriyas did not certainly worship the Yakṣas. It is probably owing to the absence of any religion based on philosophy and reason that Jainism and Buddhism found favour with the Licchavis so soon. It is said in the *Ācārāṅgasūtra* (Jacobi, *SBE.*) that the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva, and followers of the Śramaṇas. It is probable that Mahāvīra developed his own faith out of the religion that was prevalent among his kinsmen. The denial of God, death by fasting and other severe practices approved by him have no counter-part in the religion of the Vedic Aryans. The Jñātrikas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged was included in the Vajjian confederacy of Vaiśālī. The only conclusion which can reasonably be made from this is that these people occupying the region at the foot of the Himalayas were of non-Aryan birth, having their own religion and customs. They were afterwards aryanised and were dubbed as Kṣatriyas.

It is contended that the Licchavis were the Vṛātyas according to the code of Manu (X, 22). The compiler of the Law Book forgot the true tradition of the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* regarding the Vṛātyas and was influenced simply by the ideas of his own time. Vṛātya, according to the *Atharva Veda*, meant magnanimous, he was a favourite of the gods, a source of energy to the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas alike. He was moreover a superior god; wherever he went, the gods and the whole

world followed him.....He walked like a king. Among the Vṛātyas there were some who were virtuous and respected by all (Sāyaṇa on *Atharva Veda*, 15th Kāṇḍa). Moreover Vṛātya was the Supreme Being endowed with all the qualities of Brahmā (*Praśna Upaniṣad*, 2, 11). Śaṅkarācārya says that Brahmā is Vṛātya because like the latter he is above all purifying ceremonies. He is not in any way inferior to any being. This peculiar position of the Vṛātya is inexplicable. The *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* does not give him such an exalted position. When the gods went to heaven their followers were lowered for living in Vṛātya. Those who lived in Vṛātya became inferior as they did not practise the controlling of passions, neither cultivated land nor took to commerce. (*Tāṇḍya*, 17th Chap.). Here *Vṛātya* may indicate either a place allotted to a certain class of people or a certain condition of life. The Vṛātyas were divided into various ranks on account of their different customs. The *Vṛātyastoma* brought them all to the same rank. Kātyāyana in his *Śrautasūtra* makes mention of four kinds of *Vṛātyastoma* to be performed by the four classes of the Vṛātyas (22, 123). He also tells us how the converted Vṛātyas who entered the Brāhmaṇic fold, had to cut off all connection with their former life and to hand over their wealth to those of their companies who still followed the old mode of life thereby transferring to them their former impurities. The Vṛātyas, according to the same *Brāhmaṇa*, were the enemy of Brāhmaṇa priests, and forcibly took away food from them. In short, they did every thing contrary to Vedic customs. They were therefore unfit for Vedic sacrifices. They were never included in any of the Vedic castes. The institute of Manu gives the stamp of a Vṛātya to a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya unless he performed the initiation ceremony at a certain prescribed age. According to the *Manu*, the Mongolian hordes and the Bactrians, who held sway over northern India, were originally Kṣatriyas and became Vṛātyas or fallen for neglecting Vedic rites. In this way the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Cīnas and even the Kirātas were brought under the category of the Kṣatriyas. But they became *Vṛṣala* or fallen for ignoring Vedic customs and laws. When non-Aryan tribes began to pour in and obtained political ascendancy in Northern India, a new interpretation of the term *Vṛātya* was felt necessary. Vṛātya, who was a superior being in the *Veda*, became unfit for Vedic rites

in the *Brāhmaṇas*. But Kātyāyana, as mentioned before, gives him bows, arrows, dresses, chariots and other paraphernalia befitting a true Kṣatriya when he enters the Aryan fold after performing Vratyastoma. In this way he got the exalted position of a fighting race and was recognised as a Kṣatriya. After the death of Puṣyamitra, there was probably no paramount power in India for checking the inroads of the barbarian hordes through its northern gate. When they occupied different parts of Āryāvarta and obtained political power they could no longer be looked down upon as *Mlecchas* or 'impure' by the Vedic Aryans. So they were aryanised and made Kṣatriyas. The term *Kṣatriya* was applied to one who would protect people from danger. (*Raghu*, Canto II, 53). It was afterwards applied to any ruling race who had the capacity of protecting people from internal and external dangers. The term *Vratya* was probably applied to these ruling races, who, either by some Vedic ceremony or in course of time, when their true origin had been totally forgotten, came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas. The Licchavis were also Kṣatriyas in this sense. "They were a free wild set, very handsome and full of life. They dressed well, were good archers and drove fast carriages, but they were wanton, insolent and utterly irreligious". (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 79). This picture of the Licchavis tallies well with that of the Vratyas quoted above. The description of the Śākyas as left by Buddhist writers reminds one of a Kṣatriya race as depicted in the Sanskrit epics. But one will search in vain for such an idea of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. When the Law Book of Manu was compiled, probably in the second century B.C., their real origin was forgotten. They could not be designated Kṣatriyas as they did not observe Vedic rites and customs, nor could they be termed non-Aryans as they had considerable wealth and power. So they were termed as Vratyas i.e. Brahmins were ready to accept them provided they underwent some sort of penance. Time is a great leveller. So, these Licchavis, who were hardy mountaineers, came to be recognised as true Kṣatriyas and Samudra Gupta took pride in calling himself a '*Licchavi dauhitra*'.

There is another point for consideration. In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta it is stated that when the Buddha attained final emancipation, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī claimed a portion

of the remains of his sacred body. They sent a messenger to the Mallas of Kuśīnārā demanding a portion of the relics of the Exalted One as they belonged to the same Kṣatriya caste. On receiving the news of the demise of the Exalted one, Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, said: "The Lord is a Kṣatriya and so am I. I, therefore, deserve a share of the relics." In this way, six other independent tribes ruling over different principalities at the foot of the Himalayas claimed shares of the relics on the ground of being of the same caste with the Lord. It may be argued that because these tribes demanded relics of the Buddha claiming Kṣatriya origin for themselves, and because the king of Magadha even did exactly the same thing, they may all be regarded as Kṣatriyas.

Even the Kirātas, who were not allowed to live within the boundary of Aryan settlements during the time of Harṣavardhana (*Ratnāvalī*, Second Act, 3) were called Kṣatriyas in the code of Manu. Whatever may be the exact category to which these people belonged, it is at least clear that they were not of the same rank as the Kurus, the Pāṇcālas or the Videhas who possessed a high Vedic culture. The culture of the Upaniṣads received a great impetus at the hands of the Vedic Kṣatriyas whose long list can be found in the *Chāndogya* and other Upaniṣads. There is not a single Kṣatriya king like Janaka or Ajātaśatru of the Upaniṣads among the so-called Kṣatriya nobles who vied with one another for the remains of the Buddha's body. The Vedic Kṣatriyas were not famous for fine dresses or ornaments. A Licchavi noble claimed Kṣatriya origin on account of his wealth and power.

From the above it is apparent that the Licchavis were self-styled and not real Kṣatriyas. They were called so either through courtesy or on account of the fear they had inspired in the minds of their neighbours by their political ascendancy.

The Theory of Riti and Guṇa in the Agnipurāṇa

The author of the *Alaṃkāra* portion of the *Agnipurāṇa*¹ is the earliest of a class of writers² who stand apart from the orthodox and beaten paths of Sanskrit poetics but who acknowledge, both in form and matter, the inevitable influence³ of some of their predecessors belonging to one or other of the earlier schools of speculation.

His definition of *Kāvya*, *kāvyaṃ sphuradalaṃkāraṃ guṇavad doṣavarjitam* (337/7) uncritically mentions some of the established elements of poetry.⁴ The definition merely lays down that figures of speech (*Alaṃkāra*) must be conspicuously present in it, the poetic excellences (*Guṇas*) must be there but it must be free from the poetic flaws (*Doṣas*). The other elements, namely, *Dhvani*, *Rasa* and *Rīti* have not been mentioned in this definition of poetry, but the writer has treated of them elsewhere in his scheme. *Rasa* has been mentioned in connection with the *mahākāvya* (a special variety of poetry) as well as in reference to the drama. Although *Rasa* has been described as the life (*jīvita*) of a *Kāvya* (337/33), yet no prominence has been given to this element in the detailed treatment. On the contrary,

1 Our references are throughout to the edition of the *Agnipurāṇa* in the *Ānandāśrama* series, 1900.

2 Kuntaka, Bhoja and Prakāśavarṇa are the three other writers here referred to. *Rasārṇavālaṃkāra*, a work of the last named writer, was published (in vol. V. no. 1 of the *IHQ.*) by Pandit V. Venkatarama Śarma. Its value and the question of its affiliation were discussed by S. K. De in *IHQ.*, vol. V, no. 4 p. 770.

3 For similarities between the treatments of Bhāmaha and the *Agnipurāṇa* see P. V. Kane's *History of the Alaṃkāra Literature*; for *Agnipurāṇa* and Bhoja, see S. K. De's *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. II, p. 262, and *JRAS.*, 1923, pp. 537f.

4 Bhoja (i,2) and the older Vāgbhaṭa (i,2) are influenced by the *Agnipurāṇa* on this point: the former adding *Rasa* and the latter mentioning also *Rīti* in their respective definitions. It is also remarkable that the post-Dhvani writers Mammaṭa and Hemacandra name exactly the three elements mentioned in the *Purāṇa*'s definition although the conception of poetry of these later writers had undergone a thorough change by the teachings of the Dhvani school.

it has been very cursorily treated as an external element of Kāvya. Similarly the Rīti has been once mentioned along with Vṛtti, Pravṛtti, Bhāva, Rasa and Guṇa in connection with Mahākāvya (337/31-32), and has again been treated in fuller detail in connection with the drama (Ch. 340) where the Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravṛtti constitute special cases of Anubhāva. We know that Bharata's Guṇas, Doṣas and Alamkāras constitute Vācīkābhīnaya or Anubhāva which calls forth Rasa. The Purāṇa follows the same process in the treatment of the Rītis, the Vṛttis and the Pravṛttis: but accepted though they are as Anubhāvas⁵ they do not yet constitute Vācīkābhīnaya as they do in the treatment of Bharata. They stand for Āhārya Abhinaya (342/2) which has been defined as *buddhyārambha* or intellectual effort which helps the comprehension of the art of dramatic speech (*Vācoyukti* = *Vāgārambha*, 339/51). The expression *Vāgvidyāsampratiññāne* (in the matter of understanding the art of speech 340/1) is a more direct evidence justifying our interpretation that the Rītis etc. help the proper understanding⁶ of *Ālāpa Pralāpa* etc. (339/51-53), which are special cases of *Vāgārambha* (339/49) or *Vāgvidyā* (340/1) or the art of dramatic speech.

5 The Anubhāva has been generally defined as *manovāg-buddhivapuṣaṁ ārambhaḥ* (339/44-45) implying (i) external manifestations due to peculiar mental action (*Mana ārambha* 339/46) (ii) mode of dramatic speech (*Vācoyukti*—*Vāgārambha* 339/51) (iii) intellectual effort giving rise to the striking mode of dramatic speech (*buddhyārambha* 339/54) and (iv) physical movements of the actor (*vapurārambha* 341/1), which represent respectively (i) the *Sāttvika* (ii) the *Vācika* (iii) the *Āhārya* and (iv) the *Āṅgika Abhinayas* (342/2). The *Āhārya Abhinaya* of the Purāṇa should be distinguished from that of Bharata where it has been explained as the rule of decoration (*nepathyaśjo vidhih*). The interpretation given in the Purāṇa (342/2) is not permitted by the etymology of the word *āhārya*.

6 The reading in the first two lines of verse 54 (ch. 339) seems to be corrupt. Maintaining the reading, it is difficult to connect the word *bodhāya* with *vāgārambha* (verse 49) with which it should bear, from the context, clear relationship. Should the reading be *eṣāṁ bodhāya vyāpāro buddhyārambha itiśyate*, so that *eṣāṁ* may refer to the different varieties *ālāpa* etc. of *buddhyārambha*? This reading appears to be in conformity with what the author has said in 339/44-45 and 342/2.

But while the Purāṇakāra's Rīti, Vṛtti and Pravṛtti all ultimately go to constitute the Anubhāva, the writer, unlike, Bharata, is not explicit upon the point whether these call forth Rasa. Of course the manner and context⁷, in which the treatment of Vibhāvas and Anubhāvas has been brought in, apparently show that these are factors in the realisation of Rasa. But the Purāṇakāra does not explain the process of this realisation, nor does he clearly discuss the relation between the Rītis and Rasa.

The Rīti here has no relation with the Guṇa which has been treated afterwards as an absolute entity. The Rītis constitute such poetic factors as help the proper understanding of *Vāgārambha* or mode of dramatic speech which must be differentiated from the mode of poetic speech (*girāṃ mārṅa*) of Daṇḍin. But this theoretic distinction is more apparent than real; for the fundamentals of poetry and of the drama have not been very sharply kept apart. The Rasas as well as the Rītis appear to have been equally associated with poetry and drama. And as a matter of fact, all the elements, namely, Vṛtti, Pravṛtti, Bhāva, Rīti, Guṇa and Rasa, have been mentioned as belonging to Mahākāvya also (337/31-32). Moreover, the treatment of Alamkāras which have been defined as *Kāvyaśobhākara dharmāḥ* (342/17) commences at the middle of a chapter that deals with dramatic representation (*Abhinaya*) etc. All this tends to show that the Purāṇakāra did not observe a theoretical distinction between the fundamentals of poetry and drama—the characteristics of both having been dealt in a more or less confused and uncritical way without any sharp line of demarcation. This lack of consistency was perhaps due to a merely eclectic and uncritical attempt to make a compilation of previous speculations, both orthodox and unorthodox.

The Purāṇa mentions four Rītis, namely, Pāñcālī, Gauḍī, Vaidarbhī and Lāṭī, the last being added to Vāmana's enumeration of three Rītis. The use of expressions like *gauḍadeśīyā* and *lāṭajā* (340/1) clearly indicates that the writer, like Vāmana, held the same view, namely, that the names of Rītis were derived from the names

7 In 339/35 it has been remarked that poets should deal with Rasas and Bhāvas in poetry, and immediately after that, the Vibhāvas and Anubhāvas have been defined and discussed in detail.

of the countries in which they were specially favoured. We have already seen that the Rītis in the Purāṇa have not been distinguished from one another by the presence or absence of certain poetic excellences (*Guṇas*): but they have been classified according to (1) the absence or presence in varying degrees of compound words⁸, (2) the exuberance or paucity of metaphorical expressions and (3) variations in the degrees of softness, if present. Thus the Pāñcālī must be soft in diction (*mṛdvī*), endowed with metaphorical expressions (*upacāra-yutā*) and must contain short compounds (*hrasva-vigrahā*). The Gauḍiyā, on the other hand, contains long compounds (*dīrghavigrahā*) and is of uncertain import (*anavasthita-sandarbhā*).⁹ The Vaidarbhī must be absolutely free from compound words (*muktavigrahā*) and the composition should not be too soft (*nātikomala-sandarbhā*); it should usually be devoid of metaphorical expressions and even when these are present

8 Rudraṭa is the first writer to bring in the consideration of compound words in connection with the Rīti. He mentions four Rītis of which Vaidarbhī does not contain compounds, while varying degrees of compound words are found in Pāñcālī, Lāṭiyā and Gauḍiyā. It is to be noted that Rudraṭa makes no mention of the *Guṇas*.

9 Literally 'where the composition is of an unsettled nature' it may also mean 'where a regular connection is lacking.' It is not fully clear what expressions like *anavasthitasandarbhā* or *sphuṭa-sandarbhā* really mean or what this uncertainty or clarity is due to. The uncertainty may be the effect of either playing upon words in the form of intonation, pun or paranomasia or, if strictly applied to the drama, it may be due to what we call 'dramatic irony' where the poet aims at presenting some fact beyond what is actually understood from the words used by the speaker. Here the *sandarbhā* (composition or speech) is *anavasthita* (unsettled or uncertain) because it produces one effect upon the person spoken to and another upon the audience. But the difficulty of explaining the expression, as referring to dramatic irony, is that this latter is not limited to any particular Rīti, e.g. Gauḍī (and for the matter of that to any mode of dramatic speech), as belonging to a particular country, but it is a special case of dramatic technique which may occur in any drama of any country. If, on the other hand, these expressions (*anavasthita-sandarbhā* and *sphuṭa-sandarbhā*) are explained in connection with poetry in general, the latter expression may bring in the idea of a clarity of sense, such as is involved in Daṇḍin's *Prasāda* and *Arthavyakti* *Guṇas*, while the former may stand for the reverse of that. But, then, should clarity of sense be present only in Lāṭī and in no other Rīti? And why should Gauḍiyā be marked by a veritable defect?

there must not be too many of them.¹⁰ And lastly, in Lāṭīyā the compound words must not shine too prominently (*nāti-visphuravigrahā*), and the composition should be clear and easily understandable (*spṛuṭa sandarbhā*) and there should be a long series of metaphorical expressions.¹¹

As of Rītis so of the Vṛttis the Purāṇa gives no general definition, but the characteristic feature of the Vṛtti has been described as *Kriyāsaviṣamā* (keeping in strict accordance with the action of the drama).¹² No sharp distinction has been drawn between the Rīti and the Vṛtti. It is curious that the term Rīti has been used in connection with the Bhārati which has been mentioned as a variety of Vṛtti. It is all the more amazing that not a word has been employed to define, describe or explain Pravṛtti, which has been mentioned as a division of *buddhyārambha* like Rīti and Vṛtti in 339/54.

Judging the Purāṇa's Rītis as they are, it would appear that they are not themselves the intellectual efforts (*buddhyārambha*) of the actor, but their inclusion under the *buddhyārambha* variety of Anubhāva may be justified in the sense that they are the external manifestations of the intellectual skill of the writer. One who is versed in these may understand the art of the dramatic speech, since, the function of the Rītis has been explicitly mentioned as helping the understanding of that art (*vāg-vidyā-sampratijñāne*). Now, although the Rītis here stand somewhat like means to an end, yet it is probably implied that dramatic speech itself is restricted to some or all of these Rītis: in other words, the different varieties of dramatic speech (*vāgārambha*), like *ālāpa*, *pralāpa* etc., find their expressions in short or long compounds, soft or hard syllables and metaphorical expressions which form the basis of the Rītis. If one, with a knowledge of the Rītis which consist of nothing

10 The reading appears to be corrupt. Our interpretation has been based upon taking the first *upacāraih* as *upacārair lakṣitā*.

11 The reading is a little obscure. Retaining it as it is, it would mean 'having once been free from metaphors the composition is again marked by too many of them.' It is even difficult to suggest a better reading in the absence of the treatment of any other writer following the Purāṇa's teachings regarding the Rītis.

12 It appears that the Rīti depends for its effect on words and the Vṛtti on action.

but the absence or presence of compound words and metaphorical expressions, is entitled to the proper understanding of the dramatic speech, the only conclusion possible is that the Rītis form a part and parcel of the different varieties of dramatic speech, even if they are not identical with them. In brief, the Rītis, as treated in the *Agnipurāṇa*, may be taken to mean the particular mode of diction in which the dramatic characters speak. But the Purāṇakāra's treatment of the Rītis, along with Vṛttis and Pravṛttis in connection with the drama, stands unique in the history of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy, and in spite of explaining them in connection with drama, their application in poetry in general can hardly be objected to.

As for the classification of the Vṛttis, he follows partly the principle in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Ch. XX, Kāvyamālā Text) with this difference that the Vṛttis here have not been assigned to any particular Rasa. Bharata, and following him other writers of dramaturgy, assign the *Kauśikī Vṛtti* to Śṛṅgāra, Hāsyā and Karuṇa. The Purāṇa's description of Vṛttis as *Kriyāsaviṣama* (or *Kriyāsu niyamaḥ* = that which guides the action of the drama) appears to imply that they depend for their effect upon the action of the drama, and not upon the words or style thereof, and it is here that the Vṛttis are distinguished from the Rītis. Thus the Purāṇa's loose use of the term Rīti in connection with the Bhārati may somehow be justified on the ground that, unlike the other Vṛttis, this particular Vṛtti depends for its effect mainly on words (*vāk-pradhānā*) and not on action.

Coming to the Guṇas, the Purāṇakāra remarks at the very outset that poetry, without Guṇas cannot be charming, even if it is endowed with Alaṃkāras (346/1), a remark which would lead the reader for a moment to believe that the writer apparently assigns a more important place to the Guṇas than to the Alaṃkāras like his predecessors of the Rīti school. But his definition of *Guṇa* as 'that which imparts a great charm to poetry (*yaḥ kāvyē mahatīm chāyāṃ anugṛhṇāti*) is not fundamentally different from that of *Alaṃkāra* as 'attributes that beautify poetry' (*kāvya-śobhākarā dharmāḥ*). The latter definition is borrowed *verbatim* from Daṇḍin, but taking the two definitions together it is not clear whether the Guṇas constitute a more important element than the Alaṃkāras in the treatment of the Purāṇakāra. As regards this dis-

inction between the Guṇa and the Alaṃkāra, the Purāṇakāra does not seem to have availed himself of the more clear-cut treatment of Vāmana and Daṇḍin. As a matter of fact the fundamental distinction between Guṇas and Alaṃkāras is not at all apparent in his treatment, and he has incorporated in some of his Alaṃkāras, such characteristics as have been associated with Guṇas by other writers.¹³

The relation between Guṇas and Doṣas in the Purāṇa appear to be the same as what is found in the treatment of other writers. The Doṣa has been described as *udvega-janako doṣaḥ sabhyānām* i.e. Doṣa creates a sense of aversion in the readers,—which is evidently the result of its destroying the poetic effect which the Guṇa serves to heighten. Thus the Purāṇakāra's position is not at all different from that of Vāmana, in whose opinion the Doṣas bear characteristics opposite to those of the Guṇas and *vice versa*. If so, it may be argued that there is no necessity of mentioning the Guṇas separately meaning thereby that the Guṇas should be understood by implication from the Doṣas.* To this the Purāṇakāra replies that Guṇas like Śleṣa, and Doṣas like Gūḍhārtha have been clearly distinguished (*guṇāḥ śleṣādayo doṣā gūḍhārthādyāḥ prthak-kṛtāḥ* 46/2), by which he perhaps suggests that it is not to be understood that Śleṣa and such other Guṇas are always the exact opposites of Doṣas like Gūḍhārtha etc., but that the Guṇas as a class ought to be distinguished from the Doṣas as such. The distinction consists in this that the effect of the one upon poetry and consequently upon the reader will be quite opposite to that of the other. The simple fact deducible therefrom will be that the Guṇas adorn poetry and please the reader, while the Doṣas mar the poetic effect and produce, a sense of aversion

13 He borrows the definition of Daṇḍin's Samādhiguṇa word for word, but treats it in connection with Lakṣaṇā which comes in the process of dealing with Abhivyakti as one of the *śabdārthālaṃkāras*. Daṇḍin's Samādhī 'is a mode of poetic transference resting finally on Lakṣaṇā.' But Lakṣaṇā itself is treated by the Post-dhvani writers like Mammaṭa neither under the Guṇas nor under the Alaṃkāras, but separately as a particular mode of comprehension of the meanings of words and expressions.

* *na ca vācyaṃ guṇo doṣābhāva eva bhaviṣyati/
guṇāḥ śleṣādayo doṣā gūḍhārthādyāḥ prthak kṛtāḥ //*

The reading in the printed text is evidently corrupt.

in the reader's mind. It seems, therefore, that the Purāṇakāra's view is exactly on a par with that of all earlier theorists.

The Purāṇakāra's classification of the Guṇas is somewhat remarkable. Neither Bharata nor Daṇḍin gave us any classification of the Guṇas. It was Vāmana who for the first time classified each of the Guṇas in two-fold aspect, according as it belonged to the word or to the sense, thus doubling the number of the traditional Guṇas. But the Purāṇakāra deviates from that traditional number and nomenclature, and in addition to Vāmana's classification he, for the first time, evolves a third set of Guṇas belonging to the word as well as to the sense. Some later writers also, like Bhoja and Prakāśavarṣa, enumerate three sets of Guṇas, but they differ from the Purāṇakāra's classification in this that the third set which they enumerate is not restricted to those Guṇas that belong both to the word and to the sense, but it deals with Doṣas which have ceased to be such on account of their not marring the poetic effect. It is remarkable that even in the treatment of this third set of Guṇas, these later writers are influenced by the Purāṇakāra and partially by Daṇḍin, who towards the end of their chapters on Doṣas deal with a class of Doṣas which is not considered as destroying the effects of poetry under particular circumstances. The Purāṇakāra classifies the Guṇas first under two heads, viz., Sāmānya and Vaiśeṣika. The Sāmānya has further been classified into (1) *śabdaguṇa* (2) *arthaguṇa* and (3) *ubhaya-guṇa* (that belongs to Śabda and Artha). The Śabda Guṇas are seven in number viz: Śleṣa, Lālitya, Gāmbhīrya, Saukumārya, Udārātā, Satī and Yaugikī. Of these, the last two are not found in the list of definitions, but they are replaced by Ojas, thus making the total number of Śabda-guṇas really six.

I. Śleṣa It is defined to be a particular arrangement of words which produces a coalescence or cohesiveness in the structure (*Suśliṣṭa-sanniveśatvaṃ śabdānām*). Although it has not been made clear what this cohesiveness is due to, yet it may be generally assumed that this Guṇa of the Purāṇa incorporates in it characteristics of Vāmana's Śabda-guṇa Ojas which again appears to correspond partly to Daṇḍin's Śleṣa.

II. Lālitya. It is said to exist where the letters are already com-

bined in the words by grammatical *guṇa*, *ādeśa* etc., and there is hardly any necessity of further euphonic combinations.¹⁴

III. *Gāmbhīrya*. It is characterised as existing in that composition in which the words are high-sounding or bombastic (*uttānaśabdaka*) and the subject to be described (*lekhya*) is possessed of a distinctive peculiarity (*viśiṣṭa-lakṣaṇollekha*).

IV. *Sukumāratā*. It consists in word composed mostly of unharsh syllables. It ought to be noted that this definition bears proof of the Purāṇakāra's close borrowing from Daṇḍin, and therefore it may be explained in the light of the latter's *Guṇa* of the same name.

V. *Audārya*. It consists of exaltedness of expressions by means of praiseworthy epithets. This corresponds to Daṇḍin's second *Udāra*.

VI. *Ojas*. It consists in the superabundance of compound words, and it forms the life-breath of metrical and other compositions. As in some of the previous instances, the definition of this *Guṇa* is not the Purāṇakāra's own but derived from Daṇḍin.¹⁵

The Arthaguṇas are enumerated as six in number, and they have been thus classified :

I. *Mādhurya*. It consists in maintaining tranquil forbearance and calmness of appearance under the influence of anger and malice.¹⁶

14 It is not known what the author really means. If the changes due to the grammatical *guṇa ādeśa* etc. be accepted, it is difficult to see why rules of euphonic combinations, if applicable, should be debarred from being used. Does this *Guṇa* bear any idea of the negation of *Kaṣṭatva Doṣa* (347-10) which consists in inconvenience of pronunciation due, for instance to bad *sandhi*? In that case *Lālitya* would exist in compositions where *sandhi* is permissible only where it is absolutely necessary. (e.g. where the syllables combine into a single word or where the combination takes place between the root and its prefix). Or where, it, being optional, does not give rise to the *Kaṣṭatva doṣa*. It would appear, therefore, that in the *Uttaracarita*, VI/19, *Vīro rasaḥ kimayam aityuta darpa eva*, the *Sandhi* in *aiti* (*ā-eti*) is absolutely necessary, but the word structure is such as to create a difficulty in utterance if *aiti* is further combined with *uta*.

15 For *padyādi* an alternative reading *gadyādi* has been suggested in the foot-note to the Anandāśrāma edition of the *Purāṇa*.

16 The construction of the verse (*krodherśyākāra-gāmbhīryaṃ mādhuryaṃ dhairyagādhitā*) is peculiar. The seventh case-ending appears to have been dropped

II. Samvidhāna. It exists where there is effort (*parikaraḥ*) to gain a wished-for object (*apekṣita-siddhaye*).

III. Komalatā. It is characterised as a special arrangement of words (*sanniveśaviśiṣṭatā*) which is free from harshness and inelegance (*kāthinyādi-nirmukta*) and which does not at the same time give rise to laxity (*tiraskṛtyaiva mṛdutā(m) bhāti*). It is difficult to see what this definition exactly means. As it is, it appears to stand midway between the two extreme structures of composition, harsh and loose.

IV. Udāratā. It exists where the exact inner significance (*āsūyasyāti-sauṣṭhavam*) is very easily comprehended (literally, falls to one's comprehension at even a superficial attempt = *lakṣyate sthūla-lakṣatva-pravṛtteḥ*).¹⁷

V. Praudhi. It is said to consist in mature logical reasonings (*praudhā yuktayo hetugarbhinyah*) that help the completion (*nirvāhasyopapādikāḥ*) of the subject of discourse.¹⁸

VI. Sāmayikatva. It consists in the comprehension of the meanings of matters in hand and those independent of it by means of establishing a relationship between them, either internally or externally.

The Ubhayaguṇa again has been classified under six different heads as follows:

I. Prasāda. It consists in the use of words of which the meanings are too well-known (*suprasiddhārtha-padatā*).

II. Saubhāgya. It implies, like Daṇḍin's Udāratā, an elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit (*utkarṣavān guṇaḥ kaścit*). It is evident that in his attempt to follow Daṇḍin's definition, our author has lost all sense of consistency; and the mention of *udāratā* in

between *krodherṣyā* and *ākāra-gāmbhīrya*. Bhoja, in his definition of Arthamādhurya appears to make the construction clear (*krodhādāu apy atīvratā* p. 64, Kāvya-mālā Text.)

17 Panchanan Tarkaratna (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta) rightly reads *lakṣyatva*.

18 The reading *pratihatam* is corrupt. Panchanan Tarkaratna (*op. cit.*) reads *abhiprāyaṃ prati yataḥ*, which appears to be preferable.

this connection raises a doubt whether this Guṇa is to be named Saubhāgya or we are to understand that the Guṇa Udāratā has a three-fold characteristic according as it belongs to the *śabda*, to the *artha* or to both.

III. Yathāsaṃkhyā. It is the extended and universal (*sāmānya*) application (*atideśa*) of an undefined statement (*anuddeśa*).

IV. Prāśastya. It consists in describing in appropriate time even horrible objects in unharsh (i.e., agreeable) words and expressions. It may partially approximate to Vāmana's Arthaguṇa Saukumārya, where inauspicious statements like *mṛtam* are avoided by the use of some agreeable expressions like *yaśaḥśeṣam gatam* etc.

V. Pāka.¹⁹ Maturity which implies the highest stage of perfection of a poetic composition. It has got four distinct varieties of which two only, viz., *mṛdvikā-pāka* and *nārikelapāka* have been mentioned or defined. The *mṛdvikā-pāka* is said to exist where a particular composition is sweet both at the beginning and at the end.

VI. Rāga.²⁰ It is a particular quality used with a view to attain (the beauty of) poetry.

From the above it will be evident that the author's treatment of the Guṇas, as of all other poetic elements, is rather vague, unsystematic, eclectic and uncritical. It is really a matter of surprise that in spite of having before him such developed schemes of Guṇa and Rīti as enunciated by the adherents of the Rīti school, he did not avail himself pro-

19 The naturally vague and unsystematic treatment of the author makes it difficult to grasp what this maturity is due to. He includes Pāka under the Guṇas, but Rājaśekhara, who has given a very interesting history of the earlier views on Pāka, means by it *sauśabdyā* or general excellence of language; and in one of the views that he cites the scope of Pāka is given as very wide, inasmuch as it forms the basis on which the different poetic elements like Guṇa, Alaṃkāra and Rīti as well as the process of the exact choice of words according to their sense (*śabdārtha-grathana-krama*) stand. For a connected history of Pāka the reader is referred to *Sanskrit Poetics* (vol. II, p. 300), where its author has given a brief treatment of this poetic factor.

20 This definition is extremely vague. This is the characteristic of all the different elements of poetry. Broad characteristics are attributed to the general terms like Guṇas and Alaṃkāras but the individual Guṇa ought to show in what particular way it helps to accomplish poetical objects.

perly of their system, nor did he attempt to improve upon them. Should we understand with some scholars that the *Agnipurāṇa* was the first treatise to supply crude materials to the writers of the different schools of *Alaṃkāra Śāstra*, each of whom might have developed his own system in his own way? But his lavish borrowings, either in letter or in spirit, in a regularly unsystematic way from all the earlier works on poetics and dramaturgy exclude that possibility. A work which is claimed as the source of an important branch of knowledge should possess an individual tone and a system of its own, however crude and undeveloped its treatment and ideas might be; and it is impossible to believe that such a store-house of heterogenous and conflicting views could have formed the starting point of a technical *Śāstra*.

The classification of the *Guṇas*, again, in this work is somewhat vague. For instance, the work has not clearly explained the distinction between the *Sāmānya* and *Vaiśeṣika*²¹ sets of *Guṇas*. The definitions that have been given of individual *Guṇas* do not give us any light, but leave the reader to judge for himself the differentia of these two sets of *Guṇas*. The *Sāmānya* *guṇa* has been defined as *sarvasādhārāṇibhūtaḥ* (that which belongs to all), implying perhaps that the different varieties of *Sāmānya* *Guṇa* e.g. *śabda-gata*, *artha-gata* and *ubhaya-gata*, which are being characterised here, may be practised by all classes of writers. But with regard to the *Vaiśeṣika* *Guṇa* the author has got nothing to say except giving a general definition which runs as *vaiśeṣikaḥ pariṇēyo yaḥ svalakṣaṇa-gocaraḥ*. It probably means that these excellences are based upon the particular (*viśeṣa*) characteristic of an individual author, and must be defined in terms of his own peculiar ideas (*sva-lakṣaṇa-gocaraḥ*); for what lies in the power of a particular individual cannot be brought under the scope of hard-and-fast rules.

21 The terms *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa* he uses also in connection with the drama (338/4-5). The *Sāmānya* embraces all the general characteristics of a drama, viz. *Rasa* with all its accessories, *Abhinaya*, *Anka* etc., which are found scattered all over the drama (*sāmānyaṃ sarva-viśayam . . . sarvatraivopasarpaṇāt* 338/5-6); while *viśeṣa* appears to be applied in connection with the *Nāndi*, the *Arthapra-kṛtis* (like *bīja*, *vinḍu* etc.), which occupy any specific part of the drama.

Amongst the Guṇas enumerated and defined by the Purāṇakāra, we have seen that some follow closely the treatment of either Daṇḍin or Vāmana, and as such they have to be interpreted in the light of their treatment; while the rest of the Guṇas must either have been borrowed from sources unknown to us, or characterised by the author himself. Even if the latter be taken to be his original contribution, the isolated borrowings in which he has evidently lost the spirit of the earlier sources make his position still worse. If he has borrowed, he has done it uncritically; if he has at all made original contributions he has proved a failure. Most of the definitions are unintelligible; they leave the reader to guess what they mean. No illustrations have been given to help the reader in understanding their characteristics. The character of the Artha-guṇas have not been distinctly kept apart from that of the Śabda-guṇas or of the ubhaya-guṇas. Thus the question of arrangement (of words or letters) has crept even into the treatment of Artha-guṇas. Two of his Śabda-guṇas, namely Satī and Yaugikī, are given only in name; they have been neither defined nor characterised. Ojas has stealthily crept into the definitions of the Śabda-guṇas, although it is not mentioned in the general list of enumeration of the Guṇas. Nothing more need be added to prove that if the author is systematic in anything it is in inconsistency. To explain this inconsistency we have only to admit that the Alampkāra section in the *Agnipurāṇa* "is chiefly a compilation by a writer who was himself no theorist, but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular orthodox school", for no truer statement appears to have been ever made in connexion with this work.

PRAKAS CHANDRA LAHIRI

* I must acknowledge my deep obligations to my Professor Dr. S. K. De who guided these investigations and very kindly looked over the first as well as the final draft of this article.

The Purānic Traditions

(about earlier homes and migrations of the Indian Āryas)

The Indians of today have been ethnically divided into seven main physical types,¹ viz. I. the Turko-Irānian (represented by the Baloch, Brāhūi and Afghans of Baluchistan and N.W.F. Province); II. the Indo-Aryan (occupying the Punjab, Rajputana and Kāśmīr and having as its characteristic members the Rajputs, Khattris and Jats : ; III. the Scytho-Dravidian (comprising the Marāthā Brāhmans, the Kunbis and the Coorgs of Western India); IV. the Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustānī (found in the U.P., in parts of Rajputana and in Bihar); V. the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type (of Lower Bengal and Orissa²); VI. the Mongoloid type (of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam and Burma); and VII. the Dravidian type (extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chotanagpur). Of these seven types the Dravidian alone is taken to be indigenous, or at least to be the earliest inhabitants of India. The Indo-Aryan, the Mongoloid and the Turko-Irānian types are considered as of foreign origin. The Aryo-Dravidian, the Mongolo-Dravidian and the Scytho-Dravidian are composite types formed by crossing with the Dravidians. "The dominant influence in the formation of these types was the physical seclusion of India, involving the consequence that the various invaders brought few women with them and took the women of the country to wife. To this rule the first wave of Indo-Aryan formed the sole exception."³ This theory supposes that "the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans came into India from the north-west" and that "after the first swarm of Indo-Aryans had occupied the Punjab, a second wave of Aryan speaking people, the remote ancestors

1 See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, I, pp. 283-348.

2 If "remarkable aptitude for clerical pursuits" is the distinguishing index of this "most distinctive type" (cf. *ibid.*, p. 294), then "the bulk of the population of Orissa" can hardly be said to come under the category of the Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 347-48.

of the Aryo-Dravidians of to-day, impelled by some ethnic upheaval, or driven forward by the change of climate in Central Asia, made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna, the sacred Middle land (*Madhyadeśa*) of post-Vedic tradition".⁴ This theory precludes the possibility of any friendly or peaceful migrations, and postulates not only one invasion from the North-West but even a double invasion and holds that "the inhabitants of the Midland represents the latest stage of Indo-Aryan immigration"⁵ and that "the latest invaders probably entered the Punjab like a wedge into the heart of the country already occupied by the first immigrants forcing the latter outwards in three directions to the East, to the South and to the West."⁶

Side by side with this ethnological division there is the linguistic division.⁷ The modern vernaculars of India have been broadly divided into three groups, viz. 1. Indo-Aryan vernaculars, 2. Dravidian languages and 3. the Muṇḍā languages. The Indo-Aryan vernaculars⁸ consist of (A) language of the Midland (Western Hindī); (B) Intermediate languages (Rājasthānī, the Pāhārī languages, Gujarātī, Punjābī and Eastern Hindī); (C) Outer languages (I. North Western group,—Kāśmirī, Kohistānī, Lahṛdā and Sindhī; II. Southern language—Marātī; and III. Eastern group—Bihārī, Oriyā, Bengali and Assamese). The Dravidian languages have been divided into four groups viz. (1) Drāviḍa group consisting of Tamiḷ, Malayāḷam, Kanares, Kodagu, Tulu, Toda, Kota, Kurukh and Malto; (2) Intermediate languages—Gond etc.; (3) Andhra group consisting of Telugu, Kandh and Kolāmi, and (4) Brāhūī language. The Muṇḍā languages, which consist of Kerwārī, Kūrkū, Kharijā Juāng, Savara and Godabea, "are among⁹ those which have been the longest spoken in India and may with great probability, claim to be aboriginal". "The principal¹⁰ home of the Muṇḍā languages is Chotanagpur; speakers are further found in the adjoining districts of Bengal, Orissa, Madras and the Central Pro-

4 *Imp. Gaz. of I.*, 1909, I,

6 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 364.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 383.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 349-401.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 382.

vinces with an outlying colony far to the west of Mahadeo hills, north of Berar."

The theory of Aryan entry into India in two streams from the North-West has been characterised by Pargiter as 'improbable in itself', and 'wholly'¹¹ unnecessary according to the tradition'. He however¹² identifies (1) the Aryans with the Purāṇic Aīlas or Kṣattriyas of the lunar race, (2) the Dravidians with the Mānava or solar race Kṣattriyas, and (3) the Saudyumna stock (Utkalas, Gayas etc.) with the Muṇḍā race, and its branch the Monkhmer folk in the East. In his opinion¹³ "tradition or myth thus directly indicates that the Aīlas (or Aryans) entered India from the Mid-Himalayan region". "They (mythical tales)¹⁴ certainly suggest that Purūravas's origin was in that north region, and this agrees with and explains the fact that that region, the countries in and beyond the middle of the Himalayas, has always been the sacred land of the Indians".

One may however regretfully differ from this eminent scholar in these identifications and assertions. True it is that the region—countries in and beyond the middle of the Himalayas—has always been of ancient sacred memories, but it is not at all so on account of its early association with Ilā or earlier Aīlas who were comparatively of later origin and were less important personalities from the religious point of view. The region is held in high esteem¹⁵ owing to its very old association with the Hindu Triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and also with other high gods and holy sages. Badarikāśrama,¹⁶ the place of Eternal Brahmā, contains the sacred hermitage of Nara, and Nārāyaṇa, the prophet-representative¹⁷ of Nārāyaṇa of the Arctic region (or of Viṣṇu of Mid-Siberia) who first introduced¹⁸ into India, the Viṣṇu cult of the North, the Bhāgavata dharma, Pitr worship in the

11 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 296-97.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 299.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

15 *Mbh.*, Udy., III, Śānti, 192, 8-25.

16 *Ibid.*, III, 4.

17 Cf. *Mbh.*, Śānti, 334, 8-12, 28-34; 335, 2-15; 336, 19-60; 338-340; 343-346; 348.

18 Cf. *Mbh.*, Śānti, 334, 8-12, 28-34; 335, 2-15; 336, 19-60; 338-340; 343-346, 348.

tarpaṇa form and many other important religious rites. The Mount Kailāsa is the permanent favourite abode of Śiva and Pārvatī, the place of Kuvera, the lord over the Yakṣas and Gandharvas.¹⁹ The mid-Himalayan region is the birth-place of Umā and of the sacred²⁰ river Gaṅgā and has been sanctified by the severe austerities of holy sages. Just on its Northern border lies the much coveted Paraloka,²¹ the earthly Paradise, the land of Bliss and Peace, where only the good and virtuous people dwell, and beyond it lie the most sacred Brahmaloḥa and other Loka (see below). It is for all such reasons that the North was considered²² in ancient Indiā as 'the best (direction) in all respects' where man 'gets free from sin and attains *Mukti* (salvation)'.

The earlier association of the Āilas with the countries beyond the middle of the Himalayas—Ilā's final settlement in the Ilāvṛta country, Purūravas's special attachment to the Gandharva and trans-Himalayan countries, Nahuṣa's officiating appointment to the post of the Indra and his final²³ expulsion, his brother Rāji's supremacy over the Indra, his sons' forcible²⁴ occupation of the Deva countries and the manner of their final destruction—all these clearly suggest the expansion and outflow of the Āilas through the North into the countries beyond and not *vice versa*.

Besides, the Āilas themselves have been described from the very beginning as a cross race of mixed origin. Ilā's consort Buddha was the illegitimate son of Soma, the emperor over the Brāhmaṇas²⁵ of the North, by Tārā, an abducted lady of the Āṅgiras clan. Ilā herself was of doubtful origin (see below). There was no formal or regular marriage between her and Buddha, and the caste of their offspring, Purūravā, was determined as Kṣattriya²⁶ by his *karma*, duty or conduct. Pargiter does not say whether the Āryans were a cross race. From the Purāṇic descrip-

19 *Mbh.*, Udy., III, 5-6, 11. 20.

20 *Ibid.*, 8-9. 17.

21 *Mbh.*, Sānti, 192, 8-25.

22 *Mbh.*, Udy., III, 27, 1, Cf. Sānti, 192, 21-22.

23 Cf. *Mbh.*, Van., 181, 30-43, Ādi., 75, 26-29 & Sānti, 342, 44-51. Udy., 11-17.

24 *Vā.*, 92, 75-99; *Br.*, 11, 3-26; *Hvś.*, I 28. *Mt.* 24, 35-49. *Bhg.*, IX 17, 12-16.

25 *Mbh.*, Udy., III, 8. *Mt.*, 8. 2-3; II, 63; 23, 10-11. *Hvś.* I 25, 20; 46, 7-9; 4, 2. *Hvś.* III. 37, 5. *Vā.* 70, 3; 90, 19. *Viṣ.* IV 6. 5.

26 Cf. *Br.*, 108, 69-70.

tion the Ailas appear more to have been an 'Aryo-Mongoloid' race, but there is no such ethnic division. In any case, Pargiter's identification of the Aryans with the Ailas makes the whole equal to a small part.

Pargiter's identification of the Kṣatriyas of the solar race with the Dravidians, rests on a very slippery ground. Of course, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (see below) suggests that the progenitor of the solar race, the Kṣatriyas of Ayodhyā, came from the Dravīdadeśa, but the traditions unanimously trace the purest Ārya blood, purest in descent in this clan of Kṣatriyas and that is why "in the genealogical accounts the post of honour in being described first is always given to the solar or Mānava race".

Similarly the identification of the Saudyumna stock (Utkalas, Gayas etc.) with the Muṇḍā race is hardly probable unless by Muṇḍās are understood such tribes of Śavaras, Dāsas, Matsyas, and possibly the Nāgas of Kadru origin, as had, by virtue of their ancient Vedic culture and pure conduct, long been accepted into pure Aryan fold and had since been merged beyond recognition (c.f. the statement that Sudyumna's sons, Utkala, Gaya etc. were much devoted to the Dharma (*Paramadhārmikāḥ*),²⁷ very powerful, energetic and devoted²⁸ to Yajña). In that case the Uḍras, particularly the *Venāṭiā Oḍas* may be equated with the *Vainateya Garuḍas*,²⁹ but the suggested identification of the Utkalas etc. with the Muṇḍās is, on the whole, highly problematical.

The *Manu Saṃhitā* declares all the Indians, whether 'Aryan' 'Dravidian' or 'Muṇḍā' as coming of one single stock. The *Mahābhārata* quotes Manu's versions as authority above doubt and controversy, and explains further that originally³⁰ there was only one race called the Brāhmaṇas which in course of time was divided into four sects (*jāti*) or castes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, by following different conduct or occupation (*karma*), and thereby

27 *Vā.*, 85, 18; *Bhāg.*, IX, 1. 40; *Hvś.*, I, 10, 18.

28 *Mkd.*, II, 15.

29 Compare the statement of *Mbh.*, 101, 5-6 about the *karma* (conduct,) and caste of the Garuḍas with that of *Manu.*, X, 43-44 regarding the Oḍras or Andra-Dravīdas; Cf. also *Mbh.*, Anu., 35, 17-28.

30 *Mbh.*, Śānti, 188, 10-17; Cf. *Ādi.* 75, 13-14.

developing distinct temperaments (*guṇa*) and colours. The race of Brāhmaṇas first sprang from the One Brahma, and from the Brāhmaṇas were born³¹ gradually the three other Varnas or castes (*jāti*), the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. They are all related to the Brāhmaṇas by family or blood ties. All other castes except these three are mixed³² races, produced by irregular or unauthorised unions between the pairs of these four castes in ascending or descending order (*Anuloma* or *Pratiloma* process), or, by a series of further complicated cross. Non-observance of time-honoured family customs and neglect of sacred duties, inspite of the regular or orderly unions, gave rise also to several new castes including the Vrātya. The Dravidians (*Draviḍas*) were Vrātya Kṣatriyas³³ i.e. of pure Kṣatriya origin, but were reduced³⁴ to the status of Śūdra for the negligence of their sacred duties.

The Niṣādas were born³⁵ of the combination of Brāhmaṇa males with Śūdra females. It is unanimously held that the race first came into being or received distinct recognition³⁶ just after King Veṇa's death, was divided into numerous tribes in course of time by further crosses, known under the common designation of the Mlecchas, and grew in number in the Tretā age.³⁷ They were³⁸ of charcoal colour, red eyes, black or curly hair and were a short statured but very strong people. From the very beginning they were treated as a degraded race owing to their peculiar constitution and conduct and were con-

31 *Mbh.*, Sānti, 60, 42-47; Cf. *Manu.*, IX. 320-21; *Mbh.*, Sānti, 56, 23-26.

32 *Ibid.*, 296, 7-9; Cf. *Manu.*, X; *Mbh.*, Anu, 48 & 49.

33 *Manu.*, X, 20-22.

34 *Ibid.*, X, 43-44; *Mbh.*, Anu., 33, 21-22; 35, 17-18.

35 *Manu.*, X; *Mbh.*, Anu., 48, 12 says that Niṣādas were born of the union of Śūdras with Kṣatriya females.

36 *Mt.*, 10, 7-8; *Bd.*, 68; 122-126; *Hvś.*, 1, 5, 16-20; *Bhg.*, IV, 14, 41-46; *Mbh.*, Sānti, 59, 95-97; *Br.*, 4, 44-47; *Viś.*, I, 13, 30-37; *Vā.*, 62, 120-125.

37 *Mbh.*, Sānti, 207, 42-45; *Mt.*, 4, 54 says that Prācetasā Dakṣa created several tribes of Mlecchas.

38 *Mbh.*, Sānti, 59, 95-97; *Br.*, 4, 44, *Viś.*, I, 13, 34; *Vā.*, 62, 121-22; *Mt.*, 10, 8, 123; *Hvś.*, I, 5, 17. According to the *Bhāg.*, IV, 14, 41-46 they were of short stature; colour, crow-black; nose-end depressed; brow broad at both sides; eyes red; and hair of copper colour. They still live in hills and forests.

signed to the Vindhya region. From their description they appear to correspond to the present day 'Dravidian type' of the ethnic division in whose "typical"³⁹ specimens, the stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark, approaching black; hair plentiful, with an occasional tendency to curl, eyes dark, head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat. This race, the most primitive of the Indian types, occupies the oldest geological formation in India, the medley of forest clad ranges, terraced plateaux and undulating plains which stretches, roughly speaking, from the Vindhya to Cape Comorin." Assuming that Niṣāda-Mlecchas and the Dravidians are the same, one finds a substantial difference of opinion between the ancient Indian authorities and the modern scholars as to the origin and habitat of this race. The former definitely call it a mixed race of Brāhmaṇa or Ārya origin, some members or tribes of which, attained at certain periods the highest Vedic culture and introduced into India some new forms of Vedic rites, particularly of the Pitṛ worship of the South (see Varāha tradition below). The latter declare it to be 'the most primitive' on the ground that⁴⁰ "taking them as we find them now, it may safely be said that their present geographical distribution, the marked uniformity of physical characters among the more primitive members of the group, their animistic religion, their distinctive languages, their stone monuments, and their retention of a primitive system of totemism justify us in regarding them as the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we have any knowledge."

To a layman ignorant of how far the present ethnic distinctions are free from the cumulative effects of factors such as the total prohibition of intermarriage or social exclusion, particular habitat, environment, climate, food, conduct, habit etc., the unanimous statement of the Indian authorities would appear to be more convincing. The primitive system of totemism is not confined to the Dravidian Muṇḍā alone; it continues as well in the shape of lower animals, birds, lizards, snakes, and even trees, side by

39 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. I, p. 296.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 299.

side with the more refined human *gotra* system, even among some 'Aryan' tribes including the high class Brāhmaṇa; and the popular tradition has it that the primitive system was first introduced during the Dakṣa-Rudra war. During the latter phase of the Devāsura war when the Asuras were compelled to live⁴¹ in the jungles and hills, most probably in close association and intimacy with the Muṇḍās, the latter apparently borrowed and adopted the Asura custom of stone monuments, which has its echo in *samādhis*, *stūpas*, and possibly in temples of the Āryas. Their forcible total expulsion from the pale of Aryan culture, apparently after the conclusion of the Devāsura war, and their secluded life and habits may account for their distinctive languages, and, continuing in the original 'animistic religion' of the ancient Indian mass. Rai Bahadur S. C. Rai in his paper,⁴² *A possible ethnic basis for the Sanskritic element in the Muṇḍā language*, has shown that in the Muṇḍāri vocabulary there is "the existence of a large Sanskritic element..... And it is quite remarkable that even a number of Muṇḍāri words of primary importance denoting things and actions which even the most primitive people cannot do without, look like pure Sanskrit words, or clear variations of such words". This clearly suggests at least the linguistic origin of the Muṇḍās from the Aryan stock.

The Purāṇas, however, make mention of numerous Mleccha tribes living in Indonesia, or Australasia (see below) and it is just possible that during the age of Asura supremacy when the great Indian empire extended far outside (or when India proper came under the subjugation of the Asuras of the now-submerged Pātāla continent), free maritime intercourse and the then political situation had led several migrations of these Mleccha people to and from India, resulting in their manners, customs, language and religion greatly influenced by the out-side contact.

The Purāṇas are rather silent and do not make any explicit statement about any outside home of the original Indian Brāhmaṇas or Āryas. All references in the matter point to India itself as the land of their origin and development. The specific mention of

41 Cf. *Vā.*, 97, 111-124; *Mat.*, 47, 50, 76-77, 89; 131, 5; 137, 7.

42 *JBORS.*, IX, pp. 376-393

the Brahmāvartta⁴³ (the land lying between the rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī) as the land of good custom (*sadācāra*), or, of its adjoining countries, the Brahmarsideśa (Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Sūrasena)⁴⁴ from the Brāhmaṇas of which places, the people of the whole world should learn their respective conduct (*caritra*), indicates the ideal state of Brāhmaṇical culture those parts once attained, and not that they were the cradle land of Aryan immigrants from outside (compare *Mbh.*, Karna, 45, 14-16, saying that eternal *dharma* is also known in many other countries such as Aṅga, Magadha, Kalinga etc.).

At the same time the Purāṇas do record some traditions which unmistakably suggest immigrations to India from out-side; but those migrations, not hostile in many cases, were not confined either to the North West or the North (Mid-Himalayan region) alone. Almost all the directions of India had witnessed such migrations from outside, although at different periods. The immigrants sometimes brought with them new faiths, different forms of worship, but they along with their distinct culture had long been absorbed beyond recognition, in the main body of the Indian Āryas. The current and the accepted theory is that it is these out-side immigrants from the North-West or the North whose descendants now constitute Aryan population of India, but if this out-side immigration theory is to be accepted at all, then it must be said with some degree of certainty that the probabilities of immigrations from the South, East and South-East are not less, if not more strong, than from the former two directions. In this article I propose to deal with a few such Purāṇic traditions as clearly suggest migrations from the opposite directions viz. the South, East or the South-East.

(To be continued).

NARAYANA TRIPATHI

The Study of Ancient Geography*

Agni-Purāṇa

Geographical materials, embodied in the Purāṇas, are not so meagre as those of history. The ancient Aryans belonged to a nomadic race and some of their wandering tribes did not definitely settle down till a very late period. Even in the Purāṇic age some of them travelled from place to place, being induced by the only aim of seeing the world.¹ In course of their wanderings they passed through different countries, crossing various mountains and rivers. In those days India had established commercial intercourse with foreign lands,² and the growth of international trade necessitated a wide and accurate geographical knowledge.³ Consequently her ancient inhabitants must have stored much valuable geographical materials in some treatises, now lost to us, or at least much information was orally handed down to succeeding generations, and ultimately embodied in the Purāṇas.

In the *Indian Antiquary* (XIV, pp. 319 ff.) Dr. Burgess suggested that lists of geographical names contained in the *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas*, *Smṛtis* and other available sources of information should be prepared "as a means to the better elucidation of the ancient geography of India". He also gives the specimen of an alphabetical list of such names. Following his suggestion, Fleet, in a subsequent issue of the same Journal,⁴ gives a list of topographical names contained in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. After him J. E. Abbott gave a list of such names contained in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.⁵ After this, no further attempt was made in this direction.

In the following pages I propose to give an alphabetical list of topographical names as embodied in the *Agni Purāṇa*. All the various

*I must express my deep obligations to Dr. N. N. Law, the editor of this Journal not only for his valuable suggestions but also for the troubles that he has taken in revising this article.

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, 58. 7; 58. 15.

2 N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, *Economic Life and Progress in Anc. India*, I, p. 32.

4 *IA.*, XXII, p. 169.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 295.

5 *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp. 1-6.

readings have been put in the foot-notes. The text used by me is published by the Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay; the figures of references are to its chapter and verse, indicated thus LIV. 14, LVI. 4. etc.

[Abbreviations used :—Bhā. = Bhāratavarṣa; Pl. = Plakṣa; Pu. = Puṣkara; Kr. = Krauñca; J. = Jambū; Śāl. = Śālmala; D. = Dvīpa; Mt. = mountain; other abbreviations such as N. = North and S. = South are easily intelligible.]

The Topographical information contained in the Agni-Purāṇa :

A

- Aṅga—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LIV. 14.
 Anutaptā—A river in the Pl. D., LVI. 4.
 Andhakāraka⁶—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 13.
 Andhra—A country and people in the S. of Bhā. LV. 6.
 Abhīśāha—A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.
 Abhrā⁷—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.
 Amṛta—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.
 Ambaṣṭha—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 16.
 Āsmaka—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15.
 Āśvamukha⁸—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.

I

- Ikṣu-samudra—(i) A sea surrounding Pl. D., LIV. 6.
 (ii) A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

6 The reading is Andha(tha)kāraka. This may be taken as Andhakāraka or Atha+kāraka.

7 The reading is Vidyudabhrā. This cannot be taken as one name because in that case the number of the rivers in Kuśa-D. would not count seven as it has been found in all other cases.

8 A country commonly receives its appellation from its people. For example, the compounded word *Mahānāsa* (with a long nose), by which a country was known, indicates that there lived a kind of people who were famous for their long noses. The words *Āśvamukha* and *Mahākeśa* are of similar types. The Sakas, Sūtas, Videhas and Māgadhas also have imparted their appellations to the countries where they resided. Such terms are included in the lists of countries in the Purāṇa and therefore, in all such cases, they are described as countries. Whether such countries have borrowed their names from the people residing there is a subject left for further investigation.

Indra-Dvīpa—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4.

Ilāvṛta—One of the Varṣas; it is the middle portion of J.D.,
LIV. 12; LV. I.

U

Unnata—A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 6.

R

Rkṣa—One of the Kulācalas of J.D., LV. 7.

Ṛṣikulyā—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.

K

Kakudmat—A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 7.

Kaṅka (or Krauñca)—A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 7.

Kaṭāha—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 5.

Kamboja—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15

Karṇāṭa—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15.

Kaliṅga—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 14.

Kaśerumat—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4.

Kāmbhoja—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 16.

Kāraka (?)—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 13.

Kāverī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9; LV. 10.

Kāśī—A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 13.

Kāśmīra—A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.

Kimpuruṣa—One of the Varṣas; it is a part of J. D. and is to the
south of Ilāvṛtavarṣa, LIV. 12; LV. 2.

Kirāta—A people to the E. of Bhā. LV. 6.

Kuntī—A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.

Kumārī—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

Kumuda—A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 6.

Kumudvatī—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

Kuru—(i) One of the Varṣas; it is to the north of Meru mt., LIV.
12; LV. 3;

(ii) A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.

Kuśa—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Sarpissamudra,
LIV. 5; LVI. 8.

Kuśésaya—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.

Kṛṣṇaveṇī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

Ketumālā—One of the Varṣas; it is to the W. of Meru mt., LIV. 13; LV. 3.

Ketumālā—A river in Bhā. LV. 12.

Kolāta—A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 13.

Kramu—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.

Krauñca (i) One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Dadhi-samudra, LIV. 5; LVI. 12.

(ii) A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 13.

Kh

Khasa—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.

Khyāti—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 15.

G

Gabhastimat—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4.

Gabhastī—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

Gāndhāra—A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.

Godāvarī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

Gomatī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

Gomeda—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

Gaurī—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

Gh

Ghana—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15.

C

Candra—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

Candrabhāgā—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.

Candrā—A river in Śāl. D., LVI. 7.

Cedi—A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 13.

J

Jambū Dvīpa—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Lavaṇasamudra, LIV. 5; LIV. 11.

Jala-samudra—One of the seven oceans; it surrounds Pu. D., LIV. 6; LVI. 20.

Jīmūta—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15.

T

Ṭaṅkaṇa—A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.

T

Tāpī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

Tāmraparṇī—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.

Tāmravarṇa—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 4.

Turaṣka—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.

Trigarta—A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.

Tridivā—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.

D

Dakṣiṇāpatha—The southern region of Bhā. LV. 15.

Dadhisamudra—A sea surrounding Kr. D., LIV. 6.

Divāvṛta—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

Dugdhasamudra—A sea surrounding Śāka-D., LIV. 6.

Dundubhi—(i) A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

(ii) A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

Dyutimat—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.

Draviḍa—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 14.

Droṇa—A mt. in Śāl. D., LVI. 6.

Dh

Dhūtapāpā—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.

Dhenukā—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

N

Nayarāṣṭra—A country in the S. of Bhā. LV. 15.

Narmadā—A river in Bhā. LV. 8.

Nalinī—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

Navarāṣṭra—The same as Nayarāṣṭra.

Nāgadvipa—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 5.

- Nābhi—One of the Varṣas, LIV. 12.
 Nārada—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.
 Nāstika—A country and people in the W. of Bhā. LV. 17.
 Niṣadha—(i) A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9;
 (ii) A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 17.
 Nīla—(i) A mt. to the N. of Meru, LIV. 10.
 (ii) A country in the N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.

P

- Pañcama⁹—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 14. (?)
 Paṭaccara—A country in the middle-region of Bhā. LV. 12.
 Payasvinī—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.
 Payoṣṇī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.
 Pavitrā—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.
 Pāñcāla—A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.
 Padma—A country in the east of Bhā. LV. 13.
 Puṇḍarikavat—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 14.
 Puṇḍarikā—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 15.
 Puṇḍra—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 14.
 Pulinda—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 15.
 Puṣkara—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by the sea of
 sweet water, LIV. 5; LVI. 20.
 Puṣpavat—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.
 Plakṣa—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Ikṣusamudra,
 LIV. 5; LIV. 10; LVI. 1.

B

- Bāhlika—A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.
 Brahmaputra—A country in N.E. of Bhā. LV. 20.

Bh

- Bhadrāśva—One of the Varṣas; it is to the E. of Meru, LIV. 12;
 LV. I.

⁹ It is doubtful whether the word *Pañcama* means 'the fifth', or it is the name of a mountain. But here it is taken as a mountain because otherwise the list of the seven mts. will not be complete.

Bhārata—One of the Varṣas; it is to the S. of Meru, LV. 2; LV. 4.
 Bhīmarathī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

M

Mattagaṅgā—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.
 Matsya—A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.
 Madra—A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.
 Madhyadeśa—The middle region of Bhā. LV. 11, 12.
 Manojavā—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 14.
 Mandara—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.
 Malaya—A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7.
 Mahākeśa—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.
 Mahānadī—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.
 Mahānāśa—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.
 Mahiṣa—A mt. in Śāl-D., LVI. 6.
 Mahī—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.
 Mahendra—A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7.
 Māgadha—A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 13.
 Māṇḍavya—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.
 Māthura—A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 17.
 Mūlaka—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 14.
 Mūlika—A country in the N.W. of Bhā. LV. 18.
 Meru—A mt. in J. D., LIV. 7; LV. 2.
 Mleccha—A country in the W. and N. of Bhā. LV. 17; LV. 19.

Y

Yavana—A country and people to the W. of Bhā. LV. 6; LV. 17.
 Yonitoyā—A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7.
 Yaudheya—A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.

R

Ramya (Ramyaka)—One of the Varṣas; it is to the N.W. of Meru, LIV. 12; LV. 3.
 Rātri—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

L

Lampāka (Lambaka)—A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.
 Lavaṇa—One of the seven seas; it surrounds the J. D., LIV. 6.

Lāṭa—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 16.

Lokāloka—A mt. beyond the Svādūdaka-samudra which surrounds the Pu. D., LVI. 21.

V

Vaṅga—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 14.

Varadā—A river in Bhā. LV. 8.

Vāmana—A mt. in Kr. D., LVI. 13.

Vāruṇa—One of the parts of Bhā. LV. 5.

Vitr̥ṣṇā—A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7.

Vidarbha—A country in the S.E. of Bhā. LV. 14.

Vidarbhā—A river in Bhā. LV. 11.

Videha—A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 13.

Vidyut—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.

Vidruma—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.

Vidhṛti—A river in Śāl-D., LV. 8.

Vindhyā—A mt. in Bhā. LV. 8; LV. 14.

Vipāśā—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.

Vimocanī—A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7.

Vedaśmṛti—A river in Bhā. LV. 8.

Veṇukā—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

Vaibhrāja—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

Ś

Śāka—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 16.

Satadrū—A river in Bhā. LV. 11.

Śāka—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Dugdha-samudra, LIV. 5; LVI. 15.

Śālmala—One of the seven Dvīpas; it is surrounded by Surā-samudra, LIV. 5; LVI. 5.

Śikhī—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.

Śivā—(i) A river in Bhā. LV. 8;

(ii) A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.

Suktimat—A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7.

Suklā—A river in Śāl-D., LVI. 7.

Sūrasena—A country in the middle region of Bhā. LV. 12.

Śringin—A mt. to the N. of Meru, LIV. 10.

Śveta—A mt. to the N. of Meru, LIV. 10.

S

Sandhyā—A river in Kr. D., LVI. 14.

Sanmati—A river in Kuśa-D., LVI. 11.

Sarayū—A river in Bhā. LV. 9.

Sarasvatī—A river in Bhā. LV. 10.

Sahya—A mt. in Bhā. LV. 7.

Sarpissamudra—One of the seven Seas; it surrounds the Kuśa-D.,
LIV. 6.

Sindhala—One of the nine parts of Bhā. LV. 5.

Sukṛtā—A river in Pl. D., LVI. 4.

Sukumārī—A river in Śāka-D., LVI. 17.

Sumanas—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

Surasā—A river in Bhā. LV. 8.

Surāsamudra—One of the seven Seas; it surrounds Śāl-D.,
LIV. 6.

Sūta—A country in the E. of Bhā. LV. 13.

Saindhava—A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 17.

Somaka—A mt. in Pl. D., LVI. 3.

Stananāga—A country in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.

Strīmukha—A country in the S.W. of Bhā. LV. 16.

Strirājya—A country in the W. of Bhā. LV. 17.

H

Hari—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.

Harivarṣa—One of the Varṣas; it is to the S.W. of Meru, LIV. 12.

Himavat—A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9.

Himācala—A mt. in the N. of Bhā. LV. 19.

Hiraṇmaya (Hiraṇvat)—One of the Varṣas; it is to the S.E. of
Meru, LV. 1; LIV. 12.

Hemakūṭa—A mt. to the S. of Meru, LIV. 9.

Hemasaila—A mt. in Kuśa-D., LVI. 10.

Caste and Chronology of the Pāla kings of Bengal

The caste and the chronology of the Pāla kings are two of the vexed questions of the history of Bengal. In this paper we shall try to throw some new light on them.

Our sources of information are :

1. The colophon of the commentary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā* by Haribhadra. It was written in the reign of Dharmapāla. He is spoken of as *Rājabhaṭ-ādi-vaṃśa-patita*¹ i.e. descended from a family of which Rājabhaṭa was the first.

2. The Kamauli copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva,² which speaks of Vighrahapāla III as *vaṃśe mihirasya jātavān* i.e. born in the race of the sun.

3. The comments on the verse 4, chap. I of the *Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākaranandi.³ Dharmapāla is here described as *samudra-kuladīpa* i.e. the light of the race of the ocean.

4. The comments on verse 17 of the same chapter and book, which say :—

Śrī-patiḥ pāṛthivo yo nābhiḥ Kṣatriyas=tasmāt sambhūtaḥ vidhir=
iv-eti śleṣ-opamā| atra śrī-pater=Vāsudevasya nābhito='rayavād
=udbhūtaḥ| śeṣaṃ sugamaṃ| ubhayatr=āpi samaṃ||

i.e. both Rāmacandra and Rāmapāla were of the Kṣatriya race.

5. The *Vyāsa-purāṇa* of Siṃhagiri embedded in the *Ballālacarita*. In this the Pālas have been described as the worst of the Kṣatriyas.⁴

6. Tāranātha (1608 A.D.) says that Gopāla was born at Puṇḍra-vardhana of a beautiful Kṣatriya young woman who was in liaison with a tree god.⁵

1 R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅglār Itihās*, vol. 1., p. 140 n.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 350.

3 *Rāma-carita*, p. 20.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

5 Schiefner's *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, p. 195, quoted in *I.H.Q.*, vol. VIII, p. 530-31.

7. A Bengal poet named Ghanarāma in the *Kāṇurpālā* of his book named *Dharmamaṅgala* says:—

ধার্মিক ধরণীতলে ধর্মপাল রাজা ।
 প্রিয় পুত্র প্রায় পালে পৃথিবীর রাজা ॥
 অপুত্রক মহারাজা অখিলে প্রকাশ ।
 বিশেষ ব্রাহ্মণ বিষ্ণু বৈষ্ণবের দাস ॥
 পূর্বাপর পালে রাজা এই গৌড়পুরী ।
 ধর্মশীলা রাণী তার বলভা হৃন্দরী ॥
 বনবাসে তখন আছিল সেই সতী ।
 তার সঙ্গে সমুদ্র সন্তোষ কৈল রতি ॥
 গৌড়পতি তোমার জনম নিলা হয় ।

i.e. Dharmapāla, the king of Gauḍa was without a child. His queen Vallabhā while in exile was enjoyed by the ocean and thus the lord of Gauḍa (Devapāla) was born.

To these we shall add a new piece of evidence, which we have recently come across in a *Campā-kāvya* called the *Udayasundarī-kathā*. Author of this is one Sodḍhala, a Gujarat-poet of the eleventh century, A.D. He says that Dharmapāla, the lord of Northern India (*Uttarāpatha-svāmī*) and of the family of Māndhātā (*Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa*) was besieged in a fort by a Śilāditya of the Valabhī dynasty and was obliged to capitulate.*

Now let us see if we can come to a definite conclusion from these seemingly discrepant versions.

Mm. H. P. Sastri has in his introduction to the *Rāmacarita* (pp. 2-4) discussed all the above points excepting Nos. 4 & 6. He has translated *Rājabhṭā-ādi-vaṃśa-patita* as 'descendant of a military officer of some king'. Others, however, have taken *Rājabhṭa* to be a proper name, which seems preferable. They identify him with *Rājabhṭa*, whom the Chinese traveller Seng-chi found ruling in Samatāṭa in the latter half of the seventh century. According to this view *Rājabhṭa* must have been the first king of his line and the founder of the dynasty,

6 "kathāñcana baliyasā saptāṅga-samagreṇ = Ottarāpatha svāminā Mān-drātṛ-vaṃśa-prabhavēṇa bhūbhṛtā Dharmapāleṇa saha vighraho = dīrghatām = avāpa".—*Udayasundarī-kathā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), p. 4.

as the word *ādi* indicates. Considering his time, i.e., the latter part of the seventh century, he cannot be far removed from Dharmapāla. The Khalimpur plate⁷ of Dharmapāla supplies us with the names of three of his ancestors, viz., Gopāla, his father; Vapyāta, his grandfather; and Dayitaviṣṇu, his great-grandfather. We do not find any Rājabhāta among these names. Of these Dayitaviṣṇu far from being a king was not even a military man, as has been pointed out by Mm. H. P. Sastri.⁸ His son Vapyāta is said to have 'become famous as the destroyer of adversaries'. We are inclined to think that he, by his successful military career, became a feudatory king of Samatāta. The word *Śrī* put before Vapyāta and Gopāla and not before Dayitaviṣṇu also goes to support our supposition that Vapyāta was the first king of the line. We have already shown that according to the statement of Hari-bhadra, Rājabhāta was the first king. If our surmise is correct Rājabhāta becomes identical with Vapyāta. We think that Vapyāta is a contracted form of Vappa- or Vappi-bhāta. He might also have been called Rājabhāta after he became a king. In the Chāṭsu inscription of Bālāditya⁹ Śaṇākaragaṇa is said to have conquered Bhāta, the lord of Gauḍa '*Bhātaṃ jītvā Gauḍa-kṣitipam*'. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the inscription identifies Bhāta with Sūrapāla, while Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that Bhāta meant 'fighter' and by it Dharmapāla was referred to.¹⁰ Both, however, agree in identifying this Bhāta with a Pāla king. Can it be that it (Bhāta) was the dynastic name of the Pālas? In fact nowhere in their inscriptions they called themselves Pālas. It was in the charter of Vaidyadeva that they were for the first time called *Pāla-kula*. This identification, however, does not help us in determining the caste of the Pālas, nor does it go against taking them as Kṣatriyas.

Some again proceeding a little further identify Rājabhāta of Haribhadra and Rājabhāta of Seng-chi with Rājarāja or Rājarājabhāta,

7 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 247.

8 *Rāma-carita*, p. 2.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 12.

10 *Jour. of Letters*, vol. X, p. 41n.

son of Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty of Bengal.¹¹ There are certain difficulties in this identification. This Rājaraḥa or Rājaraḥa-bhaṭa was not the first king of this line. How again can Dayitaviṣṇu, who is not a king, be included in this line of kings? Devakhaḍga is identified by some with Devavarmā, the king of Eastern India mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hwui Lun. If there is any truth in this identification, we find that the surnames of Khaḍga and Varmā are interchangeable. Varmā is a well-known surname of the Kṣatriyas. According to the *Saṅkha-smṛti* a surname of a Kṣatriya should be indicative of strength 'balānvitam'. Both Khaḍga and Varmā are the accessories of war, so they are suitable surnames of a Kṣatriya. From this we may surmise that the Pālas were Kṣatriyas. But again they are also the surnames of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas, i.e. the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujārāt and the Kāyasthas of Bengal.¹² Viśvakhaḍga is a Brāhmaṇa donee of the Tippera copper-plate grant of Lokanātha,¹² who flourished about this time.

Mm. Sastri has thrown out a 'conjecture'¹⁴ that Dayitaviṣṇu might have descended from the family of Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu mentioned in the Iran stone boar inscription. But as besides Dayitaviṣṇu, there is no name in the Pāla dynasty which ends with *viṣṇu*, he surmises that it indicates illegitimacy, for the Viṣṇus of Iran were Brāhmaṇas. This conjecture has no basis. We need not run to Iran stone boar or pillar¹⁵ for a Brāhmaṇa with the name-ending *Viṣṇu*. Prabhāvarīṣaviṣṇu is one of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the charter of Lokanātha adverted to above. Guṇa-viṣṇu is the well-known author of the *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*. Besides there is Kopiviṣṇu, the *Mahā-sāndhi-vigraḥika* of Viśvarūpasena.¹⁶ All of them are of Bengal. We, of course, do not know the caste of the last one. Viṣṇu is now-a-days found exclusively among the Kāyasthas of Bengal.

11 *JASB.*, 1923, p. 378.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 308, l. 37.

13 *Kāyastha-Samāj*, 1331 B.S., p. 288.

14 *Rāma-carita*, p. 6.

15 *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 89 and 159.

16 *Beng. Inscr.*, (Varendra Res. Soc.), vol. III, p. 139.

We do not understand how the fact of giving up the name-ending or the surname of Viṣṇu by the Pālas after Dayitaviṣṇu at all indicates their illegitimacy. The history of India bears ample evidence to show that Brāhmaṇas taking up the Kṣatriya profession assumed Kṣatriya surnames and were merged into the Kṣatriya caste. By and by mythological genealogies from the sun or the moon were invented for them. But for this reason nobody ever called them illegitimate. Take, for instance, the case of Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty. He and his descendants assumed the Kṣatriya surname of Varman. The Pallavas although claimed descent from Aśvatthāman, a Brāhmaṇa, used the Kṣatriya surname, Varman. The Cauhāns of Broach claimed to be of Vatsa gotra.¹⁷ They used the Brāhmaṇa surname Dāma for some generations and then gave it up and assumed Bhaṭṭa or Vaddha. The Cauhān prince Sāmanta is spoken of distinctly as a Vipra i.e. Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa gotra in the Bijoliā inscription (*JASB.*, vol. LV, pt. i, p. 41). Their Brāhmaṇa origin is hinted at even in a later work like *Prthvirāja-rītiya* (V. 20):—

asiḥ snāt-otthito yasya Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgame/
ciram Gauḍa-rasa-(ā?) śuddha brāhmaṇatāp yayau/

The verse is in double *entendre*. The sword of Durlabharāja lost its lustre by being tarnished with the blood of the Gauḍas (*Gauḍa-rasa*), but it regained it by being washed in the confluence of the Ganges with the sea. In the case of Durlabharāja himself it is said that he had been degraded or fallen from his brahmanhood by drinking wine (*gauḍa-rasa*) but regained it by bathing in the holy waters of the *Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama*. In the *Hamīra-mahā-kāvya* (I, 27.) also Vāsudeva is called a Dīkṣita, which is *distinctly* a Brāhmaṇa surname, as has been pointed by Prof. Bhandarkar (*I.A.*, vol. XI., p. 26 n). Brāhmaṇas with the surname of *Dāma* are found in many inscriptions. Śāśvatadāma of the Vatsa gotra is a donee in the Nidhanpur charter of Bhāskaravarman.¹⁸

17 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 197.

18 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 125.

Both Sastri and Banerjee seem to have laid undue stress on the tradition that the Pālas had descended from the sea. Although Sastri noticed the disagreement between the statement of the *Rāmacarita* and *Dharmamaṅgala*, still he opined that the Bengal tradition was embodied in the latter.¹⁹ According to the latter only Devapāla was the son of the ocean-god, while according to the former his father Dharmapāla was the *samudra-kula-dīpa*. Banerjee has gone further. He has rushed to the conclusion that 'the forefather of this line of kings came from the sea and in the absence of a plausible account of their ancestry became known as the children of the sea-god.'²⁰ Ghanarāma was an author of much later date. He wrote his book in 1713 A.D.²¹ He was a poet and not a historian. He might have confused tradition of *sagara-varṇa* into *sāgara-varṇa* and wrote as his poetic fancy led him. His facts are also not reliable. He says that Dharmapāla was without a son (*apūtraka*), but we know that Dharmapāla had, besides Devapāla, another son named Tribhuvanapāla. Again he says Vallabhā was the mother of Devapāla but we know her name was Raṅṇādevī. No serious student of history should therefore place any importance in his version. In all probability he has confounded the Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti of the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Coḷa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 229-33) with the Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty.

Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen has pointed out²² that in the *Rāmacarita*, Pālas have been called not only *samudra-kula-dīpa*, but also as Kṣatriyas. He interprets that *samudra-kula* means *sūrya-kula* or solar race to which Samudra belonged. In support of his interpretation he has quoted from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Laṅkā-kāṇḍa, Sarga XIX, vs. 30-31) to show that the Samudra has been called *jñāti* or agnate kinsman of Rāmacandra, who also belonged to the solar race.

We quite agree with Mr. P. C. Sen in his interpretation. In fact we find in the *Brahma-purāṇa* (chap. VIII, vs. 59-60) that the king Sagara obtained a boon from god Nārāyaṇa that Sagara will get Samudra

19 *Rāma-carita*, p. 2.

20 *The Pālas of Bengal* by R. D. Banerji, Chap. I, Intro.

21 *Hist. of Beng. Lang. and Lit.* by D. C. Sen, p. 371.

22 *Kāyastha-Samāj*, 1336 B.S., p. 185.

as his son. Samudra was henceforth called Sāgara i.e. the son of Sagara. It is clear from the charter of Vaidyadeva that the Pālas were at that time known as of the solar race. The author of the *Rāmacarita* was a little later than Vaidyadeva. So he must have known the accepted version of the pedigree of the dynasty of his hero. It cannot therefore be believed that of all persons Sandhyākaranandī, a son of a high official of Rāmapāla, should deviate from the current version, and assign a *nondescript* pedigree. We call it *nondescript* because there is no epic or purāṇic version to the effect that Samudra propagated a family. On the other hand, *Sagara-vaṃśa* is well-known. So it would be quite reasonable to think that by *Samudra-kula* he meant *Sūrya-kula* i.e. the family to which Samudra belonged. Again Sāgara is one of the 108 names of Sūrya.²³ According to this also, *samudra-kula* may mean *sūrya-kula*.

It is not only that the Pālas of Bengal are said to be of the *Sagara-vaṃśa*, but others also claimed the same pedigree. A feudatory of the early Cola Aditya Karikāla is said to have belonged to the Sagara Virāṭa dynasty.²⁴ In the Tamil portion of the record Virāṭa has been put as Ilāḍa. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks²⁵ that this Ilāḍa is no other than Rāḍha, a division of Bengal and that the connection with Sagara would refer the individual perhaps to a family of Bengal. We do not know how far Dr. Aiyangar is right in his assumption. It appears that there was a country called Virāṭa probably in Southern India, for we find that Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana captured the fort of Virāṭanagara.²⁶

Tāranātha says that Gopāla was born of a beautiful Kṣatriya woman by a tree-god. It need not be told that this is a pure and simple myth. But we think that giving currency to such a legend was dictated by a policy of state. Gopāla was not a member of the royal

23 *Mahābhārata*, III, 152.

24 *South. Ind. Ep. Rep.* for 1906-7, Sec. 65, pp. 87-88.

25 *Jour. of Ind. Hist.*, vol. IV, p. 330.

26 Inscr. at Sravaṇa-Belagoḷa, No. 138; *Ep. Car.*, vol. IV, Ng. 70. King Virāṭa's capital is identified with Pānungal or Hānungal in Dharwar (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 2). There is also a Birat in Rangpur Dist. of Bengal. (*An. Rep. Sur. Ind.* for 1925-26, p. 113, and Glazier's Rangpur, p. 8). It is not in Rāḍha, but in Gauḍa or Puṇḍravardhana. It contains ancient remains.

family of Bengal nor in any way connected with it. He might have been elected by some influential persons of the State, but it is not unlikely that there existed an opposite faction which did not favour it. With a view perhaps to inspire awe into the minds of the people and thereby suppress disaffection, it was thought expedient to circulate the story that the king was no ordinary mortal but the son of a god and is protected by him. A similar instance can be found in the history of Kashmir. Durlabhavardhana reigned in the earlier part of the 7th c. Like Gopāla he was not of the blood-royal, and is said to be the son of the mythical Karkoṭaka Nāga. To attribute supernatural powers to the king was a well-known policy of state even in the time of Kauṭilya.²⁷ An illustration of this policy in later times will be found in the epithet of *Siddharāja* or *Siddha-cakravartin* applied to Cālukya Jayasīṃha of Gujarat. This was necessary in the case of Jayasīṃha as his 'succession to the throne was attended with struggle and intrigue.'²⁸

We shall now discuss the new piece of evidence supplied by the Gujarat poet Sodḍhala. According to him Dharmapāla was defeated by Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty. Now this Dharmapāla has been described as Uttarāpatha-svāmī and of the *Māndhātṛ-vaṃśa*. What other Dharmapāla known to history can be styled as the lord of the Northern India and is at the same time a contemporary with any one of the Śilādityas than the Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal? In his Khalimpur charter we find that he made the kings of Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra, Kīra, Bhoja, Matsya and Madra, that is all the principal kings of the Northern India to agree to the selection of Cakrāyudha to the throne of Kanauj. After this, is there left any vestige of doubt that he was the person meant? Now let us see whether he was a contemporary with any one of the Śilādityas of Valabhi. We shall presently see that Dharmapāla reigned in the latter half of the eighth century. The last king of the Valabhi dynasty is Śilāditya VII. His only known date is 766 A.D.²⁹ So

27 Kauṭilya's *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. IV, Chap. V.

28 *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 171-74,

29 *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 173,

Dharmapāla was at least a contemporary with this Silāditya. So far, therefore, there is no improbability in Soḍḍhala's statement.

Let us now examine the other statement of Soḍḍhala, calling Dharmapāla of the *Māndhātṛ-vamśa*. Both Vaidyadeva and Sandhyākaranandī were connected with the Pāla dynasty. One was a feudatory of Kumārapāla and the other a son of the *Sāndhivigraha* of Madanapāla. So their statement might have been vitiated with partiality, but no such charge can be laid against Soḍḍhala. His statement must have been based on some record or on tradition which has been handed down from the time of Dharmapāla. In point of time his evidence is next to Haribhadra's. We can have no objection in accepting his evidence as independent and trustworthy. It may be argued that if the Pālas are of the *Māndhātṛ* lineage why their *praśasti-kāras* are silent about it? No, they are not silent. In verse 11 of the Khalimpur charter of Dharmapāla himself, his army has been compared to that of Māndhātā and his opponent Indrāyudha to Mahendra. This allusion may be unintelligible now, when all tradition is lost, but in Dharmapāla's time, people found no difficulty to understand it. There is no doubt that they did not avail of every opportunity to proclaim their Kṣatriya origin and epic lineage, like their Hindu compeers. The reason is not far to seek. They were Buddhists and were not, therefore anxious to parade their Kṣatriya origin in their *praśastis* every time.

We have seen that all but one evidence go to prove the Kṣatriya origin of the Pālas. That one again is not against their being Kṣatriyas. Even the account of Tāranātha shows that they were Kṣatriyas at least from the mother's side. The fact of being of the *Māndhātṛ-vamśa* does not run counter to their being also of the *Sagara-vamśa*, as Māndhātā belonged to the solar race and Sagara was a descendant of Māndhātā. Their claim to Kṣatriyahood was as good as that of the many ruling dynasties of their time. This is proved by their matrimonial connections with the recognised Kṣatriya dynasties such as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cedis.

It is not unlikely that the Pālas were originally Brāhmanas but were merged into the Kṣatriya caste by taking up the Kṣatriya profession, like the Kadambas, Guhilots and others. And when they

became kings, an epic lineage was found for them like so many royal dynasties of the mediæval India. If their claim to Kṣatriyahood is not disputed, we do not quite see why the claim of the Pālas should be questioned. Their claim is at least as early as that of Dharmapāla, and that it found ready recognition is proved by his marriage with a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.

Chronology

Now we shall take up the other controversial question, the chronology of the Pālas. Soḍḍhala says that Dharmapāla came into conflict with a Śilāditya of the Valabhi dynasty. We have no direct evidence to corroborate it. But considering the fact that he brought so many kings under his influence, got presents from the kings of Northern India, and his army penetrated as far as the Gokarnatīrtha,²⁹ it is not at all improbable that he led his conquering expedition to Gujarat also. Besides, among his dependants we find the Lāṭas.³⁰ He also granted land to the Lāṭa Brāhmaṇas.³¹ These clearly prove his connection with Gujarat. This statement of Soḍḍhala supplies us with a data for ascertaining the time of Dharmapāla approximately. The Khalimpur charter of Dharmapāla was issued in the thirty second year of his reign. We find in it reference to his defeating Indrāyudha, the king of Kanauj, and also of placing Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj. So Dharmapāla must have done all these on or before the 32nd year of his reign. According to the Jaina *Harivaṃśa* Indrāyudha was reigning in 783 A.D. His defeat, therefore, cannot be earlier than this date. Even assuming that this took place in 783 A.D. and in the 32nd year of Dharmapāla, he could not have ascended the throne earlier than 752 A.D. The last king of the Valabhi dynasty was Śilāditya VII. His only known date, we have seen, is 766 A.D. He could not have survived later than 770 A.D. According to the Hindu account preserved by Alberuni the fall of Valabhi was due to an Arab naval expedition from

30 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXI, pp. 254-57.

31 *Ibid.*

Mansura. This is supposed to have taken place some time between 750 and 770 A.D.³² Dharmapāla could not, therefore, have begun his reign later than 770 A.D. Thus we get two dates, the earliest and the latest, viz., 752 and 770 A.D. within which must lie the first year of the reign of Dharmapāla. Let us see if we can fix a date nearer to the actual date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne. We know from the Bodh-Gayā inscription³³ of the 26th year of reign of Dharmapāla that the fifth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādra of that year fell on a Saturday. According to the above calculation his 26th year must be between 777 and 795 A.D. By consulting Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Chronology* we find that the years 786, 789 and 793 A.D. satisfy the above conditions. Now according to this the initial years of the reign of Dharmapāla must be one of the three years—761, 764 and 768 A.D. Of these the earliest, viz., 761 A.D. seems more probable. It would not be reasonable to think that immediately on ascending the throne he was in a position to embark on such a big conquering expedition as to overrun the whole of Northern India and some portion of the Deccan. He must have taken some time to make necessary preparations for such an extensive undertaking and also to consolidate his power in his neighbouring kingdoms such as Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and other countries which, according to Tāranātha, he conquered. Dr. Shahidullah has also arrived at this date but from a different data (*IHQ.*, vol. VII, p. 536).

The date of Kumārapāla can similarly be fixed approximately. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva of Kāmarūpa was made at the *viṣuvati* (*saṃkrānti*) in *Vaiśākha* on *Ekādaśī*. It was entered on the 1st of *Vaiśākha* in the 4th regnal year. We can assume with pretty certainty that Kumārapāla reigned some time in the first half of the 12th century. Now only three years viz., 1119, 1123 and 1142 A.D. satisfy the above conditions. Of these only the first two seem to be more probable. It is a common practice with a feudatory chief to use the regnal year of his overlord. So this 4th year must be taken to be that of

³² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, p. 243.

³³ *Bomb. Gazr.*, vol. I, Pt. I, p. 95.

Kumārapāla. This must have fallen in 1119 or 1123 A.D., and he must have commenced his reign in 1116 or 1120 A.D. If the fourth year of his reign fell in 1142 A.D. the initial year of his reign would be 1139 A.D. We know that Kumārapāla ruled at least 4 years. His successor Gopāla's reigning period is not known. But his successor Madanapāla ruled at least 19 years.³⁵ We also know that Govindapāla began his reign in 1161 A.D.³⁶ But even eliminating the reigning period of Gopāla III, Madanapāla must have ruled up to $(1139 + 4 + 19) = 1162$ A.D. So Kumarapāla could not have ascended the throne later than 1120 A.D. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has also arrived at this date by a different calculation.³⁷

Monomohan Chakravarti has shown that king Nayapāla might have ascended the throne between 1030 and 1033 A.D.³⁸ Now we hope it would not be very difficult to draw up an approximate chronology of the Pāla kings of Bengal with these three points almost fixed and the known reigning periods of these kings.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

34 *Proc. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1880, p. 80.

35 *Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, vol. III, p. 125.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *JASB.*, N.S. XVIII, p. 6.

38 *Ibid.*, 1900, pp. 192-3.

The Eastern Cālukyas

IV

*Viṣṇuvardhana III, Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa
and Viṣamasiddhi (A.D. 709-746)*

Viṣṇuvardhana assumed the titles of Samastabhuvanāśraya, Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa and Viṣamasiddhi. Six inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) *The Ganapavaram plates.*¹

A number of plates was found in the village of Ganapavaram, in the Bhimavaram tāluka of the Kistna District. It records the grant of two 'nivartanas' of land, in the village of Ariyeru, in the Attili-
viṣaya, to Nūri-śarman, son of Nanni-śarman, a resident of Padminyagrahāra. The grant was executed by Nissaramiṇyi who was also the executor of the grant of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja I.

(ii) *The Pasapubārṇu plates.*²

The Pasapubārṇu inscription states that some lands in the village of Pasapubārṇu, in the Gudrahāra-
viṣaya, were granted to Keśavaśarman of Parandūr. The grant was executed by Vijayamahādevī, the chief queen of Viṣṇuvardhana III.

(iii) *The Setapadu inscription.*³

An inscription was found at Setapadu in the Guntur tāluka. It registers a gift of land at Velaḷūru by a certain Kannoba. It was issued in the 33rd year of the reign of Sarvalokāśraya Śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja. The King may be identified with either Viṣṇuvardhana III or Viṣṇuvardhana IV, both of whom enjoyed a fairly long reign.

*Continued from page 780 vol. VIII.

1 *SE.*, 1925, p. 76.

2 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 116.

3 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 116.

(iv) *The Peravali inscription.*⁴

An inscription was brought to light in the village of Peravali. It states that the King Viṣṇuvardhana granted the village of Māvinṭhipalli, in the Ve(ṅgi)nāṇḍu-*viṣaya* to Viraśarman, a resident of the village Peruvali. Peruvali is identical with the village Peravali where the record was found.

(v) *The Musinikuṇḍa plates, Śaka 684.*⁵

The Musinikuṇḍa plates register the grant of the village Musinikuṇḍa, in Tonka-Nāṭavādi-*viṣaya*, to the Jaina temple Naḍumbi-vasti at Bijavāḍa (built by?) Ayyaṇa-Mahādevī, queen of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja. The executor of the grant was the queen herself. The inscription was issued by Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, son of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, in Śaka 684=762 A.D. The inscription offers some difficult problems for solution. The date falls in the latter part of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana III's son Vijayāditya I. This leads to the supposition that though Viṣṇuvardhana abdicated his throne in favour of his son in the middle of the 8th century A.D., he carried on his public works even up to the 7th decade of the same century. As the executor of the grant was the queen of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and as the inscription contains the seal of the latter, it may be suggested that the present record is a renewal of an old one, issued during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana I.

Of the localities, Bijavāḍa is evidently the modern Bejwada. Nāṭavādi corresponds to the modern Nandigama, in the Kistna District.⁶

(vi) *The Jaḷayūru plates.*⁷

A number of plates was discovered in the Kistna District of Jaḷayūru, in the Plolanāṇḍu-*viṣaya*, granted by Pṛthivipothī, the beloved daughter of Maghinduvarāja, on the occasion of a Saṃkrānti, in the year twenty three of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, son

4 *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 90.

6 *SE.*, 1924, p. 117.

5 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 116.

7 *EL.*, vol. XVIII, p. 58.

of Vijayasiddhi to a Brāhmaṇa resident of Kommara. The land was bounded on the east by the Eliyeṟu river, on the west by Kākaṇḍivāḍa.

Dr. Hultzsch suggests that Maghinduvarāja is the same as Mahendravarman, the Pallava king of Kāñcī.⁸ I think the name is a corruption of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja who might have been identical with the son of Kokilivarma Anivārīta. Of the localities, Ploṇṇāṇḍu-ṣiṣaya is the same as Prolnandu or Prolunandu which corresponds to southwestern part of the Godavari District, comprising the Ramachandrapuram, Cocanada, Peddapuram tālukas and the Divisions of Tuni Pithapuram.⁹ Jaḷayuru is the modern Jalluru in the Pithapuram Division. Eliyeṟu is the modern Eleru river flowing through Pithapuram. Kākaṇḍivāḍa may represent the modern Cocanada. Kommara is the modern village of the same name in the Ellore tāluca of the Kistna District.

During the latter part of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana, Pṛthivī-
vyāghra, the chief of the Nīṣādas, invaded the southern part of Eastern Cālukya dominion. Just about this time Udayacandra, the lord of the city of Vilvala and a general of Nandivarman II, the Pallava King of Kāñcī, was carrying on military excursions in order to rescue his master from the hands of the invading Dramila princes.¹⁰ He killed the Pallava Citramāya and defeated the hostile armies on the battle fields of Nimba (vana), Cūtavana, Saṅkaragrāma, Nellūr, Nelveli, and Śūrāvaṇḍūr.¹¹ Nellūr is evidently the modern Nellore, the headquarters of the District of the name in the Madras Presidency. The northern portion of this District was under the sway of the Eastern Cālukyas. Udayacandra next encountered the above-mentioned Nīṣāda chief who had already occupied a portion of Viṣṇuvardhana's kingdom. The Nīṣāda chief sustained a heavy defeat and was forced to surrender the Cālukya territory. The portion which was occupied by him is said to have been annexed into the Pallava domi-

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. I, p. 87.

10 *SIL.*, vol. II, p. 372.

11 *Ibid.*

nion. The Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman state¹² that Udayācandra, in the northern region, pursued the Niṣāda chief, called Prthivīvyāghra, who desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horses of the 'Aśvamedha', "defeated (him) drove (him) out of the viṣaya of Viṣṇurāja, (which) he subjected to the Pallava". Here Viṣṇurāja is identical with Viṣṇuvardhana III. He was a contemporary of the Pallava Nandivarman II who was vanquished by the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-746). It is very difficult to identify the particular portion of the Eastern Cālukya territory, which was subjugated by the Pallavas. The Eastern Cālukyas held sway over the northern part of the Nellore District for a long time.

Vijayamahādevī was the chief queen of Viṣṇuvardhana III, who gave birth to his son Vijayāditya I. Viṣṇuvardhana III, who lived at least up to 762 A.D., seems to have entrusted the charge of his kingdom to his son Vijayāditya in A.D. 746. He enjoyed his kingdom for 37 years.¹³

Vijayāditya I, Bhaṭṭāraka, Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa, Vijayasiddhi, and Vikramarāma (A.D. 746-774)

Vijayāditya assumed the titles of Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa, Vijayasiddhi, and Vikramarāma.¹⁴ Three inscriptions of his reign are known to us.

(i) *The Sakarambu inscription.*¹⁵

The Sakarambu inscription records the grant of the village of Sakarambu, in Vilānāṇḍu (i.e. Velanāṇḍu) to a Brāhmaṇa named Devaśarman, a resident of Kārāmceḍu.

(ii) *The Gommatūru inscription.*¹⁶

The Gommatūru inscription registers that Vijayāditya granted the

12 *SII.*, vol. II, pp. 368, 372. . . . Uttarasyaṃ api diśi Prthivīvyāghra-
ābhidhā(na)-Niṣādapatim prabalāyamānam Aśvamedhaturaṅgamānusāriṇam ā
patantam anusṛtya vijitya Viṣṇurāja-viṣayāt Pallavasātakraṭya etc. etc.

13 *SII.*, vol. I, p. 58.

14 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 119; *SE.*, 1917, p. 116.

15 *SE.*, 1917, p. 116.

16 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, vol. V, Part I, pp. 51ff.

village of Gommatūru, in the Gudrahāra-*viṣaya*, to Mādhava-śarman, a Brāhmaṇa, resident of Vargiparu. The executor was Bhurama.

(iii) *The Dinakādu inscription.*¹⁷

The Dinakādu inscription states that Vijayāditya made a gift of some lands, in the village of Dinakādu in the Prakunora-*viṣaya*, to Mādhava, a resident of Vargiparu.

Vijayāditya's reign witnessed a great political change in the Deccan. Kīrtivarman II, the last of the Imperial Cālukya rulers of Badami, was overthrown by the Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga shortly before 753 A.D. A powerful Rāṣtrakūṭa sovereignty was established in the Deccan, which maintained its supremacy up to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. These Rāṣtrakūṭas, as we will see below, were political rivals of the Eastern Cālukyas, and were a source of constant trouble to them.

Almost all the inscriptions assign Vijayāditya a reign of eighteen years.¹⁸ Two of them, however, state that he ruled for nineteen years.¹⁹ He closed his reign in 764 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Viṣṇuvardhana.

Viṣṇuvardhana IV, Viṣṇurāja (A.D. 764-799)

Viṣṇuvardhana was also known as Viṣṇurāja. The fall of the Western Cālukyas of Badami had a terrible repercussion on the Cālukyas of Veṅgi. The Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga warred with the rulers of Kāñcī, Kerala, Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, and the kings Śrīharṣa and Vajraṭa.²⁰ He was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa I, who became jealous of the prosperity of the Eastern Cālukyas. Shortly before 769 A.D., Kṛṣṇa despatched the Yuvarāja Govinda II for the conquest of Veṅgi, which was then under the sovereignty of Viṣṇuvardhana IV. The Cālukyas could not withstand the onslaught of the formidable Rāṣtrakūṭa army. Viṣṇuvardhana surrendered his treasury to Govinda II, and acknowledged his authority. The Alas plates²¹ of Yuvarāja Govinda II state that in Śaka 692=769 A.D., Govinda from the camp of the victorious army

17 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

18 *SI.*, vol. I, p. 58.

19 *SE.*, 1914, p. 84; 1912, p. 84.

20 *EL.*, vol. VI., p. 212.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

that invaded Veṅgi-maṇḍala, when the lord of Veṅgi was humbled by the cession of (his) treasury, forces and his own country, granted a village (in the modern Kolhapur State). The camp was located at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇaverṇā and the Musī.²²

At the death of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I, a civil war broke out between his two sons Govinda II and Dhruva over the succession. The younger Dhruva gained the upper hand and seized the throne for himself.²³ Govinda thus being overthrown called upon the aid of the kings of Mālava, Kāñcī, Gaṅga and Veṅgi, who readily offered their services. The king of Veṅgi, referred to, was evidently Viṣṇuvardhana IV. The allied army attacked Dhruva on behalf of Govinda II, but was severely routed. The Paithan plates²⁴ of Govinda III, dated Śaka 716=794 A.D., report that "although that brother (Govinda II) of his had fetched in large numbers those hostile kings even, the ruler of Mālava and others, who were joined by the lord of Kāñcī, Gaṅga, and the king of Veṅgi, his (i.e. Dhruvarāja's) mind underwent no change in regard to him, when afterwards he (Dhruvarāja) had possessed himself of his ruby ornaments and his store of gold. When even after his (i.e. Dhruvarāja's) conciliatory overtures Vallabha (Govindarāja) did not make peace, then (Dhruvarāja) speedily defeated him in a battle offered by the brother, and he afterwards drove away the eastern and northern opponents, and obtained the whole sovereignty".²⁵

The king of Veṅgi referred to above was evidently Viṣṇuvardhana IV. The other kings seem to have been the Pratihāra Vatsarāja, the Western Gaṅga Sivamāra II (776-815 A.D.), and the Pallava Dantivarman (about A.D. 779-830),²⁶ who were rulers of Mālava, Mysore, and Kāñcī respectively.

After this reverse, Govinda II retired from political life, leaving his allies in the lurch. Dhruva then turned his arms against his brother's confederates. Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have submitted to his authority

22 Govindarājo Yuvarājah Veṅgimaṇḍalaparyyāyātavijayaskandhāvāre kośadaṇḍātīnabhūmisamarpaṇenānate Veṅgiśe Kṛṣṇaverṇā-Mu (sī) saṅgame . . . sabhogo dattaḥ/*EL.*, vol. VI, p. 211.

23 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 393.

24 *EL.*, vol. III, p. 104.

25 *EL.*, vol. III, p. 107.

and assisted him in the war against the Western Gaṅga chief. The combined forces of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas being reinforced by the Haihayas fell upon Śivamāra II. The allied army was temporarily held back by the Gaṅga king who achieved some initial victories. An inscription²⁷ of Śivamāra's reign reports that the king earned distinction by vanquishing the Vallabha army (supported by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cālukya, Haihaya and other brave leaders) which had encamped at the village named Muḍugundur. He also conquered the cavalry of Dhora which had spread over all quarters. Dhora was evidently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja and the Cālukyas were the Eastern Cālukyas. Śivamāra eventually sustained a heavy loss and fell a captive in the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.²⁸

Dhruvarāja was succeeded by Govinda III shortly before 784 A.D.²⁹ Govinda, in the early years of his reign, followed a policy of conciliation. He released the Gaṅga Śivamāra and reinstated him on his throne.³⁰ Viṣṇuvardhana also acknowledged his hegemony and placed him at his service. Govinda laid the foundation of the city of Mānyakheta, the modern Malkhed about 90 miles south-east from Sholapur, Bombay Presidency and transferred his capital there. He requisitioned the service of the king of Veṅgi, who seems to have been Viṣṇuvardhana IV, for the construction of the above city. Viṣṇuvardhana responded to the call of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king and fulfilled the task entrusted to him. An inscription³¹ from the Nelamaṅgala tāluka, dated A.D. 802, of Govinda III's reign, states that "at half a word by the mouth of the letter bearer, the Veṅgi king, wherever he was, constantly performed his service without intermission by his own wish, and built for him an outer wall, lofty as the sky, of marvellous splendour, with the constellations around its head like a garland of pearls". This statement is sup-

26 *The Pallavas*, by Dubreuil, p. 75.

27 *EC.*, vol. IX, p. 41.

28 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. 11, p. 393.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 394.

30 *EC.*, vol. IX, YD. 60.

31 *Lekhāhāra-mukhoditarddha-vacasā yatrā Veṅgiśvaro nityam kinkaravad vyadhād avirataṃ . . . rmma savam ātmecchayā/bāhyā (P)—vrtir asya yena racitā vyomāvalagnā rucam citraṃ mauktika-mālikām iya dhrtam mūrdha(n)i svatārāganaiḥ* // *EC.*, vol. IX, NL. 61, p. 52; cf. *An. Rep. My. Arch.*, 1927, p. 116.

ported by the Radhanpur grant³² of Govinda III, dated Śaka 730=808 A.D. The city, the outer wall of which was built by the Veṅgi king, seems to have referred to Mānyakheta, which was built during the reign of Govinda III. Govinda III's inscriptions, noticed above, make it clear that the Eastern Cālukya king held the position of a subordinate chief of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the latter part of the 8th century A.D.

Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have married a Haihaya princess by whom he had a son named Nṛparudra.³³ Besides this he had two other sons Vijayāditya and Bhīma-salukki. Almost all the inscriptions assign him a reign of thirty-six years³⁴ except one, which allots him thirty-three years' reign.³⁵ He closed his reign in A.D. 799, and was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya.

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³² *IA.*, vol. VI. p. 71.

³³ Narendramrgarājasya bhrātā Haihayavaṃśajāḥ ājñaptir asya dharmasya Nṛparudra nṛpottamaḥ/*SII.*, vol. I, p. 34.

³⁴ *SII.*, vol. I, p. 46.

³⁵ *SE* 1917 n. 121

Sources of Buddhist Logic

(From the traditional point of view)

As the Brāhmaṇas are anxious to trace every doctrine to the Vedas or the Śruti, so the Buddhists try to affiliate every tenet of theirs, however late, to some *Buddha-vacana*, or *Āgama* as they usually call it. While introducing the problem of *Pramāṇas* Kamalaśīla in the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (=TSP), the elaborate commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (=TS) of Śāntirakṣita, (cf. Barnett, *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 852) refers to some statements ascribed to Buddha, as the nucleus of Buddhist Logic. In order to emphasise the rational attitude of Buddhism, he incidentally quotes a statement of Buddha in which he exhorts his followers to examine his words thoroughly before accepting them as does an expert with a piece of gold by heating, filing and testing on a touchstone.¹ Though this attempt to connect the origin of Logic or *Pramāṇa-śāstra* with Buddha has but little chance of being accepted as historical truth, it exhibits the philosophical ingenuity of the scholiast.

Pratyakṣa (or perception) in the Brāhmaṇical system is ordinarily divided into two : (i) *nirvikalpa* and (ii) *savikalpa*. But the Buddhists reject the second and accept the first, though with them it means something entirely different from what it does with the Brāhmaṇas. On this point we have a *Buddhavacana*² as quoted by

1 *tāpāchedācca nikaṣāt suvarṇam iva paṇḍitaiḥ/parīkṣya bhikṣavo grāhyaṃ madvaco na tu gauravāt//TSP.*, p. 12, also *TS.*, *Kārikā*, 3588.

2 *caḥsurvijñānasaiṅgi nīlaṃ vijānāti na tu nīlam iti.* *TSP.*, p. 12.

A person in association with the visual consciousness cognizes the blue, as blue but not that it is blue. This *Buddhavacana* or *Āgama* is also quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā*, the renowned commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna, Bib. Buddhica, p. 74, ll. 8-9. Prof. Poussin in footnote 6 in the same page has doubted the correctness of the reading of the Ms. *nīlamitīti cāgamasya*, and has emended the text as *nīlam iti cāgamasya*. But as a matter of fact Prof. Poussin's emendation is unnecessary and the reading of the Ms. is all right and has also the support of the Tibetan translation. It is to be noted that one *iti* will not convey the intended sense at all. The first *iti* is connected with *nīlam*, and the second *iti* separates the whole *Āgama* from the subsequent expressions, and thus the antithesis

Kamalaśīla, which says that one with visual cognition (*cakṣur vijñāna*) can perceive the unique character of a thing (*nīlam vijñāti—nirvikalpa-jñāna*) but not its common character (*nīlam iti vijñāti—savikalpa-jñāna*), the former corresponding roughly to an acquaintance with an object while the latter to a descriptive knowledge about it.³

With regard to *Anumāna* (or inference) we also have, on the authority of Kamalaśīla, a statement of Buddha, that the *līnga* (or the mark) inseparably connected with the *sādhya* (*probandum*), if definitely ascertained (*vinīścita*), is the cause of inferential knowledge.⁴ This is illustrated in the well-known Buddhist doctrine that all that has the character of being effected (*samudayadharmaka*) has also the character of being destroyed (*nirodhadharmaka*). Here we have a statement of concomitance (*vyāpti*) between the *probans*, the character of being produced (*hetu—samudayadharmakatvam*) and the *probandum*, the character of being destroyed (*sādhya—nirodhadharmakatvam*). Though there is no direct mention of the thesis or the conclusion (*pakṣa*), it is evident from the statement of *vyāpti* which is implicitly contained in it.⁵

between *nīlam* and *nīlam iti* is brought out without the least ambiguity. *nīlam vijñāti* means 'cognises blue as blue'; hence the cognition is strictly in correspondence with the external or the externalised object, i.e. the cognition is *nirvikalpa*. And '*nīlam iti* (*vijñāti*)' means '(cognises) that it is blue'; the cognition in this case involves an association of the object cognised with name, class, and the like, which are of a universal character (*kūlpānā*) i.e. the cognition is *savikalpaka*.

From the above discussion it will be clear that the last inverted commas in the reading of the Āgama in the TSP., p. 12. 1. 22 should be placed after *iti* and not after *nīlam*, as has been printed. Again Prof. Poussin has emended '*vijñānasaṅgī*' to '*vijñānasaṃgī*'. This is also unnecessary nor has it the support of the Tibetan translation.

The Āgama which Prof. Poussin has traced to the *Abhidharma*, and the *Nyāyabindu-pūrvapakṣa-saṃkṣepa* is also found in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya-vṛtti* (Tib.) with the variant noted by him, as a quotation from the *Abhidharma*: *chos mñon pa las kyan miḡ gi rnam par shes pa dan ldan pas shon po shes kyi shon pohi śāṃ du ni ma yin no* (Mdo. Ce. 14-a 2; Narthang.)

3 Indian Philosophy by Dr. Radhakrishnan in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed. Vol. 12.

4 *sādhya-rthāvinābhūtaṃ līgaṃ vinīścitam sadanumāna-jñānasya kāraṇam, tacca yat kiṃcit bhikṣavaḥ samudayadharmakaṃ sarvaṃ tan* (printed as *sarvatra*) *nirodhadharmakaṃ iti*. TSP., p. 12.

5 According to Dharmakīrti *pakṣa* need not be explicitly stated in a syllogistic argument (see Narthang ed. III. 28-27 and the Tibetan text).

The above example illustrates, as suggested by Kamalaśīla, the *svabhāva hetu* which is one of the three types of *hetus* of the Buddhist logicians—(i) *svabhāva*, (ii) *kārya*, and (iii) *anupalabdhi*—these being the three principal relations in which the *probans* (*hetu*) may be connected with the *probandum* (*sādhya*).

Kārya hetu is illustrated in the following examples summed up in a verse :

- (i) It is fiery because it has smoke.
- (ii) There is water because there are cranes.
- (iii) He is Bodhisattva because he has auspicious signs.

With reference to *anupalabdhi-hetu*, Kamalaśīla attributes another statement to Buddha which objects to the validity of a conclusion from mere negation. Buddha is said to be admonishing his followers thus : "O Bhikṣus, let not an individual (*pudgalaḥ*) try to prove the soul (*pudgalaḥ*), nor let him seek proofs in support of it⁷. It is I or some body like myself who can prove the soul." According to the Buddhist logicians,⁸ negation of objects not entering the zone of cognition owing to impediments in respect of time, space, and nature, is a source of problematic knowledge, as it is excluded both from perception and inference. A cause (*kāraṇa*) or a fact of wider extension (*vyāpaka*) being absent will make the effect or the subordinate fact (*vyāpya*) absent. Inasmuch as the knowledge of an object is neither the cause nor a fact of wider extent with reference to the object, the absence of the knowledge of an object does not prove the non-existence of the object. Therefore the negation of the im-

6 *kāryākhyam api—*

dhūmena jñāyate vahnir salilaṃ ca balākayā.

nimittair jñāyate gotraṃ bodhisattvasya dhīmataḥ. TSP., p. 13.

Quoted in the *Subhāṣitasamgraha* ed. by Bendall 14-13 and traced in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.

Compare :—*anukampā priyākhyānaṃ dhīratā muktahastatā.*

gambhīrasandhinirmokṣo līṅgānyetāni dhīmatām.

trīṇi prathamena slokena pañca bodhisattvalīṅgāni darśayati.

Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra. ed. by Sylvain Lévi, p. 175.

7 *mā bhikṣavaḥ pudgalaḥ pudgalaṃ pramāṇotu. pudgale vā pramāṇam udgrhṇātu. kṣaṇyate hi bhikṣavaḥ pudgalaḥ pudgalaṃ pramāṇvan. ahaṃ vā pudgalaṃ pramāṇuyām yo vā syān mādrśaḥ.* TSP. p. 13.

8 *Nāṇubhīndu.* II. 48-49.

perceptible (*adrśyānupalabdhi*) cannot prove anything, but gives rise to doubt.

So from mere non-apprehension of the soul (*pudgala*) no definite conclusion as to its existence or otherwise can be made. The above statement ascribed to Buddha, therefore, seeks to establish that *anupalabdhi* to be a valid source of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) should be *drśyānupalabdhi* (i.e. non-perception of what is capable of being perceived) and not mere *adrśyānupalabdhi* (non-perception of the imperceptible).

In conclusion it may be observed that genuine doubt may be expressed as to the statements or *āgamas* being fathered upon Buddha; nevertheless they may be taken as laying the foundation-stone of the edifice of the Buddhist logic, which became in subsequent times a structure of great splendour and beauty.

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI

The Doctrine of TrirūpaHetu

The formulation of the doctrine of *Trirūpa Hetu*, i.e., with three-fold characteristic is generally ascribed to Dignāga but the researches of Prof. Tucci in *Pre-Dignāga Buddhist Logic* have proved that some predecessor of Dignāga (probably Vasubandhu) was aware of it.¹ It is also to be noted that Praśastapāda very clearly lays down the threefold condition of a valid *hetu* and quotes a *kārikā*² which seems to be sufficiently old and authoritative as it was regarded worth quoting by so eminent a scholar like him.

In the *Nyāyasūtra* there is no reference to any such characteristic of the *hetu*. But it mentions that both *hetu* and *dr̥ṣṭānta* may be based on *sādharmya* and *vaidharmya* (*udāharaṇasādharmyāt sādhyasādhanaṃ hetuḥ, tathā vaidharmyāt, sādhyasādharmyāt taddharmabhāvī dr̥ṣṭānta udāharaṇaṃ tad viparyayād vā viparītaṃ. Nyāyasūtra, I. 1. 34-37*). The doctrine of the threefold characteristic of the *hetu*, is but a direct corollary of *sādharmya* and *vaidharmya* *hetu* as would clearly appear from the explanation of Vātsyāyana (vide *Nyāya Bhāṣya* on the above sūtras) though he has not mentioned *trairūpya* in so many words. It is, however, interesting to note that Uddyotakara and following him many other Brāhmanic logicians have read fivefold characteristic (1. *pakṣasattva*, 2. *sapakṣasattva*, 3. *vipakṣā-*

1 *Pre-Dignāga Buddhist Texts on Logic* (G.O.S.), p. XIX.

2 *yad anumeyena sambuddhaṃ prasiddhaṃ ca tadānvite tadabhāve ca nāstyeva tallīgam anumāpakam. viparītaṃ ato yat syād ekena dvitayena vā. viruddhasiddhasandigdham alīgaṃ kāśyapo 'bravīt.*

Praśastapāda-Bhāṣya (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series), p. 200.

That which is connected with the *anumeya* (i.e. *pakṣa*) and is known to exist in what possesses the *anumeya* (i.e. *sapakṣa*=*sādhya*dharma*sāmānyena samāno'rthaḥ*, *sapakṣaḥ, Nyāyapraveśa*, §5) and always absent in what does not possess *anumeya* (i.e. *vipakṣā*=*vipakṣo yatra sādhyam nāsti, Nyāyapraveśa* §6) is the *linga* (*hetu*) which makes inference possible. That which is different from this in one or a pair of these characteristics is not a valid *linga* (*hetu*), it being either *viruddha* (contradictory), *asiddha* (unreal) or *sandigdha* (doubtful).

sattva, 4. *abādhitatva* and 5. *asatpratipakṣatva*) of a *hetu* in the *Nyāyasūtra* I. I. 5.

The three conditions of a valid *hetu* have been stated in the *Nyāyapraveśa* (vol. I. §3) as follows :—

hetus trirūpaḥ kimpūnas trairūpyaṁ pakṣadharmattvaṁ sapakṣe sattvaṁ vipakṣe cāsattvamiti.

In order to avoid ambiguity and attain preciseness Dharmakīrti has put them thus :

trairūpyaṁ punar līngasyānumeyasattvaṁ eva, sapakṣa eva sattvaṁ, asapakṣe cāsattvamev nīścitam. ((*Nyāyabindu* II-6-7)

Dharmottara in his commentary on the above observes that the word *nīścita* which occurs in the enumeration of the third characteristic of *hetu* should also be read in the first as well as the second. By this he means that the *hetu* is not a *hetu* of the type which, by its inherent capacity, is capable of causing inferential cognition (*na yogyatayā līgaṁ paroṣajñānasya nimittam*) as a seed produces sprout. No conclusion is possible if the *hetu* is not known. We do not infer the existence of fire from smoke which is not observed by us. Thus the *hetu* of an inference is sharply distinguished from such *hetu* (cause), which by its mere presence, produces an effect. In other words smoke is not the *hetu* in the sense in which the seed is the *hetu* of the sprout (*yathā bījāṁ aṅkurasya*). Thus the *hetu* of an inference (*anumāna*) is different from the *hetu* of the production of anything (*kīraka hetu*).

Dharmottara has also discussed the propriety of the position of *eva* in the above-mentioned conditions. If the first would have been stated as *anumeva eva sattvaṁ*, then an *asādhāraṇa hetu* might have passed for a valid one (see *Hetucakra*, No. 5).

The second condition is to be read as *sapakṣa eva sattvaṁ nīścitam iti* (*dvitīyaṁ rūpaṁ*).

Significance of *nīścita* has been already pointed out. The position of *eva* after *sapakṣa* points out that a valid *hetu* should be present in *sapakṣa* alone and never in *vipakṣa* and thus excludes the fallacies of *sādhāraṇa anaikāntika* (see *Hetucakra* Table, Nos. 1, 3, 7 and 9). If *eva* were put after *sattvaṁ* it would have meant that a valid *hetu* would be only present and by no means absent in the *sapakṣa*. In that case *prayatnajatva* which is a valid *hetu* for proving *śabdo' nityaḥ* (sound is non-eternal), becomes an impossibility.

The third condition (*asapakṣe cāsattvaṁ eva nīścitam*) is quite explicit. *eva* being put after *sattvaṁ* it is to be understood that

there should always be the absence of the *hetu* from *vipakṣa* and thus it invalidates an inference like *śabdaḥ prayatnajaḥ anityatvāt* (sound is produced after an effort because it is not eternal) in which *anityatva* is partly existent in the *vipakṣa*.

Let us take an example of valid inference and see how the three conditions are fulfilled, which will enable us to understand clearly what *pakṣa*,³ *sapakṣa* and *vipakṣa* mean. The following is the form of a fully expressed inference :

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product.
All that is a product is non-eternal,
Like an earthen pot.
(or) All that is eternal is a non-product
Like space.

Here we infer the non-eternity of sound from its being a product, which is, therefore, the *hetu* in this particular inference. Now the *hetu*, the quality of being a product, is present in sound which is called the *pakṣa*, and thus it fulfils the first condition.

The second characteristic of the *hetu* is, as we have said above, that it must be present in the *sapakṣa*. *sapakṣa* has been defined as what is analogous to *pakṣa* or subject on the ground of its possessing in generality the attribute to be proved (*sādhya-dharma-sāmānya*) of the *pakṣa*. In the above argument, an earthen pot, which is analogous to sound on the ground of its possessing the attribute of non-eternity, is *sapakṣa*.⁴

The third condition is that the *hetu* must be absent from the *vipakṣa*. The *vipakṣa* is heterogeneous to the *pakṣa* and stands in contrast with *sapakṣa* on the ground of its being different (*tato'nyaḥ*) from, or contradictory (*tadviruddhaḥ*) to, or implying negation (*tadabhāvah*) of *sapakṣa*.⁵

3 *Pakṣa* has got two different meanings in Indian Logic. Sometimes it is used in the sense of the whole proposition to be proved, e.g. *sound is eternal* and sometimes in the sense of the subject of the proposition to be proved (i.e. the minor term) e.g. *Sound* in the proposition, '*Sound is eternal*.' When a *hetu* is said to be present in the *pakṣa* it is used in the latter sense.

Cf. *jñātārye pakṣadharmatve pakṣo dharmyabhidhiyate*
vyūptikūle bhaveddharmah sādhyaśiddhau punardvayam.

Ratnākara-vatārikā (Commentary on the *Pramāṇanayatatvāloka-lamkāra*, Jaina Yaśovijaya Series), Chap. III, p. 9.

4 See *Nyāyabindu* II. 9.

5 *Ibid.*, II. 10